GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY

CENTRAL ARCHÆOLOGICAL LIBRARY

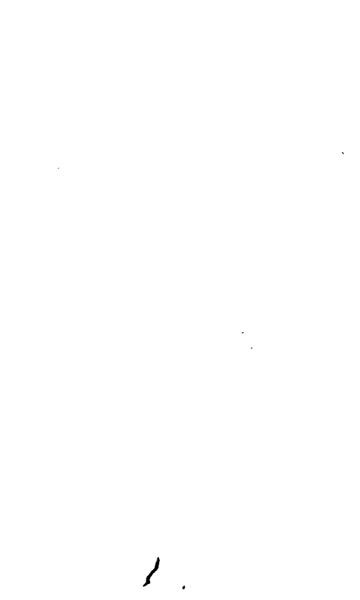
CALL No. 937.03/ Sio Acc. No. 13500

D.G.A. 79.

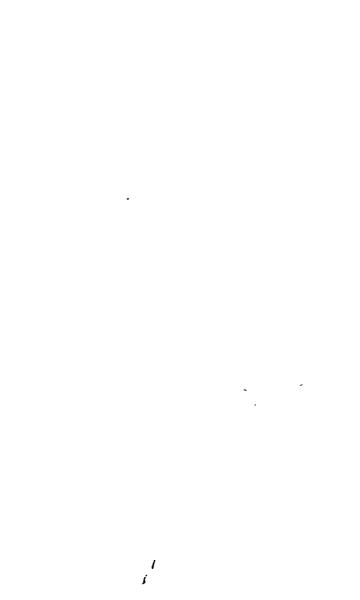
GIPN-S4-2D. G. Arch N. D./57.-25-9-58-1,00,000.

.7,





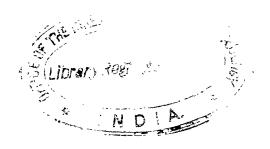


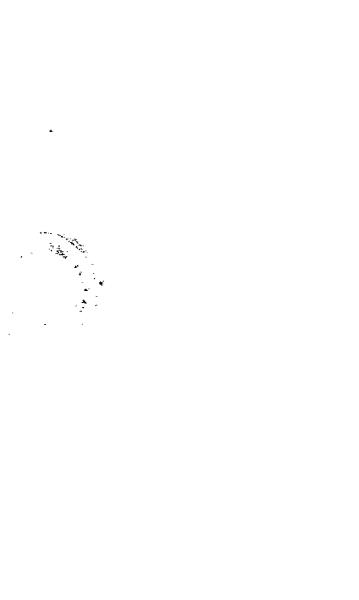


THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY EDITED BY

T. E. PAGE, LITT.D., AND W. H. D. ROUSE, LITT.D.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY





WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY EARNEST CARY, Ph.D.

ON THE BASIS OF THE VERSION OF

HERBERT BALDWIN FOSTER, Ph.D.

IN NINE VOLUMES

Ш



LONDON: WILLIAM HEINEMANN NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN CO. MCMXIV

CENTRAI	ARCHAEOLOGICAL
LIBRA	RY, NEW DELHI.
Acc. No	13500
Deto	18-7-1960
Call No	937:03 4.6.(3)
	Dic

HONG BEARTS LINESTEET Notes were contracted

.

. .

24 24 E

CONTENTS

воок	xxxvi											PAGE
воок	XXXVII											96
воок	xxxvII	Ι.										196
воок	XXXIX											308
воок	XL											406
INDEN	ι							,				511

VOL. III. B

BOOK XXXVI

Xiphilinus

1 Κληρουμένων δὴ τῶν ὑπάτων 'Ορτήσιος τὸν πρὸς Κρῆτας ἔλαχε πόλεμον. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν ὑπό τε τῆς ἐν τῷ ἄστει φιλοχωρίας καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστηρίων, ἐν οἷς πλεῖστον τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων μετά γε τὸν Κικέρωνα ἤδυνήθη, τῷ τε συνάρχοντι τῆς στρατείας ἐθελοντὴς ἔξέστη καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινεν· ὁ δὲ δὴ Μέτελλος ἐστείλατό τε ἐς Κρήτην . . .—Χiphil. p. 1, 5-12 Dind.

Xiphilinus

1 Λούκουλλος δὲ Λούκιος κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους τοὺς τῆς 'Ασίας δυνάστας Μιθριδάτην τε καὶ Τιγράνην τὸν 'Αρμένιον πολέμφ νικήσας καὶ φυγομαχεῖν ἀναγκάσας τὰ Τιγρανόκερτα ἐπολιόρκει. καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ βάρβαροι τῆ τε τοξεία καὶ τῆ νάφθα κατὰ τῶν μηχανῶν χεομένη δεινῶς ἐκάκωσαν. ἀσφαλτῶδες δὲ τὸ φάρμακον τοῦτο, καὶ διάπυρον οῦτως ὥσθ' ὅσοις ὰν προσμίξη, πάντως αὐτὰ κατακαίειν, οὐδ' ἀποσβέννυται ὑπ' οὐθενὸς ὑγροῦ ῥαδίως. ἐκ τούτου δὲ ὁ Τιγράνης

BOOK XXXVI

Xiphilinus

When the consuls drew lots, Hortensius obtained block of the war against the Cretans. But on account of his fondness for residence in the capital and on account of the courts, in which he had greater influence than any of his contemporaries with the exception of Cicero, he voluntarily relinquished the campaign in favour of his colleague and remained at home himself. Metellus accordingly set out for Crete . . .

Xiphilinus

Lucius Lucullus at this time had defeated in battle the lords of Asia, Mithridates and Tigranes the Armenian, and after forcing them to avoid battle was besieging Tigranocerta. But the barbarians did him serious injury by means of their archery as well as by the naphtha which they poured over his engines; this chemical is full of bitumen and is so fiery that it is sure to burn up whatever it touches, and it cannot easily be extinguished by any liquid. In consequence Tigranes recovered courage and

¹ The beginning of this book is missing in the MSS. The gist of the lost portion is doubtless contained in the two following passages from Xiphilinus' Epitome.

Xiphilinus

ἀναθαρρήσας τοσαύτη χειρὶ στρατοῦ ἤλασεν ὥστε καὶ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων τῶν ἐκεῖσε παρόντων καταγελάσαι· λέγεται δ' οὖν εἰπεῖν ὡς ¹ εἰ μὲν πολεμήσοντες ἤκοιεν, ὀλίγοι, εἰ δὲ πρεσβεύσοντες,
3 πολλοὶ παρεῖεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἤσθη,
ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐξέμαθεν ὅσον ἤ τε ἀρετὴ καὶ ἡ τέχνη
παντὸς ὁμίλου κρατεῖ. ψυγόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν
τιάραν τό τε ἀνάδημα τὸ περὶ αὐτὴν εὐρόντες οἱ
στρατιῶται τῷ Λουκούλλῳ ἔδωκαν· δείσας γὰρ
μὴ γνωσθεὶς ἀπ' αὐτῶν άλῷ, περιεσπάσατο αὐτὰ
καὶ ἀπέρριψεν.—Χiphil. p. 1, 20-2, 15 Dind.

. . . καὶ ὅτι ἰσχυρῷ τῆ τύχη ἐπ' ἀμφότερα εκέχρητο, επέτρεψεν ήττηθείς τε γὰρ πολλά καὶ κρατήσας οὐκ ἐλάττω καὶ στρατηγικώτερος ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπεπίστευτο γεγονέναι. αὐτοί τε οὖν ὡς καὶ τότε πρώτον ἀρχόμενοι τοῦ πολέμου παρεσκευάζοντο, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς περιχώρους, τούς τε άλλους καὶ 'Αρσάκην τὸν Πάρθον, καίπερ ἐγθρὸν τῶ Τιγράνη διὰ χώραν τινὰ ἀμφισβητήσιμον ὄντα. 2 έπρεσβεύοντο, καὶ ταύτης τε αὐτῶ ἀφίσταντο, καὶ τους 'Ρωμαίους διέβαλλον λέγοντες ότι, αν μονωθέντων σφών κρατήσωσι, καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνον εὐθὺς έπιστρατεύσουσι φύσει τε γάρ παν τὸ νικων άπληστον της εύπραγίας είναι καὶ μηδένα δρον της πλεονεξίας ποιείσθαι, καὶ τούτους, ἄτε καὶ ἐν κράτει πολλών δη γεγονότας, οὐκ έθελήσειν αὐτοῦ άποσχέσθαι.

^{1 &}amp;s added by H. Steph.

Xiphilinus

marched forth with an army of such strength that he even scoffed at the Romans present there. He is said, indeed, to have remarked that when they came on a campaign there were only a few of them, but when on an embassy there were a great many. His amusement, however, was of short duration, for he forthwith discovered how far courage and skill surpass any mere numbers. After his flight the soldiers found and gave to Lucullus his tiara and the band that went around it; for in his fear that these ornaments might lead to his recognition and capture he had torn them off and thrown them away.

... and since [Mithridates] had experienced both extremes of fortune, [Tigranes] entrusted [the supreme command to him(?)] For after his many defeats and victories no fewer, he was believed to have become in consequence better versed in generalship. These two rulers, accordingly, not only set about making preparations themselves, as if they were then for the first time beginning the war, but also sent embassies to their various neighbours, including Arsaces the Parthian, although he was hostile to Tigranes on account of some disputed This they offered to yield to him, and they also went to maligning the Romans, declaring that the latter, in case they conquered their present antagonists while these were left to fight singlehanded, would immediately make a campaign against For every victorious force was inherently insatiate of success and set no bound to its greed; and the Romans, who had won the mastery over many, would not choose to leave him alone.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔπραττον, Λούκουλλος δὲ Τιγράνην μέν οὐκ ἐπεδίωξεν ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ κατὰ σχολην σωθήναι είασε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ αἰτίαν ώς οὐκ ἐθελήσας τὸν πόλεμον, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλείον άρχη, καταλύσαι παρά τε τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ παρὰ 2 τοῖς πολίταις ἔσχε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τότε τε¹ ές τούς στρατηγούς την άρχην της 'Ασίας έπανήγαγον, καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ', ὡς καὶ αὖθις τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι ἔδοξε, τὸν ὕπατον αὐτῷ τὸν κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ὄντα διάδοχον ἔπεμψαν.
3 τὰ δὲ δὴ Τιγρανόκερτα στασιασάντων πρὸς τοὺς Αρμενίους τῶν ξένων τῶν συνοικούντων αὐτοῖς είλε. Κίλικές τε γάρ οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν ἦσαν ανάσπαστοί ποτε γεγονότες, καὶ ἐσήγαγον εἴσω 4 νυκτός τους 'Ρωμαίους. και έκ τούτου τα μέν άλλα διηρπάσθη πλην των έκείνοις υπαρχόντων, τὰς δὲ δὴ γυναῖκας τῶν δυνατωτάτων πολλὰς άλούσας ἄνευ ύβρισμοῦ ὁ Λούκουλλος ἐφύλαξε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας σφῶν προσεποιή-5 σατο. τόν τε της Κομμαγηνης βασιλέα Αντίοχον (ή δὲ δὴ χώρα αὕτη τῆς Συρίας πρός τε τῷ Εὐφράτη καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ταύρω ἐστί) καί τινα ᾿Αράβιον δυνάστην 'Αλχαυδόνιον ἄλλους τε ἐπικηρυκευσαμένους οί εδέξατο.

Καὶ μαθών παρ' αὐτών τὴν πρεσβείαν τὴν ὑπό τε τοῦ Τιγράνου καὶ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου πρὸς τὸν ᾿Αρσάκην πεμφθεῖσαν, ἀνταπέστειλέ τινας ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπειλάς τε ἄμα αὐτῷ, ἃν ἐκείνοις ἐπικουρήση, καὶ ὑποσχέσεις, ἂν τὰ σφέτερα ἀνθέ-2 ληται, φέροντας. ὁ οὖν ᾿Αρσάκης τότε μέν (ἔτι γὰρ τῷ τε Τιγράνη ὀργὴν εἰχε καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ὑω-

¹ τε added by Bk

While they were thus engaged, Lucullus did not B.C. 69 follow up Tigranes, but allowed him to reach safety quite at his leisure. Because of this he was charged by the citizens, as well as others, with refusing to end the war, in order that he might retain his command a longer time. Therefore they at this time restored the province of Asia to the praetors, and later, when he was believed to have acted in this same way again, they sent to him the consul of that year to relieve him. Nevertheless he did seize Tigranocerta when the foreigners living in the city revolted against the Armenians; for the most of them were Cilicians who had once been carried off from their own land, and these let in the Romans during the night. Thereupon everything was plundered, except what belonged to the Cilicians; but Lucullus saved from outrage many of the wives of the principal men, when they had been captured, and by this action won over their husbands also. He furthermore received Antiochus, king of Commagene (a part of Syria near the Euphrates and the Taurus), and Alchaudonius, an Arabian chieftain, and others who had made overtures to him.

Learning now from them of the embassy sent by Tigranes and Mithridates to Arsaces, he in his turn sent to him some of the allies with threats, in case he should aid the foe, and promises, if he should choose the Roman side instead. Arsaces at that time, since he was still angry with Tigranes and felt no suspicion toward the Romans, sent back envoys

μαίους οὐδὲν ὑπώπτευε) πρέσβεις τέ οἱ ἀντέπεμψε καὶ φιλίαν τε καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐσπείσατο· ὕστερον δὲ τὸν Σηκίλιον ἐλθόντα πρὸς ἐαυτὸν ἰδῶν ὑπετόπησε κατάσκοπον τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως 3 αὐτοῦ παρεῖναι (τούτου γὰρ ἔνεκα, ἀλλ' οὐ τῆς όμολογίας ήδη γεγενημένης, ἄνδρα ἐπιφανή τὰ πολεμικὰ πεμφθήναι), καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἔτ' αὐτῷ ¹ βοήθειαν εποιήσατο. ΄ου μην ουδ' ηναντιώθη τι, άλλ' ἐκ μέσου ἀμφοῖν ἔστη, μηδετέρους, ὥσπερ εἰκός, ἐθελήσας αὐξῆσαι τὸν γὰρ πόλεμον αὐτῶν ισοπαλή όντα ασφάλειαν οι μεγίστην οισειν ἐνόμιζεν.

Τούτφ μεν δη τφ έτει ταθθ' ο Λούκουλλος έπραξε, καὶ τῆς ᾿Αρμενίας συχνὰ προσηγάγετο· 4 ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ Κυίντου Μαρκίου (οὖτος γάρ, καίπερ οὐ μόνος ἀποδειχθείς, μόνος ὑπάτευσεν· ὅ τε γὰρ σὺν αὐτῷ χειροτονηθεὶς Λούκιος Μέτελλος ἐν ἀρχῆ τοῦ ἔτους ἀπέθανε, καὶ ὁ ἐφαιρεθεὶς² πρὶν έπιβηναι της άρχης μετήλλαξε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' 2 οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἀπεδείχ $\theta\eta$)—ϵν οὖν τ $\hat{\phi}$ ἔτει τούτ ϕ δ Λούκουλλος μεσουντος ήδη του θέρους (ύπὸ γὰρ του ψύχους αδύνατος ην ηρι ές την πολεμίαν γην έσβαλείν) στρατεύσας τινά τε της γης επόρθησεν, όπως αμύνοντας αυτή 3 τους βαρβάρους ές μάχην ύπαγάγηται, καὶ ώς οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐκινοῦντο, ἐπ΄ 5 αὐτοὺς ώρμησε. κάν τούτω τοῖς μὲν ίππεῦσι των 'Ρωμαίων χαλεποί οι των εναντίων ίππης εγίγνοντο, τῷ δὲ πεζῷ οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐς χεῖρας ἤει, άλλ' όπότε ή άσπὶς τοῦ Λουκούλλου τη ίππω

3 αὐτῆ Rk , αὐτὴν VP.

¹ αὐτῷ Η. Steph., αὐτῶν VP.

² έφαιρεθείς Dind., άφιερωθείς V, άφιτρωθείς P.

to Lucullus, and established friendship and alliance. B.C. 69
Later, when he saw Secilius [Sextilius], who had
come to him, he began to suspect that he was
there to spy out the country and his power; it was
for this cause, he thought, and not on account of the
compact which had already been made that a man
distinguished in warfare had been sent. Hence he
no longer gave him any aid. On the other hand,
he offered no opposition, but stood aloof from both
parties, naturally wishing to make neither side strong;
for he thought that an evenly-balanced struggle
between them would insure him the greatest safety.

Besides these achievements, Lucullus this year subdued many parts of Armenia; and in the year of Quintus Marcius—this man held office alone, although B.C. 68 not the only consul appointed, since Lucius Metellus, elected with him, died in the early part of the year, and the man chosen in his stead died before entering upon office, in consequence of which no one else was appointed-in this year, I say, Lucullus entered upon his campaign when summer was already at its height, since in the spring it had been impossible to invade the enemy's country because of the cold. He devastated a part of their land, purposing to draw the barbarians imperceptibly into battle while defending it; but when even then they made no move, he marched against them. In this engagement the opposing cavalry gave the Roman cavalry hard work, but none of the foe approached the infantry; indeed, whenever the foot-soldiers of Lucullus assisted the

προσβοηθήσειεν, ἐτρέποντο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ δεινόν τι ἔπασχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιδιώκοντάς σφας ἐς τοὐπίσω τοξεύοντες πολλοὺς μὲν παραχρῆμα 2 ἀπεκτίννυσαν, παμπληθεῖς δὲ ἐτίτρωσκον. καὶ ἦν τὰ τραύματα χαλεπὰ καὶ δυσίατα· ταῖς τε γὰρ ἀκίσι διπλαῖς ἐχρῶντο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐφάρμοττον¹ αὐτάς, ὥστε τὰ βέλη, εἴτε ἐμμένοι² πη τοῖς σώμασιν εἴτε καὶ ἐξέλκοιτο, τάχιστα αὐτὰ διολλύναι· τὸ γὰρ ἔτερον³ σιδήριον ἔνδον, ἄτε μηδεμίαν ἀνθολκὴν ἔχον, ἐγκατελείπετο.
6 Ο οὖν Λούκουλλος, ἐπειδή τε πολλοὶ ἐτραυματίζοντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔθνησκον, οἱ δὶ ἀνάπηροι γοῦν ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ ἄμα καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια αὐτοὺς ἐπέλιπεν, ἐκεῖθέν τε ἀπεχώρησε καὶ ἐπὶ Νίσιβιν 2 ὥρμησεν. ἡ δὲ δὴ πόλις αὕτη ἐν τῆ Μεσοποταμία καλουμένη πεπόλισται (οὕτω γὰρ πᾶν τὸ μεταξὸ

2 ωρμησεν. η δε δη πολις αυτη εν τη Μεσοποταμια καλουμένη πεπόλισται (οὕτω γὰρ πᾶν τὸ μεταξύ τοῦ τε Τίγριδος καὶ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ὀνομάζεται) καὶ νῦν μὲν ἡμετέρα ἐστὶ καὶ ἄποικος ἡμῶν νομίζεται, τότε δὲ ὁ Τιγράνης τῶν Πάρθων αὐτὴν ἀφελόμενος τούς τε θησαυροὺς ἐν αὐτῆ καὶ ¾ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπετέθειτο, 5 φύλακά οἱ τὸν 3 ἀδελφὸν προστάξας. πρὸς οὖν ταύτην ὁ Λούκουλλος ἐλθὼν ἐν μὲν τῷ θέρει, καίπερ μὴ παρέργως τὰς προσβολὰς ποιησάμενος, οὐδὲν ἐπέρανε· τὰ γὰρ τείχη καὶ διπλᾶ καὶ πλίνθινα ὄντα, τήν τε παχύτητα πολλὴν ἔχοντα καὶ τάφρω βαθεία διειλημμένα, οὕτε κατασεισθῆναί πη οὔτε διορυχθῆναι ἤδυνήθη, διόπερ οὐδ' ὁ Τιγράνης ἐπήμυνέ 7 σφισιν· ὡς δ' ὅ τε χειμὼν ἐνέστη καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι

¹ εφάρμοττον Rk., εφήρμοττον VP. 2 εμμένοι St., εμμένει V, εμμένοι P.

³ το γάρ ετερού Bk., το γάρ ετερού το δεύτερου VP. It is

horse, the enemy would turn to flight. Far from B.C. 68 suffering any injury, however, they kept shooting back at those pursuing them, killing some instantly and wounding great numbers. Now these wounds were dangerous and hard to heal; for they used double arrow-points and moreover poisoned them, so that the missiles, whether they stuck fast anywhere in the body or even if they were drawn out, would very quickly destroy it, since the second iron point, not being firmly attached, would be left in the wound.

Since many, then, were getting wounded, of whom some died, and the others were in any case maimed, and since provisions at the same time were failing them, Lucullus retired from that place and marched against Nisibis. This city is built in the region called Mesopotamia (the name given to all the country between the Tigris and Euphrates) and now belongs to us, being considered a colony of ours. But at that time Tigranes, who had seized it from the Parthians, had deposited in it his treasures and most of his other possessions, and had stationed his brother as guard over it. Lucullus reached this city in the summer time, and although he directed his attacks upon it in no half-hearted fashion, he effected nothing. For the walls, being of brick, double, and of great thickness, with a deep moat intervening, could be neither battered down anywhere, nor undermined, and even Tigranes, therefore, was not assisting the besieged. But when winter set in, and the barbarians were

very probable, however, that some words have been lost at this point.

4 και Rk., και τὰ άλλα VP.

⁵ απετέθειτο Rk., απετίθετο VP.

ραθυμότερου, άτε επικρατούντες τούς τε 'Ρωμαίους όσον οὐκ ἀπαναστήσεσθαι προσδοκῶντες, διήγον, ετήρησε νύκτα ασέληνον καὶ ὑετῷ λάβρω 2 βρονταίς τε χειμέριον, ώστε μήτε τι προϊδέσθαι μήτε τι έπακουσαι αυτους έγοντας τόν τε έξω περίβολου πλην ολίγων καί την έν τῷ μέσφ τάφρον εκλιπείν, και προσέμιξε πολλαχή τῷ τείχει, καὶ ἐκείνου τε οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπὸ τῶν χωμάτων έπέβη, καὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς τοὺς ἐγκαταληφθέντας έν αὐτῷ ραδίως ἄτε μη πολλούς ὄντας ἀπέκτεινε. 3 καὶ οὕτω τῆς τε τάφρου μέρος τι (τὰς γὰρ γεφύρας οί βάρβαροι προκατέρρηξαν 3) συνέχωσεν (ούτε γὰρ τη τοξεία οὔτ' αὖ τῷ πυρὶ λυπεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ πολλώ ύετω έδύνατο), καὶ διαβάς αὐτὴν τὰ μέν άλλα, οὐ πάνυ ἰσχυροῦ τοῦ ἔνδον κύκλου πίστει τῶν ἔξωθεν αὐτοῦ προβεβλημένων δυτος, εὐθὺς 4 είλε, τους δε ες την άκραν αναφυγόντας, άλλους τε καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Τιγράνου, μετὰ τοῦτο καθ' όμολογίαν παρεστήσατο, καὶ χρήματά τε πολλά έλαβε καὶ ἐκεῖ διεγείμασε.

Την μεν οὖν Νίσιβιν οὕτως ἐχειρώσατο, τῆς δὲ ᾿Αρμενίας τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν περὶ τὸν Πόντον συχνὰ ἀπέβαλεν. ὁ γὰρ Τιγράνης ἐκείνη μὲν ὡς οὖκ ἂν άλούση οὖκ ἐπεκούρησε, πρὸς δὲ τὰ προειρημένα ὥρμησεν, εἴ πως ἀσχόλου περὶ τὴν Νίσιβιν
αὐτοῦ ὄντος φθάσειεν αὐτὰ κομισάμενος. καὶ Μιθριδάτην μὲν πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπέστειλεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ᾿Αρμενίαν ἦλθε, κἀνταῦθα

¹ βαθυμότερον Χyl., άθυμότερον VP.

² ἐπικρατοῦντες Η. Steph., ἐπικρατοῦντας VP.

^{*} προκατέρρηξαν ΧγΙ., προσκατέρρηξαν VP. * προβεβλημένων Leuncl., προσβεβλημένων VP.

behaving rather carelessly, inasmuch as they had the B.C. 6 upper hand and were all but expecting the Romans to withdraw, Lucullus waited for a moonless night, when there was a violent storm of rain and thunder, so that the foe, not being able to see anything ahead or to hear any sound, left the outer circuit -all but a few of them-and the intervening moat. Then he approached the wall at many points, ascending it without difficulty from the mounds, and easily slew the guards who had been left behind upon it, since they were few in number. In this way he filled up a part of the moat, since the barbarians had broken down the bridges in advance, and got across, since in the downpour neither archery nor fire could harm him. Immediately he captured nearly everything, for the inner circuit was not very strong by reason of the confidence felt in the outer works beyond it. Some, however, fled to the citadel, among them the brother of Tigranes; but he later caused them to surrender. He also obtained much treasure, and passed the winter there.

Nisibis, then, he captured as described, but he lost many districts of Armenia and of the other countries around Pontus. For Tigranes had not aided Nisibis, believing that it could not be captured, but had hurried to the places just mentioned to see if he could secure them ahead of Lucullus, while the latter was occupied around Nisibis. Then sending Mithridates back home, Tigranes himself entered his own district of Armenia. There he was opposed by

Λούκιον Φάννιον αντιστάντα οι απολαβών επολιόρκει, μέχρις οὖ ο Λούκουλλος αἰσθόμενος τοῦτο

έπεβοήθησεν αὐτω.

Έν & δε ταῦτ' εγίγνετο, Μιθριδάτης ές τε τὴν έτέραν 'Αρμενίαν καὶ ές τὰ ἄλλα ἐσβαλών πολλούς τῶν Ῥωμαίων τοὺς μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν πλανωμένους ἀπροσδόκητός σφισι προσπεσών έφθειρε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκ μάχης κατέκοψε, κἀν τούτω καὶ τῶν χωρίων τὰ πλείω διὰ ταχέων ἀνε-2 κτήσατο. οι γαρ άνθρωποι εκείνου τε εύνοιαν εκ τε τοῦ ὁμοφύλου καὶ ἐκ τῆς πατρίου βασιλείας καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων μῖσος διά τε τὸ ὀθνεῖον καὶ διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφεστηκότων σφίσι κακουχεῖσθαι έχοντες, προσεχώρησάν τε αὐτῷ, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τον άρχοντα των έκει 'Ρωμαίων Μαρκον Φάβιον 3 ενίκησαν. οί τε γὰρ Θράκες οί πρότερον μεν τώ Μιθριδάτη μισθοφορήσαντες, τότε δὲ τῷ Φαβίω συνόντες, καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι οἱ ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαϊκῷ στρατοπέδφ όντες ίσχυρως αὐτοῖς έβοήθησαν. Ι οί τε γὰρ Θράκες ύπὸ τοῦ Φαβίου ές προσκοπὴν πεμφθέντες 4 οὖτε τι ὑγιὲς ἀνήγγειλαν αὐτῶ, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐκείνου τε άφυλακτότερον προϊόντος καὶ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου έξαίφνης οι προσπεσόντος συνεπέθεντο τοίς 'Ρωμαίοις, καὶ ἐν τούτω καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι ὶ ἐλευθερίαν σφίσι τοῦ βαρβάρου κηρύξαντος συνεπελάβοντο 5 τοῦ ἔργου. καὶ . . . ἀνάλωσαν ἄν, εἰ μὴ ὁ Μιθριδάτης . . . τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀναστρεφόμενος (καὶ γὰρ καὶ 2 ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη γεγονώς ἐμάχετο) λίθω τε ἐπλήγη καὶ δέος τοῖς βαρβάροις μη και ἀποθάνη παρέσχεν ἐπισχόντων γάρ σφων

καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι supplied by Reim.
 καὶ γὰρ καὶ Bs., καὶ γὰρ VP.

Lucius Fannius, whom he surrounded, however, and E.C. 68 besieged, until Lucullus learned of it and sent assistance.

Meanwhile Mithridates had invaded the other Armenia and the neighbouring districts. Here he fell upon and destroyed many of the Romans, to whom he appeared unexpectedly as they were wandering about the country, while others he killed in battle; and thereupon he promptly recovered most of the districts. For the people were well-disposed toward him because of kinship and because of his being hereditary monarch; and they likewise hated the Romans because these were foreigners and because they had been ill-treated by those set over Consequently they sided with Mithridates and later conquered Marcus Fabius, who was leader of the Romans there. For the Thracians, who had formerly served as mercenaries under Mithridates but were then with Fabius, and the slaves present in the Roman camp gave them valiant assistance. For the Thracians, when sent ahead by Fabius to reconnoitre, did not bring back to him any reliable report, and later, when he was proceeding in rather careless fashion and Mithridates suddenly fell upon him, they joined in the attack on the Romans; and at the same time the slaves, to whom the barbarian king had proclaimed freedom, took a hand in the affair. They would have destroyed [the Romans utterly] had not Mithridates, who, although over seventy years old, was in the battle, been struck by a stone while taking [a valiant?] part against the enemy. This caused the barbarians to fear that he might die; and while they halted battle on that

διὰ τοῦτο τὴν μάχην ἦδυνήθησαν ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ Φάβιος ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἀποφυγεῖν.

- Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐς τὰ Κάβειρα κατακλεισθεὶς 10 έπολιορκήθη μέν, ἐσώθη δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Τριαρίου. οὖτος γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ᾿Ασίας ταύτη πρὸς τὸν Λούκουλλον διιών, καὶ γνούς τὰ πεπραγμένα, δύναμίν τε 2 όσην οξόν τ' ην έκ των παρόντων ήθροισε, καὶ τὸν Μιθοιδάτην ώς καὶ 'Ρωμαϊκοῦ στρατοῦ πλήθει προσιών έξέπληξεν, ώστ' άναστήναι ποιήσαι πρίν καὶ ἐς ὄψιν αὐτοῦ ἐλθεῖν. κἀκ τούτου ἐπιθαρσήσας καὶ μέγρι τῶν Κομάνων ὑποφυνόντα αὐτὸν ἐπε-3 δίωξε, κάνταθθα ενίκησεν. ηθλίζετο μεν γάρ ο Μιθριδάτης έπὶ θάτερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ή οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι προσήεσαν, βουληθείς δέ σφισι κεκμηκόσιν έκ της πορείας συμμίξαι αὐτός τε προαπήντησε καὶ έτέρους δι' άλλης γεφύρας ἐν τῷ τῆς μάχης καιρῷ διαβάντας ἐπιθέσθαι προσέταξε καὶ αὐτὸν ἀγχώμαλα έπὶ πλείστον ἀγωνιζόμενον ἡ γέφυρα πολλών τε καὶ ἀθρόων ἄμα δι' αὐτῆς ἐπειγομένων . . . της τε επικουρίας άπεστέρησε καὶ προσδιετάραξε.
- 11 Καὶ οἱ μὲν μετὰ τοῦτ' (ἤδη γὰρ χειμὼν ἦν) ἀπεχώρησαν ἐς τὰ ἑαυτῶν τείχη ἀμφότεροι, καὶ ἡσύχαζον· τὰ δὲ δὴ Κόμανα τῆς τε νῦν Καππαδοκίας ἐστί, καὶ ἐδόκει τό τε τῆς 'Αρτέμιδος βρέτας τὸ Ταυρικὸν καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ 'Αγαμεμνόνειον δεῦρο ἀεὶ ἔχειν. καὶ ὅπως μὲν ἐς αὐτοὺς ταῦτα ἀφίκετο ἢ ὅπως διέμεινεν, οὐ δύναμαι τὸ 2 σαφὲς πολλῶν λεγομένων εὐρεῖν· δ δ' ἀκριβῶς

¹ Κομάνων Anon. in Reim.'s ed., κομαγηνών VP.

account Fabius and others were able to escape to B.C. 68 safety.

Fabius was subsequently shut up and besieged in Cabira, but was rescued by Triarius. The latter was in that vicinity on his way from Asia to Lucullus; and upon learning what had happened he collected as large a force as was possible in the circumstances and so alarmed Mithridates, who supposed he was advancing with the full strength of the Roman army, as to make him withdraw before ever he came in sight. At this Triarius took courage, and pursuing the king as far as Comana, whither he had retired, won a victory over him there. Mithridates was encamped on the opposite side of the river from the point which the Romans were approaching, and was anxious to join battle with them while they were worn out from the march. Accordingly, he advanced to meet them himself, and also directed that at the crisis of the battle others should cross by another bridge and attack them. But although he held his own in the struggle for a long time, he was not only deprived of the reinforcements but seriously embarrassed besides by [the collapse of] the bridge across which many were hastening and crowding all at once.

Later they both retreated to their own fortifications and rested, for it was now winter. Comana belongs to the present district of Cappadocia and was supposed to have possessed clear up to that time the Tauric statue of Artemis and the descendants of Agamemnon. As to how these reached them or how they remained there I cannot discover the truth, since there are various stories; but what I understand clearly I will

έπίσταμαι, φράσω. δύο αὖται πόλεις ἐν τῆ Καππαδοκία ὁμώνυμοι οὖτε πάνυ πόρρω ἀπ' ἀλλήλων
εἰσὶ καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν περιέχονται ¹ καὶ γὰρ μυθολογοῦσι καὶ δεικνύουσι τά τε ἄλλα πάντα ἐκ τοῦ
ὁμοίου, καὶ τὸ ξίφος ὡς αὐτὸ ἐκεῖνο τὸ τῆς Ἰφιγε-

νείας ον αμφότεραι έχουσι.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω τῷ δὲ επιγιγνομένω έτει, επί τε Μανίου 'Ακιλίου καὶ έπὶ Γαίου Πίσωνος ὑπάτων, ὁ μὲν Μιθριδάτης τῶ Τριαρίω πρὸς Γαζιούροις ἀντεκάθητο, προκαλού-2 μενός τε αμα αὐτὸν ἐς μάχην καὶ ἐξοργίζων (τά τε γαρ άλλα καὶ ἐν τῆ ἐπόψει τῆ τῶν Ῥωμαίων αὐτός τε ἤσκει καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ γυμνασίας ἐποιείτο), ὅπως πρὶν τὸν Λούκουλλον ἐπελθείν ἐκείνον τε συμβαλών, ωσπερ ήλπισε, κρατήση καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀνασώσηται, ἐπεὶ δ΄ οὐκ ἐκινείτο, πέμπει τινας προς Δάδασα φρούριον, εν ώ τα σκεύη τοις 'Ρωμαίοις απέκειτο, ίν' εκείνοις γε² 3 ἐπαμύνοντα αὐτὸν ἐς χείρας ὑπαγάγηται. καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως. ὁ γὰρ Τριάριος τέως μὲν τό τε πληθος τοῦ Μιθριδάτου φοβούμενος καὶ τὸν Λούκουλλον (μετεπέπεμπτο 3 γὰρ αὐτόν) προσδεχόμενος ήσυχίαν είχεν ώς δε τά τε Δάδασα πόλιορκούμενα επύθετο, καὶ οί στρατιώται δείσαντες περί αὐτοῖς ἐταράττοντο, καὶ ἐπηπείλουν, εἴ σφας μηδείς εξάγοι, καὶ αὐτοκέλευστοι βοηθήσειν σφίσι, 4 καὶ ἄκων έξανέστη. καὶ αὐτῷ οἱ βάρβαροι προχωροῦντι ἤδη προσπεσόντες τοὺς μὲν ἐν χερσὶ τῷ τε πλήθει σφῶν περιέσχον καὶ κατειργάσαντο, τους δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἐκφυγόντας ἀγνοία τοῦ

¹ περιέχονται Βk., περιέχουσι VP. ² γε Leunel., τε VP. ³ μετεπέπεμπτο Cobet. μετεπέμπετο VP.

state. There are two cities of this same name in Cappadocia, not very far apart, and they covet the same
honours; for the stories they tell, and likewise the
relics they exhibit, are the same in every case, including the sword, which each possesses, supposed to be
that which belonged to Iphigenia. So much for
this matter.

The following year, in the consulship of Manius B.C. 67 Acilius and Gaius Piso, Mithridates encamped opposite Triarius near Gaziura, with the purpose of challenging and provoking him to battle; in particular, he not only took his own exercise but also drilled the army in plain sight of the Romans. His hope was to engage and vanquish Triarius before Lucullus should come up, and thus recover the rest of his realm. when the other did not stir, he sent some men to Dadasa, a stronghold where the Romans' baggage was deposited, in order that his opponent might at least go to its defence and so be drawn into conflict. And thus it came about. Triarius, who feared the numbers of Mithridates and was awaiting Lucullus, whom he had sent for, was remaining quiet for the time; but when news came of the siege of Dadasa, and the soldiers in their fear for the place were becoming excited and were threatening that if no one would lead them forth they would go to the rescue at their own bidding, he reluctantly left his position. As he was now moving forward, the barbarians fell upon him, surrounded and overwhelmed by their numbers those near at hand, and then riding around, killed those who had fled into

19

τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς αὐτὸ ἐκτετράφθαι περιελαύνοντες 13 ἔκτεινον. καὶ πασσυδὶ ἄν σφας διέφθειραν, εἰ μὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τις πλασάμενος ὡς καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Μιθριδάτου συμμαχίδος ών (ἐν γὰρ τῷ αὐτῷ αὐτοῖς τρόπω συστρατευομένους, ώσπερ είπον, οὐκ ὀλίγους είχε) προσήλθέ τέ οι ώς και είπειν τι βουλόμενος, καὶ ἔτρωσεν αὐτόν. οὕτω γὰρ ἐκείνος μὲν συλληφθείς ἀπεσφάγη, ταραχθέντων δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο τῶν βαρβάρων συχνοὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δι-2 έφυγον. Μιθριδάτης μεν δη τό τε τραθμα ίᾶτο, καὶ προσυποπτεύσας καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν πολεμίων έν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ είναι, έξέτασιν τῶν στρατιωτών ώς καὶ κατ' άλλο τι ἐποιήσατο, καὶ κελεύσας σφάς ές τὰς ξαυτών σκηνάς ώς ξκάστους κατά τάχος άναχωρησαι κατεφώρασε, καὶ τοὺς 'Ρωμαίους μονωθέντας διέφθειρε.

14 Κάν τούτφ ὁ Λούκουλλος ἐπελθων δόξαν μέν τισι παρέσχεν ὡς καὶ ἐκείνου ῥαδίως κρατήσων καὶ πάντα τὰ προειμένα δι' ὀλίγου κομιούμενος,
2 οὐ μέντοι καὶ κατέπραξέ τι. ὅ τε γὰρ Μιθριδάτης ἐς τὰ μετέωρα τὰ ¹ πρὸς Ταλαύροις ὄντα ἱδρυθεὶς οὐκ ἀντεπήει αὐτῷ, καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτης ὁ ἔτερος ὁ ² ἐκ Μηδίας γαμβρὸς τοῦ Τιγράνου ἐσκεδασμένοις τοῦς Ῥωμαίοις ἐξαίφνης προσπεσὰν συχνοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν, ὅ τε Τιγράνης αὐτὸς προσιὰν ἠγγέλθη,
3 καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἐστασίασεν. οἱ γὰρ Οὐαλερίειοι³ οἱ τῆς τε στρατείας ἀφεθέντες καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' αὖθις στρατευσάμενοι ἐκινήθησαν μὲν καὶ ἐν τῆ Νισίβι ἔκ τε τῆς νίκης καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἡσυχίας, τοῦ

¹ τὰ supplied by Bs.
² ὁ inserted by Bk.
³ Οὐαλερίειοι Leunel., Οὐαλέριοι VP.

the plain not knowing that the river had been B.C. 67 directed into it. They would have destroyed them utterly, had not one of the Romans. pretending to belong to the allied force of Mithridates (for, as I have related, he had many of his troops equipped in the same manner as the Romans), approached the king, as if wishing to communicate something, and wounded him. To be sure. the fellow was immediately seized and put to death; but the barbarians were so excited over the occurrence that many of the Romans escaped. Mithridates, accordingly, was having his wound cured; and suspecting that there were others also of the enemy in the camp, he held a review of the soldiers, as if for a different purpose, and then ordered them to retire hastily every man to his own tent. In this way he detected the Romans and cut them down while they were left there by themselves.

At this juncture Lucullus arrived, and gave some the impression that he would conquer Mithridates easily and soon recover all that had been let slip; nevertheless, he accomplished nothing. For Mithridates, entrenched on the high ground near Talaura, would not come out against him, and the other Mithridates from Media, the son-in-law of Tigranes, fell suddenly upon the Romans while they were scattered, and killed many of them; also the approach of Tigranes himself was announced, and there was mutiny in the army. The Valerians, who, after being discharged, had later entered the service again, had been restless even at Nisibis on account of their victory and ensuing idleness, and also

¹ The Twentieth Legion was called the Valeria. (See Livy vi. 9.)

τε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἄφθονα ἔχειν, καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ Λουκούλλου τὰ πολλά, διὰ τὸ πολλαχόσε ἐκδημεῖν 4 αὐτόν, διαιτᾶσθαι, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι Πούπλιός τις Κλώδιος, δυ Κλαύδιου τινες εκάλεσαν, συνεστασίαζε σφας ὑπ' εμφύτου νεωτεροποιίας, καίπερ της άδελφης αὐτοῦ τῷ Λουκούλλω συνοικούσης. έταράχθησαν δὲ καὶ τότε ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὸν 'Ακίλιον τὸν ὕπατον, δς τῷ Λουκούλλω διάδοχος δι' ἄπερ εἶπον ἐξεπέμφθη, πλησιάζοντα ἐπύθοντο· έν γαρ ολιγωρία αὐτὸν ώς καὶ ιδιωτεύοντα ήδη 15 εποιούντο, ο ούν Λούκουλλος έκ τε τούτων, καί ότι παρὰ τοῦ Μαρκίου 1 τοῦ πρὸ τοῦ Ακιλίου ύπατεύσαντος, ές Κιλικίαν ής ἄρχειν ἔμελλε παριόντος, επικουρίαν αιτήσας οὐκ έτυχεν, εν απόρω 2 έγένετο, καὶ ὀκνήσας μεν διὰ κενης ἀναστηναι, δείσας δὲ καὶ κατὰ χώραν μεῖναι, ἐπὶ τὸν Τιγράνην ωρμησεν, εἴ πως ἐκεῖνόν τε ἀπροσδόκητόν τε αμα καὶ κεκμηκότα ἐκ τῆς όδοῦ τρέψαιτο, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τρόπον τινὰ διὰ τούτου παύσειε στασιάζοντας. οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐπιτυχὴς οὐδετέρου 3 εγένετο άκολουθήσαν γάρ αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα μέχρι πού τινος ὅθεν ἐς τὴν Καππαδοκίαν ἐκτραπέσθαι ήν, εκείσε πάντες όμοθυμαδόν, μηδε φθεγξάμενοί τι, ἀπετράποντο. καὶ οί γε Οὐαλερίειοι, μαθόντες ὅτι τῆς στρατείας παρὰ τοῖς οἴκοι τέλε-

σιν ἀφεῖνται, παντελῶς ἀπεχώρησαν.
16 Καὶ θαυμάση μηδεὶς ὅτι στρατηγικώτατος² ἀνδρῶν ὁ Λούκουλλος γενόμενος, καὶ πρῶτός τε Ὑρωμαίων τὸν Ταῦρον σύν τε στρατῷ καὶ ἐπὶ πολέμω διαβάς, καὶ δύο βασιλέας οὐκ ἀσθενεῖς

¹ Μαρκίου Xyl., μάρκου VP.

² στρατηγικώτατος Leunel. from Xiph., στρατηγικώτερος VP.

because they had had provisions in abundance and B.C. 67 had been left to themselves much of the time, while Lucullus was absent on numerous errands. it was largely a certain Publius Clodius (called Claudius by some) who through innate love of revolution brought the mutiny to a head, although his sister was married to Lucullus. At this time, however, they became turbulent again largely because they heard that Acilius, the consul, who had been sent out to relieve Lucullus for the reasons mentioned, was drawing near, and they accordingly regarded Lucullus with contempt, as being already a mere private citizen. Lucullus, then, was in perplexity, both for these reasons and because Marcius [Rex], Acilius' predecessor, who was on his way to Cilicia, his destined province, had refused a request of his for aid. He hesitated, on the one hand, to strike camp with no purpose in view, and he feared. on the other hand, to stand his ground; hence he set out against Tigranes, to see if he could repulse him while off his guard and tired from the march, and at the same time put a stop somehow to the mutiny of the soldiers. However, he attained neither object. The army accompanied him to a certain spot from which it was possible to turn aside into Cappadocia, when all with one consent without a word turned off in that direction. The Valerians, indeed, learning that they had been discharged by the authorities at home, withdrew altogether.

Let no one wonder that Lucullus, who had proved himself most skilful of all men in generalship, who was the first Roman to cross the Taurus with an army for warfare, and who had vanquished two power-

έπικρατήσας, έλών τ' αν είπερ ταχέως διαπολεμησαι έβεβούλητο, οὐκ έδύνατο τῶν συστρατευομένων οι ἄρχειν, άλλ' ἀεί τε ἐστασίαζον καὶ τέλος 2 έγκατέλιπου αὐτόν. πολλά τε γάρ σφισι προσέταττε, καὶ δυσπρόσοδος ἀκριβής τε ἐν ταῖς τῶν έργων απαιτήσεσι καὶ απαραίτητος έν ταις τιμωρίαις ὢν οὐκ ἠπίστατο οὕτε λόγω τινὰ 1 προσαγαγέσθαι οὔτε ἐπιεικεία ἀναρτήσασθαι, οὐ τιμαῖς,² οὐ χρημάτων μεταδόσει προσεταιρίσασθαι, ὧν πάντων ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν πλήθει, καὶ μάλιστα 3 στρατευομένω, δεί. καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' οἱ στρατιῶται, εως μεν εθ τε εφέροντο και τας αρπαγας ανταξίας των κινδύνων είχον, ήκροωντο αυτοθ, επεί δε έπταισαν καὶ ἐς φόβον ἀντὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων ἀντικατέστησαν, οὐδὲν ἔτι προετίμησαν. τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους ὁ Πομπήιος λαβών (καὶ γὰρ τοὺς Οὐαλεριείους αὖθις κατελέξατο) ούδ' όπωσοῦν στασιάζοντας έσχε. τοσοῦτον ἀνηρ ανδρός διαφέρει.

Τ΄ 'Ως δ' οὖν τοῦθ' οἱ στρατιῶται ἔπραξαν, πᾶσάν τε ὀλίγου τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἀνεκτήσατο καὶ τὴν Καππαδοκίαν ἰσχυρῶς ἐλυμήνατο, μήτε Λουκούλλου, προφάσει τοῦ τὸν 'Ακίλιον ἐγγὸς εἶναι, μήτε ἐκείνου προσαμύνοντος αὐτῆ·³ ἐπειγόμενος γὰρ πρότερον ὡς καὶ τὴν τοῦ Λουκούλλου νίκην ὑφαρπάσων, τότε, ἐπειδὴ τῶν γεγονότων ἤσθετο, οὕτε πρὸς τὰ στρατόπεδα ἤλθε καὶ ἐν τῆ Βιθυνία 2 ἐχρόνισε. Μάρκιος δὲ Λουκούλλω μὲν οὐκ ἐπεκούρησε, πρόσχημα τοὺς στρατιώτας ὡς οὐκ ἐθελήσαντάς οἱ ἀκολουθῆσαι ποιησάμενος, ἐς δὲ τὴν

τινὰ Oddey, τινὶ VP.
 τιμαῖς Rk., τιμῆς VP.
 αὐτῆς Reim., αὐτῆς VP.

ful kings and would have captured them if he had B.C. 67 chosen to end the war quickly, was unable to control his men, and that they were always revolting and finally deserted him. For he required a great deal of them, was difficult of access, strict in his demands for work, and inexorable in his punishments; he did not understand how to win over a man by persuasion, or to attach him by mildness, or to make a friend of him by conferring honours or bestowing wealth-all of which means are necessary, especially with a large crowd, and most of all with a crowd on a campaign. Hence the soldiers, as long as they prospered and got booty that was a fair return for their dangers, obeyed him; but when they encountered trouble and fear took the place of their hopes, they no longer heeded him at all. The proof of this is that Pompey took these same men-for he enrolled the Valerians again-and kept them without the slightest show of revolt. So much does one man differ from another.

After this action of the soldiers Mithridates won back almost all his domain and caused great havoc in Cappadocia, since neither Lucullus defended it, on the ground that Acilius was near, nor yet Acilius himself. For the latter had been hurrying in the first place to rob Lucullus of the victory, and now, when he learned what had taken place, he did not come to the camp, but delayed in Bithynia. As for Marcius, the pretext which he gave for not assisting Lucullus was that his soldiers refused to follow him. Instead, he went to Cilicia,

Κιλικίαν ἀφικόμενος Μενέμαχόν τινα ἀπαυτομολήσαντα ¹ ἀπὸ τοῦ ² Τιγράνου ἐδέξατο, καὶ τὸν Κλώδιον ἀποστάντα ἀπὸ τοῦ Λουκούλλου δέει τῶν ἐν τῆ Νισίβι γενομένων ἐπὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐπέστησεν ἀδελφὴν γάρ τινα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκεῖνος γυναῖκα εἶχε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἁλούς τε ἐς καταποντιστάς, καὶ ἀφεθεὶς ὑπ' ³ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πομπηίου φόβον, ἔς τε τὴν 'Αντιόχειαν τῆς Συρίας ἢλθεν ὡς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς 'Αραβίους, πρὸς οῦς τότε διεφέροντο, συμμαχήσων σφίσι, κἀνταῦθα στασιάζων τινὰς ὁμοίως ὁλίγου διεφθάρη.

Xiphilinus

- 17α Καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἄπασαν ἐχειρώσατο μετὰ τοῦτο, καίτοι πρὸς τοῦ Πομπηίου τοῦ Μάγνου, ἤδη τῆς θαλάσσης ξυμπάσης ἄρχοντος καὶ τῆς ἠπείρου ὅσον ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τριῶν, ἐμποδιζόμενός τε καὶ κωλυόμενος ὡς αὐτῷ προσηκουσῶν καὶ τῶν νήσων. ἀλλ' ὅμως καὶ ἄκουτος Πομπηίου τῷ Κρητικῷ πολέμῳ τέλος ὁ Μέτελλος ἐπιθεὶς θρίαμβόν τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κατήγαγε καὶ Κρητικὸς ἐπεκλήθη. Xiphil. p. 1, 13-20 Dind.
 - 18 φείδεται. δυναστείας τε ἐρῶν καὶ τοῖς Κρησὶ τοῖς ὁμολογήσασιν αὐτῷ προσέβαλε, καὶ οὕτε τὰς σπονδὰς προτεινομένων σφῶν ἐφρόντιζε, κακῶσαί τε αὐτοὺς πρὶν τὸν Πομπήιον ἐπελθεῖν ἠπείγετο. ὅ τε γὰρ ᾿Οκτάουιος ἄνευ δυνάμεως παρών (οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ πολέμῳ τινὶ ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ παραλήψει τῶν πόλεων ἐπέπεμπτο) ἡσυχίαν ἡγε·

 ¹ ἀπαυτομολήσαντα H. Steph., ἐπαυτομολήσαντα VP.
 ² ἀπὸ τοῦ Bs., τοῦ VP.
 ³ ὑπ' St., ἀπ' VP.

where he received one Menemachus, a deserter from B.C. 67 Tigranes, and also Clodius, who had left Lucullus out of fear because of the occurrence at Nisibis: the latter he put in command of the fleet, for he, too, had married one of Clodius' sisters. Now Clodius. after being captured by the pirates and released by them in consequence of their fear of Pompey, came to Antioch in Syria, declaring that he would be their ally against the Arabians, with whom they were then at variance. There, likewise, he stirred up a sedition and all but lost his life.

Xiphilinus

And [Metellus] later subjugated the entire island. although he was hindered and restrained by Pompey the Great, who was now in command of the whole sea and of the mainland for a three-days' march from the coast; for Pompey asserted that the islands also belonged to him. Nevertheless in spite of Pompey's opposition Metellus put an end to the Cretan war, celebrated a triumph in honour thereof, and was given the title of Creticus.

... [Metellus] spared. In his eagerness for power he attacked even the Cretans who had come to terms with the other [Pompey], and heedless of their claim that there was a truce, hastened to do them injury before Pompey should come up. Octavius, who was there, had no troops and so kept quiet; in fact he had not been sent to do any fighting, but

27

καὶ Κορνήλιος Σισέννας ὁ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄρχων ἦλθε μὲν ἐς τὴν Κρήτην, ὡς ταῦτ' ἐπύθετο, καὶ παρήνεσε τῷ Μετέλλω φείσασθαι τῶν δήμων, οὐ 2 μέντοι καὶ ἀντέπραξέ τι μὴ πείσας. ἄλλοις τε οὖν πολλοῖς ἐκεῖνος ἐλυμήνατο, καὶ Ἐλευθέραν την πόλιν ἐκ προδοσίας ἐλων ήργυρολόγησε· πύργον γάρ τινα οἱ προδιδόντες ἔκ τε πλίνθων πεποιημένον καὶ μέγιστον δυσμαχώτατόν τε όντα όξει συνεγώς νυκτός διέβρεξαν, ώστε θραυστόν γενέσθαι. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο Λάππαν, καίτοι τοῦ Όκταουίου αὐτὴν κατέχοντος, ἐκ προσβολῆς εἶλε, καὶ ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὐδὲν κακὸν εἰργάσατο, τοὺς δὲ δὴ 19 Κίλικας τούς σύν αὐτῷ ὄντας ἔφθειρεν. ἀγανακτήσας οὖν ἐπὶ τούτω ὁ Ὀκτάουιος οὐκέθ' ἡσύχασεν, άλλὰ πρότερον μὲν τῷ τοῦ Σισέννου στρατῷ (νοσήσας γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐτεθνήκει) χρώμενος έπεβοήθει πη τοις κακουμένοις, έπειτα δ' άνακομισθέντων αὐτῶν πρός τε τὸν 'Αριστίωνα ές Ίεράπυδνα 1 ἢλθε καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐπολέμει· οὖτος γὰρ ὡς τότε ἐκ τῆς Κυδωνίας ἀπεχώρησε Λούκιόν τέ τινα Βάσσον ἀνταναχθέντα οἱ ἐνίκησε καὶ 2 τὰ Ἱεράπυδνα ι κατέλαβέ. καὶ χρόνον μέν τινα έκαρτέρησαν, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Μετέλλου ἐπιόντος σφίσι τό τε τείχος έξέλιπον, καὶ έξαναχθέντες χειμῶνί τε έχρησάντο καὶ ές την γην έκπεσόντες συχνούς άπέβαλον. κάκ τούτου ὁ Μέτελλος πασαν την 3 νησον έχειρώσατο. Κρητες μέν οὖν οὕτως, έλεύθεροί τε πάντα τον έμπροσθεν χρόνον γενόμενοι καὶ δεσπότην όθνεῖον μηδένα κτησάμενοι, κατεδουλώθησαν Μέτελλος δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐπίκλησιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἔλαβε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Πανάρη τόν τε Λασθένη 1 'Ιεράπυδνα R. Steph., ίερα πυδνα and ίερα πύδνα L.

to take over the cities. Cornelius Sisenna, the B.C. 67 governor of Greece, did, to be sure, when he heard the news, come to Crete and advise Metellus to spare the towns, but on failing to persuade him offered no active opposition. Metellus in addition to many other injuries captured the city of Eleuthera by treachery and extorted money from it; for those who betraved it had by night repeatedly saturated with vinegar a very large brick tower, most difficult of capture, so that it became brittle. Next he took Lappa by storm, in spite of Octavius' occupancy of the place, and while he did the latter no harm, he put to death the Cilicians who were with him. Octavius, incensed at this, no longer remained quiet, but first used the army of Sisenna (that general had fallen sick and died) to aid here and there the victims of oppression, and then, when these troops had retired, proceeded to Aristion at Hierapydna and aided him in fighting. Aristion had just withdrawn from Cydonia, and after conquering one Lucius Bassus who sailed out to oppose him, had gained possession of Hierapydna. They held out for a time, but at the approach of Metellus left the stronghold and put to sea; they encountered a storm, however, and were driven ashore, losing many men. After this Metellus conquered the entire island. this way the Cretans, who had been free through all preceding ages and had never had a foreign master, became enslayed: and from their subjugation Metellus obtained his title. He was, however, unable to have Panares and Lasthenes, whom he had

(καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνον είλεν) οὐκ ἠδυνήθη πέμψαι ἐν τοῖς ἐπινικίοις· ὁ γὰρ Πομπήιος ἀναπείσας τῶν δημάρχων τινὰ προαφείλετο αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ ἑαυτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁμολογίαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνῷ προσχωρήσαντας.

Λέξω δὲ ἤδη καὶ τὰ 1 κατὰ τοῦτον πῶς ἐγένετο. 20 οί καταποντισταὶ έλύπουν μεν άεὶ τοὺς πλέοντας, ωσπερ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῆ γῆ οἰκοῦντας οἱ τὰς ληστείας ποιούμενοι· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτε ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐγένετο, οὐδ' ὰν παύσαιτό ποτε ἔως δὰν ἡ αὐτὴ φύσις 2 ἀνθρώπων ἢ. ἀλλὰ πρότερον μὲν ἔν τε τόποις τισὶ κάν τῆ ώραία² μόνη, κατ' όλίγους, καὶ ἐν τῆ γῆ καὶ έν τῆ θαλάσση ἐλήστευον τότε δέ, ἐξ οὖ πολλαχῆ τε ἄμα καὶ συνεχῶς ἐπολεμήθη, καὶ πολλαὶ μὲν πόλεις ἀνάστατοι ἐγένοντο, πᾶσι δὲ καὶ τοῖς διαφένγουσιν αὐτῶν αὶ τιμωρίαι ἐπηρτῶντο καὶ ἀδεὲς οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν ἢν, πάμπολλοι πρὸς ληστείαν ἐτρά-3 πουτο. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἡπείροις ληστικά, ἄτε καὶ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τῶν δήμων μᾶλλον ὄντα, καὶ τήν τε αἴσθησιν τῆς βλάβης ἐγγύθεν καὶ τὴν σύλληψιν οὐ πάνυ χαλεπην ἔχοντα, ραοίν πως κατελύετο, τὰ δὲ ἐν τῆ θαλάσση ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐπηυξήθη. τῶν γὰρ Ῥωμαίων πρὸς τοὺς ἀντι-πολέμους ³ ἀσχολίαν ἀγόντων ἐπὶ πολὺ ἤκμασαν, πολλαχόσε τε περιπλέοντες και πάντας τους όμοίους σφίσι προστιθέμενοι, ώστε τινάς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν συμμαχίας λόγφ συχνοῖς ἐπικουρῆσαι. 21 καὶ εἴρηται μὲν ὅσα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἔπραξαν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν καὶ ἐκεῖνα διελύθη, οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο, άλλ' αὐτοὶ καθ' έαυτοὺς πολλά καὶ δεινά τούς τε 'Ρωμαίους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους σφῶν ἐκακούργη-

¹ τὰ Leunel., τὸ L. ² ώραία Rk., ὥρα L. ³ ἀντιπολέμους Bernhardy, ἀντιπολεμίους L.

also captured, march in his triumph; for Pompey B.C. 67 got them away beforehand by persuading one of the tribunes that it was to him they had submitted in the settlement and not to Metellus.

I will now relate the progress of Pompey's career. Pirates always used to harass those who sailed the sea, even as brigands did those who dwelt on land. There was never a time when these practices were unknown, nor will they ever cease probably so long as human nature remains the same. But formerly freebooting was limited to certain localities and small bands operating only during the summer on sea and on land; whereas at this time, ever since war had been carried on continuously in many different places at once, and many cities had been overthrown, while sentences hung over the heads of all the fugitives, and there was no freedom from fear for anyone anywhere, large numbers had turned to plundering. Now the operations of the bandits on land, being better view of the towns, which could thus perceive the injury close at hand and capture the perpetrators with no great difficulty, would be broken up with a fair degree of ease; but those on the sea had grown to the greatest proportions. For while the Romans were busy with their antagonists, the pirates had gained great headway, sailing about to many quarters, and adding to their band all of like condition, to such an extent that some of them, after the manner of allies, assisted many others. Indeed, I have already related how much they accomplished in connection with When those wars had been ended, the pirates, instead of desisting, did much serious injury alone by themselves both to the Romans and to their

σαν. οὔτε γὰρ κατ' ὀλίγους ἔτι ἀλλὰ στόλοις μεγάλοις ἔπλεον, καὶ στρατηγούς είχον, ὥστε καὶ 2 ονομα αὐτοὺς μέγα κεκτήσθαι: ἦγόν τε καὶ ἔφερον πρώτους μεν καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς πλέοντας (οὐδε γὰρ την χειμερινην ώραν ἀσφαλη αὐτοῖς παρείχον, άλλ' ὑπό τε τῆς τόλμης καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔθους τῆς τε εὐπραγίας καὶ τότ' ἐπ' ἀδείας ταῖς ναυτιλίαις έχρωντο), έπειτα καὶ τοὺς έν τοῖς λιμέσιν ὄντας. 3 καὶ γὰρ εί τις ἀνταναχθηναί σφισιν ἐτόλμησε, μάλιστα μεν ήττηθεις απώλετο, εί δε και ενίκησεν, άλλ' έλειν γε αὐτῶν οὐδένα ὑπὸ τοῦ ταχυναυτείν σφας έδύνατο, καὶ οὕτως ὑποστρέφοντες διὰ βραχέος ώς καὶ κεκρατηκότες, τὰ μὲν ἔτεμνον καὶ κατεπίμπρων, οὐχ ὅτι χωρία καὶ ἀγρούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις όλας, τὰ δὲ καὶ ώκειοῦντο, ὥστε καὶ γειμάδια καὶ ὁρμητήρια καθάπερ ἐν φιλία γἢ ποιεῖσθαι.

22 Προχωρούντων δὲ αὐτοῖς τούτων καὶ ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον ἀνέβαινον, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἐκείνους τοὺς μηδὲ χρωμένους τἢ θαλάσση ἐλύπουν. καὶ ταῦτα οὐ τὴν ἔξω συμμαχίδα αὐτῶν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν 2 Ἰταλίαν αὐτὴν ἐποίουν· τά τε γὰρ κέρδη τὰ αὐτόθεν μείζω σχήσειν καὶ πάντας τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπὶ πλέον ἐκφοβήσειν, ὰν μηδὲ ἐκείνης ἀπέχωνται, νομίζοντες, ἔς τε τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ταύτη πόλεις καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ τὰ ἸΩστια ἐσέπλεον καὶ τάς τε ναῦς 3 ἔκαιον καὶ πάνθ' ἤρπαζον. καὶ τέλος, ὡς οὐδεμία σφῶν ἐπιστροφὴ ἐγίγνετο, τάς τε διατριβὰς ἐν τἢ γἢ ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὅσους μὴ διώλλυσαν, τά τε σῦλα, ὅσα ἐλάμβανον, ἀδεῶς 4 ὡς γε καὶ ἐν οἰκεία διετίθεντο. καὶ ἐλήστευον

allies. They no longer sailed in small force, but in B.C. 67 great fleets; and they had generals, so that they had acquired a great reputation. First and foremost they robbed and pillaged those sailing the sea, no longer permitting them any safety even during the winter season, since as the result of their daring, practice. and success they made voyages in security even then; and next they despoiled even those in the harbours. For if any one ventured to put out against them, he would usually be defeated and perish; but even if he conquered, he would be unable to capture any of the enemy by reason of the speed of their ships. Accordingly, they would return after a little, as if victors, and would ravage and set in flames not only farms and fields, but also whole cities; some places, however, they conciliated, so as to gain naval. stations and winter quarters in a friendly land as it were

As these operations of theirs met with success it became customary for them to go into the interior, and they inflicted many injuries on those even who had nothing to do with the sea. This is the way they treated not only the distant allies of Rome, but even Italy itself. For, believing that they would obtain greater gains in that quarter and also that they would terrify all the others still more if they did not even keep their hands off that country, they sailed into the very harbour of Ostia as well as other cities in Italy, burning the ships and pillaging everything. Finally, as no attention was paid to them, they took up their abode on the land, disposing fearlessly of whatever men they did not kill, and of whatever spoils they took, just as if they were in their own land. And though

33

μὲν ἄλλοι ἄλλοθι (οὐ γάρ που ἐν πάση ἅμα τῆ θαλάσση οἱ αὐτοὶ κακουργεῖν ἐδύναντο), τοσαύτη μέντοι φιλία πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐχρῶντο ὥστε σφᾶς καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἐπικουρίας καὶ τοῖς πάνυ ἀγνῶ-5 σιν ὡς καὶ οἰκειοτάτοις πέμπειν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτό γε οὐχ ἥκιστα ἴσχυσαν, ὅτι τούς τε θεραπεύοντάς τινας αὐτῶν πάντες ἐτίμων καὶ τοὺς προσκρούσαντάς τισι πάντες ἐλεηλάτουν.

23 'Ες τοσοῦτον μεν δή τὰ τῶν καταποντιστῶν ήρθη ώστε καὶ μέγαν καὶ συνεχή καὶ ἀπροφύλακτον καὶ ἄπιστον τὸν πόλεμον αὐτῶν γενέσθαι. οί δὲ δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι ἤκουον μέν που αὐτά, καί τινα καὶ ἐώρων (οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐπακτῶν ἐφοίτα σφίσι καὶ ή σιτοπομπία παντελώς ἀπεκέκλειτο), 2 οὐ μέντοι καὶ μεγάλην, ὅτε γε ἐχρῆν, φροντίδα αὐτῶν ἐποιήσαντο, ἀλλ' ἐξέπεμπον μὲν καὶ ναυτικὰ καὶ στρατηγούς, ὥς που καθ' ἔκαστον τῶν προσαγγελλομένων ἐκινοῦντο, ἔπραττον δ' οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολύ πλείω τοὺς συμμάχους δι' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐταλαιπώρουν, μέχρις οὐ ἐν παντὶ έγενοντο. τότε δὲ συνελθόντες ἐβουλεύσαντο ἐπὶ 3 πολλάς ήμέρας ὅ τι καὶ χρὴ πράξαι. τῆ τε γὰρ συνεχεία των κινδύνων τετρυχωμένοι, καὶ μέγαν καὶ πολύν τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον ὁρῶντες ὄντα, καὶ οὔθ' ἄμα πᾶσί σφισιν οὔτ' αὖ καθ' έκάστους προσπολεμήσαι δυνατόν είναι νομίζοντες (ἀλλήλοις τε γὰρ συνεβοήθουν, καὶ πανταχοῦ αμα ἀμήχανον ἡν αὐτοὺς ἀμύνασθαι) ἔν τε ἀπορία καὶ ἀνελπιστία τοῦ κατορθώσειν τι πολλή έγέ-4 νοντο, πρὶν δη Αὐλός τις Γαβίνιος 1 δήμαρχος 1 Γαβίνιος Bk., γαουίνιος L regularly.

some plundered here and some there, since of B.C. 67 course it was not possible for the same persons to do harm throughout the whole length of the sea at once, they nevertheless showed such friendship one for another as to send money and assistance even to those entirely unknown, as if to their nearest of kin. In fact, this was one of the chief sources of their strength, that those who paid court to any of them were honoured by all, and those who came into collision with any of them were despoiled by all.

To such an extent did the power of the pirates grow that their hostility became a grave and constant menace, admitting of no precaution and knowing no truce. The Romans, of course, heard of these deeds from time to time, and even saw a little of what was going on, inasmuch as imports in general ceased coming in and the corn supply was shut off entirely; but they paid no serious attention to it at the proper time. Instead, they would send out fleets and generals only as they were stirred by individual reports, but accomplished nothing; on the contrary, they caused their allies all the greater distress by these very means, until they were finally reduced to the last extremity. Then at length they came together and deliberated for many days as to what really should be done. Wearied by the continued dangers and perceiving that the war against the pirates would be a great and extensive one, and believing, too, that it was impossible to assail them all at once or yet individually, inasmuch as they helped one another and there was no way of driving them back everywhere at once, the people fell into great perplexity and despair of making any successful move. In the end, however, one Aulus

γνώμην ἔδωκεν, εἴτ' οὖν τοῦ Πομπηίου καθέντος αὐτόν, εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως χαρίσασθαί οἱ ἐθελήσας (οὐ γάρ που καὶ ὑπ' εὐνοίας αὐτὸ τῆς τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐποίησε· κάκιστος γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἦν), στρατηγὸν ἕνα αὐτοκράτορα ἐφ' ἄπαντας αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων ἐλέσθαι, τρισί τε ἔτεσιν ἄρξοντα καὶ δυνάμει παμπληθεῖ μεθ' ὑποστρατήγων πολλῶν 5 χρησόμενον. ἄντικρυς μὲν γὰρ τὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου ὄνομα οὐκ εἶπεν· εὕδηλον δὲ ἦν ὅτι, ἂν ἄπαξ τι τοιοῦτον ὁ ὅμιλος ἀκούση, ἐκεῖνον αἰρήσεται.

Καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτω· τήν τε γὰρ ἐσήγησιν αὐτοῦ ἀπεδέξαντο, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον παραχρῆμα πάντες πλην της γερουσίας απέκλιναν. γὰρ πᾶν ότιοῦν ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν παθεῖν μᾶλλον η ἐκείνω τοσαύτην ηγεμονίαν ἐγχειρίσαι ήρεῖτο·
καὶ ὀλίγου καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τὸν Γαβίνιον ἐν αὐτῷ 2 τῷ συνεδρίῳ. ὑπεκδράντος δ' οὖν πη αὐτοῦ μαθόντες οἱ πολλοὶ τὴν τῶν βουλευτῶν γνώμην έθορύβησαν, ώστε καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς συγκαθημένους έφορμησαι· καὶ εἴ γε μὴ έξεκεχωρήκεσαν, πάν-3 τως ἂν αὐτοὺς διεφθάρκεσαν. οἱ μὲν δὴ οὖν άλλοι σκεδασθέντες διέλαθον, Πίσωνα δε τον Γάιον τὸν ὕπατον (ἐπὶ γὰρ ἐκείνου τοῦ τε ᾿Ακιλίου ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο) συλληφθέντα καὶ μέλλοντα καὶ άντι των άλλων ἀπόλλυσθαι ὁ Γαβίνιος έξητήσατο. ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ δυνατοὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν την ήσυχίαν ήγον, ἀσμενίζοντες ἄν τίς σφας ζην ἐάση, τους δε δημάρχους τους εννέα ανέπεισαν εναντιω-4 θηναι τῷ Γάβιτίω. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι φοβηθέντες τὸ πλήθος οὐδὲν ἀντεῖπον, Λούκιος δὲ δή τις Τρεβέλλιος καὶ Λούκιος 'Ρώσκιος ἐτόλμη-1 μèν added by Rk.

BOOK-XXXVI

Gabinius, a tribune, set forth his plan. He had B.C. 67 either been prompted by Pompey or wished in any case to do him a favour; certainly he was not prompted by any love of the common welfare, for he was a most base fellow. His plan, then, was that they should choose from among the ex-consuls one general with full power against all the pirates, who should command for three years and have the use of a huge force, with many lieutenants. He did not directly utter Pompey's name, but it was easy to see that if once the populace should hear of any such proposition, they would choose him.

And so it came about. They adopted his motion and immediately all except the senate turned to Pompey. But that body preferred to suffer anything whatever at the hands of the freebooters rather than put so great command into Pompey's hands; in fact they came near slaying Gabinius in the very senate-house, but he eluded them somehow. When the people learned the feeling of the senators, they raised an uproar, even going so far as to rush upon them as they sat assembled; and if the senators had not gotten out of the way, they would certainly have killed them. So they all scattered and secreted themselves, except Gaius Piso the consul-for it was in the year of Piso and Acilius that these events took place; he was arrested and was about to perish for the others when Gabinius begged him off. After this the optimates themselves held their peace, happy if only they might be allowed to live, but tried to persuade the nine tribunes to oppose Gabinius. None of these, however, except one Lucius Trebellius and Lucius Roscius, would say a word in opposition, through fear of the multitude;

σαν μέν, οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν δὲ οὔτ' εἰπεῖν τι ὧν ὑπέσχηντο οὔτε πρᾶξαι. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡ κυρία ἡμέρα, ἐν ἡ τὴν γνώμην ἐπικυρωθῆναι ἔδει, ἐνέστη, τάδε ἐγένετο.

5 'Ο Πομπήιος ἐπιθυμῶν μὲν πάνυ ἄρξαι, καὶ ἤδη γε ὑπό τε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φιλοτιμίας καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ δήμου σπουδῆς οὐδὲ τιμὴν ἔτι τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἀτιμίαν τὸ μὴ τυχεῖν αὐτοῦ νομίζων εἶναι, τὴν δὲ ἀντίταξιν τῶν δυνατῶν ὁρῶν, ἠβουλήθη δοκεῖν 6 ἀναγκάζεσθαι. ἤν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως ὡς ἤκιστα προσποιούμενος ἐπιθυμεῖν ὧν ἤθελε· τότε δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον, διά τε τὸ ἐπίφθονον ἄν γε ἑκῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντιποιήσηται, καὶ διὰ τὸ ¹ εὐκλεὲς ἄν γε καὶ ἄκων ὥς γε καὶ ἀξιοστρατηγητότατος² ὧν

ἀποδειχθη, ἐπλάττετο.

25 Καὶ παρελθων ἔφη "χαίρω μὲν τιμώμενος ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ὡ Κυιρῖται φύσει τε γὰρ πάντες ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἐγκαλλωπίζονται ταῖς παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν εὐεργεσίαις, καὶ ἐγώ, ἄτε δὴ πολλάκις τῆς παρὸ ὑμῶν τιμῆς ἀπολελαυκώς, οὐκ ἔχω πῶς κατ' ἀξίαν ἡσθῶ τοῖς παροῦσιν οὐ μέντοι οὔθ' ὑμῖν νομίζω προσήκειν ἀπλήστως οὔτω πρός με διακεῖσθαι, οὔτε ἐμοὶ διὰ παντὸς ἔν τινι ἡγεμονία εἶναι. αὐτός τε γὰρ ἐκ παίδων κέκμηκα, καὶ ὑμᾶς δεῖ καὶ περὶ 2 τοὺς ἄλλους σπουδάζειν. ἢ οὐ μέμνησθε ὅσα μὲν ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν Κίνναν πολέμω ἐταλαιπώρησα, καίτοι κομιδῆ νέος ἄν, ὅσα δὲ ἔν τε τῆ Σικελία καὶ ἐν τῆ 'Αφρικῆ ἔκαμον, μηδέπω καθαρῶς ἐς ἐφήβους τελῶν, ὅσα δὲ ἐν τῆ 'Ιβηρία ἐκινδύνευσα, μηδὲ βουλεύων πω; ἐφ' οῖς ἄπασιν οὐχ ὅτι

¹ το Leunel., τοῦτο το L.

² άξιοστρατηγητότατος Bk., άξιοστρατηγότατος L.

and those two men, who had the courage, were B.C. 67 unable to fulfil any of their promises by either word or deed. For when the appointed day came on which the measure was to be ratified, things went as follows.

Pompey, who was very eager to command, and because of his own ambition and the zeal of the populace no longer now so much regarded this commission as an honour as the failure to win it a disgrace, when he saw the opposition of the optimates, desired to appear forced to accept. He was always in the habit of pretending as far as possible not to desire the things he really wished, and on this occasion did so more than ever, because of the jealousy that would follow, should he of his own accord lay claim to the leadership, and because of the glory, if he should be appointed against his will as the one most worthy to command.

He now came forward and said: "I rejoice, Quirites, in being honoured by you. All men naturally take pride in benefits conferred upon them by their fellow-citizens, and I, who have often enjoyed honours at your hands, scarcely know how to be properly pleased on the present occasion. Nevertheless, I do not think it fitting either that you should be so insatiable with regard to my services or that I myself should continually be in some position of command. For I have toiled since boyhood, and, as for you, you ought to be favouring others as well. Do you not recall how many hardships I underwent in the war against Cinna, though I was the veriest youth, and how many labours in Sicily and in Africa before I had as yet come fully of age, or how many dangers I encountered in Spain before I was even a senator? I will not

3 ἀχάριστοι πρός με ἐγένεσθε ἐρῶ. πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ· πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὧν πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων παρ' ύμῶν ηξιώθην, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ πιστευθηναί με την έπι τον Σερτώριον στρατηγίαν, μηδενος άλλου μήτ' έθελήσαντος μήτε δυνηθέντος αὐτὴν ὑποστῆναι, τό τε ἐπινίκια καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνη παρὰ τὸ νενομισμένον πέμψαι μεγίστην μοι τιμήν 4 ήνεγκεν. άλλ' ὅτι πολλὰς μὲν φροντίδας πολλούς δὲ κινδύνους ὑπέμεινα, κατατέτριμμαι μὲν τὸ σωμα, πεπόνημαι δὲ τὴν γνώμην. μὴ γὰρ ὅτι νέος ἔτ' εἰμὶ λογίζεσθε, μηδ' ὅτι ἔτη ¹ τόσα καὶ τόσα 5 γέγονα ἀριθμεῖσθε. ἃν γάρ τοι καὶ τὰς στρατείας ἃς ἐστράτευμαι καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους οὺς κεκινδύνευκα ἀναριθμήσητε, πολύ γε πλείους αὐτοὺς τῶν έτων ευρήσετε, και μαλλον ούτω πιστεύσετε ότι ούτε πρὸς τοὺς πόνους οὔτε πρὸς τὰς φροντίδας καρτερείν έτι δύναμαι.

26 "Εἰ δ' οὖν τις καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντέχοι, ἀλλ' ὁρᾶτε ὅτι καὶ ἐπίφθονα καὶ μισητὰ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτά ἐστιν· ἄπερ ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγφ τίθεσθε (οὐδὲ γὰρ καλῶς ἔχει προσποιεῖσθαί τι ὑμᾶς αὐτῶν), ἐμοὶ μέντοι βαρύτατα ἂν γένοιτο, 2 καὶ ὁμολογῶ γε μηδ' ² ὑφ' ἐνὸς οὕτω τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις δεινῶν μήτε ἐκταράττεσθαι μήτε λυπεῖσθαι ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων. τίς μὲν γὰρ ἂν εὖ φρονῶν ἡδέως παρ' ἀνθρώποις φθονοῦσιν αὐτῷ ζώη, τίς δ' ἂν δημόσιόν τι διοικῆσαι προθυμηθείη μέλλων, ἂν μὲν ἀποτύχη, δίκην ὑφέξειν, ἂν δὲ 3 κατορθώση, ζηλοτυπηθήσεσθαι; ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μὲν γέγονα. ² μηδ' Βκ., βτι L. Madvig had supplied ἔτη before γέγονα.

say that you have shown yourselves ungrateful B.C. 67 toward me for all these labours. How could I? On the contrary, in addition to the many other important favours of which you have deemed me worthy, the very fact that I was entrusted with the command against Sertorius, when no one else was either willing or able to undertake it, and that I celebrated a triumph, contrary to custom,1 upon resigning it, brought me the greatest honour. But inasmuch as I have undergone many anxieties and many dangers, I am worn out in body and wearied in soul. Do not keep reckoning that I am still young, and do not calculate that I am so and so many years old. For if you will count up the campaigns that I have made as well as the dangers I have faced, you will find them far more in number than my years, and in this way you will more readily believe that I can no longer endure either the hardships or the anxieties.

"If any of you, now, should persist in your demand, in spite of all this, just observe that all such positions are causes of jealousy and hatred. This consideration you hold of no account—indeed, it is not fitting that you should pretend to regard it—but to me it would prove most grievous. And I confess that I am not so much disturbed or troubled by any danger to be encountered in the midst of wars as by such a position. For what person in his right mind could take pleasure in living among men who are jealous of him? And who would be eager to carry out any public business if destined in case of failure to stand trial, and in case of success to incur jealousy? In view, then, of these and other con-

¹ Pompey was the first knight to celebrate a triumph.

καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τάλλα συγχωρήσατε τήν τε ήσυχίαν ἄγειν καὶ τὰ ἐμαυτοῦ πράττειν, ἵν' ήδη ποτε και των οικείων επιμεληθώ και μή κατατριφθείς ἀπόλωμαι ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τοὺς καταποντιστὰς ἄλλον χειροτονήσατε. συχνοὶ δέ εἰσι καὶ βουλόμενοι ναυαρχῆσαι καὶ δυνάμενοι, καὶ νεώτεροι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι, ώστε τὴν αίρεσιν ὑμιν 4 ράδίαν ἐκ πολλῶν γενέσθαι. οὐ γάρ που ἐγὼ μόνος ὑμᾶς φιλῶ ἢ καὶ μόνος ἐμπείρως τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔχω, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ δείνα καὶ ὁ δείνα, ΐνα μη και χαρίζεσθαί τισι δόξω ονομαστί κατα-

λέξας."

27 Ταῦτα αὐτοῦ δημηγορήσαντος ὁ Γαβίνιος ὑπολαβων είπεν "Πομπήιος μέν, & Κυιριται, καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἄξιον των έαυτοῦ ήθων ποιεί, μήτε έφιέμενος της άρχης μήτε διδομένην οι αὐτην έξ 2 ἐπιδρομῆς δεχόμενος. οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως ἀγαθοῦ άνδρός έστιν ἄρχειν ἐπιθυμεῖν καὶ τὰ ¹ πράγματ' ἔχειν ἐθέλειν κἀν τούτφ προσήκει πάντα τὰ προσταττόμενα μετ' ἐπισκέψεως ὑφίστασθαι, ἵν' αὐτὰ καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ὁμοίως πράξη. τὸ μὲν γὰρ προπετές εν ταις ύποσχέσεσιν, όξύτερον και έν ταις πράξεσι τοῦ καιροῦ γιγνόμενον, πολλοὺς σφάλλει, τὸ δ' ἀκριβὲς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐν τοις ἔργοις ὅμοιον διατελει δν καὶ πάντας ὀνίνησιν. 3 ύμᾶς δὲ δὴ χρὴ μὴ τὸ τούτῳ κεχαρισμένον ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆ πόλει συμφέρον ἐλέσθαι. οὐ γάρ που τοὺς σπουδαρχοῦντας ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους προστάττειν τοῖς πράγμασι προσήκει ἐκείνους μὲν γὰρ πάνυ πολλούς, τοιοῦτον δὲ δή τινα ἄλλον 4 οὐδένα εὐρήσετε. μέμνησθε δὲ ὅσα καὶ οἶα

siderations allow me to remain undisturbed and to B.C. 67 attend to my own business, so that now at last I may bestow some care upon my private affairs and may not perish from exhaustion. Against the pirates elect somebody else. There are many who are at once willing and able to serve as admirals, both young men and old, so that your choice from so many becomes easy. Surely I am not the only one who loves you, nor am I alone skilled in warfare; so also is this man, and the next man—not to seem to favour anybody by mentioning names."

When he had delivered this speech, Gabinius answered him, saying: "Pompey's behaviour in this very matter, Quirites, is worthy of his character: he does not seek the leadership, nor does he accept it off-hand when offered to him. For a good man has no business, in any case, to desire to hold office and to manage public affairs; and in the present instance it is fitting that one should undertake all the tasks imposed only after due consideration, in order that he may accomplish them with corresponding safety. Rashness in making promises, which leads to inopportune haste also in carrying them out, causes the downfall of many; but sureness at the outset remains the same in action, and is to the advantage of all. You, however, must choose not what is pleasing to Pompey, but what is of benefit to the state. Not office-seekers, but those who are capable should be put in charge of affairs; the former are very numerous, but you will not find any other such man as Pompey. Recall, furthermore, how many reverses and how serious we

ἐπάθομεν ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν Σερτώριον πολέμφ στρατηγού δεόμενοι, καὶ ὅτι οὐδένα ἔτερον οὔτε τῶν νεωτέρων οὖτε τῶν πρεσβυτέρων άρμόζοντα αὐτῷ εὕρομεν, ἀλλὰ ¹ τοῦτον καὶ τότε μηδέπω μήθ ἡλικίαν ἔχοντα μήτε βουλεύοντα καὶ ἀντὶ 5 αμφοτέρων των ύπατων έξεπέμψαμεν. βουλοίμην μεν γὰρ ὰν πολλούς ὑμῖν ἀγαθούς ἄνδρας εἶναι, καὶ είγε καὶ εὔξασθαι δεῖ, εὐξαίμην ἄν ἐπεὶ δ' ουτ' 2 ευχής 3 το πράγμα τοῦτό ἐστιν οὐτ' αὐτόματόν τω παραγίγνεται, άλλα δεί και φυναί τινα πρὸς αὐτὸ ἐπιτηδείως, καὶ μαθεῖν τὰ πρόσφορα, καὶ ἀσκῆσαι τὰ προσήκοντα, καὶ παρὰ πάντα ἀγαθῆ τύχη χρῆσθαι, ἄπερ που σπανιώτατα ἂν τῶ 6 αὐτῷ ἀνδρὶ συμβαίη, χρη πάντας ὑμᾶς ὁμοθυμαδόν, ὅταν τις τοιοῦτος εὐρεθῆ, καὶ σπουδάζειν αὐτὸν καὶ καταχρησθαι αὐτῷ, κὰν μὴ βούληται. καλλίστη γάρ ή τοιαύτη βία καὶ τῷ ποιήσαντι καὶ τῷ παθόντι γίγνεται, τῷ μὲν ὅτι σωθείη ἂν ὑπ' αὐτῆς, τῷ δὲ ὅτι σώσειεν ἂν τοὺς πολίτας, ύπερ ων και το σωμα και την ψυχην ο γε χρηστος καὶ φιλόπολις ετοιμότατα αν επίδοίη.

28 " Ή οἴεσθε ὅτι Πομπήιος οὖτος ἐν μὲν μειρακίφ καὶ στρατεύεσθαι καὶ στρατηγεῖν καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα αὔξειν καὶ τὰ τῶν συμμάχων σώζειν τά τε τῶν ἀνθισταμένων προσκτᾶσθαι ἐδύνατο, νῦν δὲ ἀκμάζων καὶ ἐν ταύτη τῆ ἡλικία ὢν ἐν ἤ πᾶς τις ἄριστος αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ ἡ γίγνεται, καὶ ἐμπειρίαν ἐκ τῶν πολέμων πλείστην ὅσην προσειληφώς, οὐκ ἂν ὑμῖν χρησιμώτατος γένοιτο; ἀλλὶ ὂν ἔφηβον ὄντα ἄρχειν εἴλεσθε, τοῦτον ἄνδρα γεγονότα ἀποδοκιμάσετε;

ἀλλὰ Βk., ἀλλὰ καὶ L.
 ἐ ἐχῆs Xyl., εὐχαῖs L.
 ἀ ἀτοῦ R. Steph., αὐτοῦ L.

experienced in the war against Sertorius through B.C. 67 lack of a general, and that we found no one else equal to the task, either among the young or the old, except this man, and that we actually sent him out in place of both consuls, although at that time he neither had reached the proper age as yet nor was a member of the senate. I should be glad, of course, if you had a great many able men, and if I ought to pray for such, I would so pray; but since this ability is not a matter of prayer and does not come of its own accord to any one, but a man must be born with a natural bent for it, must learn what is pertinent and practise what is fitting and above everything must enjoy good fortune throughout,—all which would very rarely fall to the lot of the same man,-vou must all with one accord, whenever such an one is found, both support him and make the fullest use of him, even if he does not wish it. Such compulsion proves most noble both in him who exerts it and in him who suffers it: to the former because he may be saved by it, and to the latter because he may thus save the citizens, in whose behalf the excellent and patriotic man would most readily give up both body and life.

"Or do you think that this Pompey who in his boyhood could make campaigns, lead armies, increase your possessions, preserve those of your allies, and acquire those of your adversaries, could not now, in the prime of life, when every man is at his best, and with a great fund of added experience gained from wars, prove most useful to you? Will you reject, now that he has reached man's estate, him whom as a youth you chose as leader? Will you not confide

καὶ ὧ ίππεῖ ἔτ' ὄντι τοὺς πολέμους ἐκείνους ένεχειρίσατε, τούτω βουλής γεγουότι την στρα-3 τείαν ταύτην οὐ πιστεύσετε; καὶ οῦ καὶ πρὶν άκριβῶς πειραθηναι, μόνου πρὸς τὰ τότε κατ-επείξαντα ὑμᾶς ἐδεήθητε, τούτω νῦν, ἰκανώτατα αὐτοῦ πεπειραμένοι, τὰ παρόντα οὐδὲν ἡττον έκείνων ἀναγκαῖα ὄντα οὐκ ἐπιτρέψετε; καὶ δυ οὐδὲ ἄρχειν ἔτι πω καὶ τότε δυνάμενον ἐπὶ τὸν Σερτώριον έχειροτονήσατε, τοῦτον ὑπατευκότα 4 ήδη ἐπὶ τοὺς καταποντιστὰς οὐκ ἐκπέμψετε; ἀλλὰ μήθ' ύμεις άλλως πως ποιήσητε, και σύ, ω Πομπήιε, πείσθητι καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ τῆ πατρίδι. ταύτη γὰρ γεγέννησαι καὶ ταύτη τέθραψαι καὶ δεί σε τοίς τε συμφέρουσιν αὐτη δουλεύειν, καὶ ύπερ αὐτῶν μήτε πόνον τινὰ μήτε κίνδυνον έξίστασθαι, ἀλλὰ κὰν ἀποθανεῖν ἀνάγκη σοι γένηται, μη την είμαρμένην ἀναμείναι ἀλλὰ τῷ προστυ29 χόντι θανάτφ χρησθαι. γελοίος δὲ δήπουθέν είμι ταθτα έγω σοί παραινών, δστις έν τοσούτοις καὶ τηλικούτοις πολέμοις καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ 2 την προς την πατρίδα εύνοιαν επιδέδειξαι. πείσθητι οὖν καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ τούτοις, μηδὲ ὅτι τινὲς φθονοῦσι φοβηθῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι αὐτὸ τοῦτο μαλλον σπούδασον, ώστε πρός τε την παρά των πλειόνων φιλίαν καὶ πρὸς τὰ κοινή πᾶσιν ἡμῖν συμφέροντα καὶ τῶν βασκαινόντῶν σε κατα-3 φρόνει. καὶ εἴγε καὶ λυπῆσαί τι αὐτοὺς ἐθέλεις, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἄρξον, ἵνα καὶ ἐκείνους ἀνιάσης παρά γνώμην αὐτῶν καὶ ἡγεμονεύσας καὶ εὐδοκιμήσας, καὶ αὐτὸς ἄξιον σεαυτοῦ τέλος τοῖς προκατειργασμένοις έπαγάγης, πολλών και μεγάλων κακών ήμας απαλλάξας.

this campaign to the man, now become a member of B.C. 67 the senate, to whom while still a knight you committed those wars? Will you not, now that you have most amply tested him, entrust the present emergency, no less pressing than the former ones, to him for whom alone you asked in the face of those urgent dangers, even before you had carefully tested him? Will you not send out against the pirates one, now an ex-consul, whom, before he could yet properly hold office, you chose against Sertorius? Nay, do not think of adopting any other course; and as for you, Pompey, do you heed me and your country. For her you were born, for her you were reared. You must serve her interests, shrinking from no hardship or danger to secure them; and should it become necessary for you to lose your life, you must in that case not await your appointed day but meet whatever death comes to you. But truly it is absurd for me to offer this advice to you who have in so many and so great conflicts exhibited both your bravery and your love for your country. Heed me, therefore, as well as these citizens here, and do not fear because some are envious. Rather press on all the more for this very reason, and in comparison with the friendship of the majority and the common advantage of us all, scorn your traducers. And, if you are willing even to grieve them a little, take command for this very reason, that you may vex them by conducting the war and winning applause contrary to their expectations, and that you may yourself set a crown worthy of your-self upon your former achievements, by ridding us of many great evils."

30 Τοιαθτα δή τοθ Γαβινίου εἰπόντος ὁ Τρεβέλλιος έπειράθη μεν αντειπείν, ως δ' οὐδενος λόγου ἔτυ-2 χεν, ήναντιοῦτο μὴ ¹ τὴν ψῆφον δοθῆναι. ὁ οὖν Γαβίνιος ἀγανακτήσας τὴν μὲν περὶ τοῦ Πομπήου διαψήφισιν ἐπέσχεν, ἐτέραν δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ έκείνου αντεσήγει καὶ έδοξεν έπτακαίδεκα φυλαίς ταις πρώταις χρηματισάσαις άδικειν τε αὐτὸν καὶ μηκέτι χρηναι δημαρχείν. μελλούσης οὖν καὶ τῆς ὀκτωκαιδεκάτης τὰ αὐτὰ ψηφιεῖσθαι 3 μόλις ποτε ό Τρεβέλλιος εσιώπησεν. ίδων δε τοῦτο ὁ Ῥώσκιος φθέγξασθαι μὲν οὐδὲν ἐτόλμησε, την δε δη χείρα ἀνατείνων δύο ἄνδρας ἐκέλευέ σφας ελέσθαι, ὅπως ἔν γε τούτω τῆς δυναστείας τι² τῆς τοῦ Πομπηίου παρατέμοιτο. ταθτ' οθν αθτοθ χειρονομοθντος δ δμίλος μέγα καὶ ἀπειλητικὸν ἀνέκραγεν, ώστε κόρακά τινα ύπερπετόμενόν σφων ἐκπλαγῆναι καὶ πεσεῖν 4 ὥσπερ ἐμβρόντητον. γενομένου δὲ τούτου ἐκεῖνος μεν την ήσυχίαν οὐ τῆ γλώττη ἔτι μόνον άλλα καὶ τῆ χειρὶ ἤγαγεν, ὁ δὲ δη Κάτουλος άλλως μεν εσιώπα, τοῦ δε δη Γαβινίου προτρεψαμένου τι αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τά τε πρῶτα τῆς βουλής ήν καὶ εδόκει δι εκείνου καὶ τους άλλους 5 όμογνωμονήσειν σφίσι (καὶ γὰρ ἤλπιζεν αὐτόν, έξ ὧν τοὺς δημάρχους πάσχοντας εἶδε, συνεπαινέσειν), λόγου τε ἔτυχεν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἦδοῦντο πάντες αὐτὸν καὶ ἐτίμων ὡς τὰ συμφέροντά σφισι καὶ λέγοντα ἀεὶ καὶ πράττοντα, καὶ ἐδημηγόρησε τοιάδε.

31 ""Οτι μὲν ἐς ὑπερβολήν, ὡ Κυιρῖται, πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ὑμῶν ἐσπούδακα, πάντες που σαφῶς ¹ μὴ Βk, τὸ μὴ L. ² τι added by St. from Xiph.

When Gabinius had thus expressed himself, B.C. 67 Trebellius attempted to speak in opposition; but failing to receive leave to speak, he proceeded to oppose the taking of a vote. Gabinius was naturally incensed, and postponed the vote regarding Pompey, while he introduced a new motion concerning Trebellius himself. The first seventeen tribes to give their decision voted that Trebellius was at fault and ought no longer to be tribune. And not until the eighteenth was on the point of voting the same way was he with difficulty induced to maintain silence. Roscius, seeing this, did not dare to utter a word, but by a gesture of his raised hand urged them to choose two men, so that he might by so doing cut off a little of Pompey's power. At this gesture of his the crowd gave a great threatening shout, whereat a crow flying above their heads was so startled that it fell as if struck by lightning. After that Roscius kept quiet not only with his tongue but with his hand as well. Catulus would have remained silent, but Gabinius urged him to make some speech, inasmuch as he was the foremost man in the senate and it seemed likely that through him the rest might be brought to the same way of thinking; for it was Gabinius' expectation that he would join in approving the proposal as a result of the plight in which he saw the tribunes. Accordingly Catulus received permission to speak, since all respected and honoured him as one who at all times spoke and acted for their advantage, and he addressed them somewhat as follows:

"That I have been exceedingly zealous, Quirites, in behalf of you, the people, you all, no doubt, clearly

49

ἐπίστασθε· τούτου δὲ δὴ οὕτως ἔχοντος ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι πάντα ἁπλῶς, ἃ γιγνώσκω συμφέρειν τη πόλει, μετὰ παρρησίας εἶπεῖν, καὶ ύμιν προσήκον ἀκοῦσαί τε μεθ' ήσυχίας αὐτῶν 2 καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο βουλεύσασθαι· θορυβήσαντες μὲν γὰρ ἴσως τι καὶ χρήσιμον δυνηθέντες ἂν μαθεῖν οὐχὶ λήψεσθε, προσέχοντες δὲ τοῖς λεγομένοις πάντως τι τῶν συμφερόντων ὑμῖν ἀκριβῶς μενοίς παντως τι των συμφεροντων υμιν ακριρώς εύρήσετε. έγω τοίνυν πρώτον μεν και μάλιστά φημι δείν μηδενι ένι ἀνδρι τοσαύτας κατὰ τὸ έξης ἀρχὰς ἐπιτρέπειν. τοῦτο γὰρ και ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ἀπηγόρευται και πείρα σφαλερώτατον ὂν πεφώραται. οὕτε γὰρ τὸν Μάριον ἄλλο τι ὡς εἰπεῖν τοιοῦτον ἐποίησεν ἢ ὅτι τοσούτους τε ἐν ὀλιγίστω χρόνω πολέμους ἐνεχειρίσθη και 4 ὕπατος εξάκις εν βραχυτάτω εγενετο, οὔτε τὸν Σύλλαν ἢ ὅτι τοσούτοις ἐφεξῆς ἔτεσι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν στρατοπέδων ἔσχε καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δικτάτωρ, εἶθ ὕπατος ἀπεδείχθη. οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐν τῆ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσει ψυχήν, μὴ ὅτι νέαν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρεσβυτέραν, ἐν ἐξουσίαις ἐπὶ πολύν χρόνον ένδιατρίψασαν τοις πατρίοις έθεσιν εθέλειν έμ-32 μένειν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐχ ὡς καὶ κατεγνωκώς τι τοῦ Πομπηίου λέγω, ἀλλ' ὅτι μήτ' ἄλλως συνενεγκόν ποτε ύμιν φαίνεται μήτε έκ των νόμων έπιτέτραπται. καὶ γὰρ εἴτε τιμὴν τοῖς ἀξιουμένοις αὐτοῦ φέρει, πᾶσιν αὐτῆς, οἶς γε ἐπιβάλλει, προσήκει τυγχάνειν (τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν ἡ δημοκρατία), εἴτε κάματον, καὶ τούτου πρὸς τὸ μέρος πάντας μεταλαμβάνειν δεί (τοῦτο γάρ έστιν ή ζσομοιρία).

 1 μηδενὶ ένὶ ἀνδρὶ Rk.. μηδενὶ ἀνδρὶ L. 2 ἔθεσιν Turn., ἤθεσιν L.

understand. This being so, it is incumbent upon me $^{\text{H.C.}}$ 67 to set forth in simple fashion and with frankness what I know to be for the good of the state; and it is only fair for you to listen calmly and then deliberate afterwards. For, if you raise an uproar, you will perhaps fail to receive some useful suggestion which you might have heard; but if you pay attention to what is said, you will be sure to discover something definitely to your advantage. I, for my part, assert first and foremost that it is not proper to entrust to any one man so many positions of command one after another. This has not only been forbidden by the laws, but has also been found by experience to be most perilous. What made Marius what he became was practically nothing else than being entrusted with so many wars in the shortest space of time and being made consul six times in the briefest period; and similarly Sulla became what he was because he held command of the armies so many years in succession, and later was appointed dictator, then consul. For it does not lie in human nature for a person—I speak not alone of the young but of the mature as well-after holding positions of authority for a long period to be willing to abide by ancestral customs. Now I do not say this in any disparagement of Pompey, but because it does not appear ever to have been of advantage to you in any way, and in particular because it is not permitted by the laws. Indeed, if the command brings honour to those deemed worthy of it, all whom it concerns ought to obtain that honour,—this is democracy,—and if it brings labour, all ought to share that labour proportionately—this is equality.

5 I

2 "Ετι τοίνυν εν μεν τῷ τοιούτω πολλούς τε έν ταις πράξεσιν έγγυμνάζεσθαι, και ραδίαν ύμιν την αίρεσιν των πιστευθηναι δυναμένων προς πάντα τὰ πρακτέα ἀπὸ τῆς πείρας ὑπάρχειν συμβαίνει, ἐκείνως δὲ δὴ πολλὴν τὴν σπάνιν καὶ τῶν ἀσκησόντων τὰ προσήκοντα καὶ τῶν ἐπιτρα-3 πησομένων ἀνάγκη πᾶσα γίγνεσθαι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτό γε οὐχ ηκιστα ἐν τῶ πρὸς τὸν Σερτώριον πολέμω στρατηγοῦ ήπορήσατε, ὅτι τὸν πρὸ τούτου χρόνον τοις 2 αὐτοις έπι πολύ έχρησθε. ὥστ' εί και κατά τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἄξιός έστι Πομπήιος έπὶ τοὺς καταποντιστὰς χειροτονηθήναι, ἀλλ' ὅτι γε παρά τε τὰ διατεταγμένα ἐν τοῖς νόμοις καὶ παρὰ τὰ διεληλεγμένα ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αἰρεθείη ἄν, ήκιστα καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ τούτω προσήκει αὐτὸ πραχθηναι.

33 ΄ Πρώτον μὲν οὖν τοῦτο καὶ μάλιστα λέγω, δεύτερον δὲ ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι τεταγμένως ἐκ τῶν νόμων τάς τε ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἡγεμονίας λαμβανόντων καὶ ὑπάτων ³ καὶ στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν ἀντὶ τούτων ἀρχόντων, οὖτ ἄλλως καλῶς ὑμῖν ἔχει παριδόντας αὐτοὺς καινήν τινα ἀρχὴν ἐπεσαγαγέσθαι οὖτε 5 συμφέρει. τίνος μὲν γὰρ ἕνεκα καὶ τοὺς ἐνιαυσίους ἄρχοντας χειροτονεῖτε, εἴγε μηδὲν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα χρήσεσθε; οὐ γάρ που 6 ἵν ἐν τοῖς περιπορφύροις ἱματίοις περινοστῶσιν, οὐδ ἵνα τὸ ὄνομα μόνον τῆς ἀρχῆς περιβεβλημένοι τοῦ 3 ἔργου αὐτῆς στέρωνται. πῶς δ' οὐχὶ καὶ τούτοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄπασι τοῖς τι πράττειν τῶν πολι-

ἡπορήσατε R. Steph., ἡπορήσατο L.
 τοῖs Xyl., ἐν τοῖs L.
 ὑπάτων Reim., ὅντων L.
 παμιδόντας Turn., παραδόντας L.
 οὐ γάρ που inserted by Bk.

"Now in such a course there is the further B.C. 67 advantage that many individuals gain practical experience, so that your choice of those who can be entrusted with any needful business becomes easy as a result of your trial of them; but if you take the other course, it is quite inevitable that there should be a great scarcity of those who will give themselves the needful training and who will be entrusted with affairs. This is the chief reason why you were at a loss for a general in the war with Sertorius; for previous to that time you were accustomed to employ the same men for a long period. Consequently, even if in all other respects Pompey deserves to be elected against the pirates, still, inasmuch as he would be chosen contrary to the injunction of the laws and to the principles laid down by experience, it is anything but fitting for either you or him that this be done.

"This is the first and most important point I have to mention. Second, there is the consideration that so long as consuls and praetors and those serving in their places are receiving their offices and commands conformably to the laws it is in no wise fitting, nor yet advantageous, for you to overlook them and introduce some new office. To what end, indeed, do you elect the annual officials, if you are going to make no use of them for such occasions? Surely not that they may stalk about in purple-bordered togas, nor that, clothed with the name alone of the office, they may be deprived of its duties. How can you fail to arouse the enmity of these and all the rest who have a

τικῶν προαιρουμένοις ἀπεχθήσεσθε, ἂν τὰς μὲν πατρίους άρχὰς καταλύητε καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων χειροτονουμένοις μηδεν επιτρέπητε, ξένην δέ τινα καὶ μηπώποτε γεγενημένην ήγεμονίαν ιδιώτη προσ-34 τάξητε: εί γάρ τοι καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἐπετησίους άρχὰς ἀνάγκη τις εἴη ἐτέραν ἐλέσθαι, ἔστι καὶ τούτου παράδειγμα άρχαῖον, λέγω δὲ τὸν δικτάτορα. καὶ τοῦτον μέντοι 1 τοιοῦτον ὄντα οὔτε ἐπὶ πᾶσί ποτε τοῖς πράγμασιν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ² οὔτε 2 ἐπὶ πλείω χρόνον ἑξαμήνου κατεστήσαντο. ὥστ' εί μεν τοιούτου τινος δείσθε, έξεστιν υμίν, μήτε παρανομήσασι μήτ' όλιγώρως ύπερ τῶν κοινῶν βουλευσαμένοις, δικτάτορα είτε Πομπήιον είτε καὶ ἄλλον τινὰ προχειρίσασθαι, ἐφ' ῷ μήτε πλείω τοῦ τεταγμένου χρόνου 3 μήτε έξω της Ίταλίας άρξη, οὐ γάρ που άγνοείτε ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο δεινῶς οί πατέρες ήμων εφυλάξαντο, και οὐκ ἂν ευρεθείη δικτάτωρ οὐδεὶς άλλοσε τηλην ένὸς ές Σικελίαν, 3 καὶ ταθτα μηδέν πράξαντος, αίρεθείς. εἰ δ'5 οὐτε δείται ή Ἰταλία τοιούτου τινός, οὔτ' αν ύμεις ύπομείναιτε έτι οὐχ ὅτι τὸ ἔργον τοῦ δικτάτορος ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ ὄνομα (δῆλον δὲ ἐξ ὧν πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν ἦγανακτήσατε), πως δ' αν ορθως έχοι καινην ηγεμονίαν, καὶ ταύτην ές έτη τρία καὶ έπὶ πᾶσιν ώς εἰπεῖν καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῆ Ἰταλία καὶ τοῖς ἔξω πράγμασιν, 4 ἀποδειχθηναι; ὅσα γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου δεινὰ ταῖς πόλεσι συμβαίνει, καὶ ὅσοι διὰ τὰς παρανόμους φιλαρχίας τόν τε δημον ημών πολλάκις ετάραξαν

¹ μέντοι Turn., μèν L. ³ χρόνον Naber, χρόνου L.
 ⁴ άλλοσε Bk., άλλος L.
 ⁵ εἰ δ' Rk., ἢ L. ² ἡμῶν R. Steph., ὑμῶν L.

purpose to enter public life at all, if you overthrow B.C. 67 the ancient offices, and entrust nothing to those elected by law, but assign some strange and hitherto unheard-of command to a private individual? Yet if there should be any necessity of choosing another in addition to the annual officials, there is for this. too, an ancient precedent—I refer to the dictator. However, because this official held such power, our fathers did not appoint one on all occasions nor for a longer period than six months. Accordingly. if you require any such official, you may, without either transgressing the laws or forming plans in disregard of the common welfare, elect Pompey himself or any one else as dictator—on condition that he shall not hold office longer than the appointed time nor outside of Italy. For surely you are not unaware that this second limitation, too, was scrupulously observed by our forefathers, and no instance can be found of a dictator chosen for another country, except one 1 who was sent to Sicily and who, moreover, accomplished nothing. But if Italy requires no such person, and you would no longer tolerate, I will not say the functions of the dictator. but even the name,—as is clear from your anger against Sulla,-how could it be right for a new position of command to be created, and that, too, for three years and embracing practically all interests both in Italy and outside? For you all alike understand what disasters come to cities from such a course, and how many men on account of their lawless lust for

¹ Aulus Atilius Calatinus in B.C. 249.

καὶ αὐτοὶ αὑτοὺς 1 μυρία κακὰ εἰργάσαντο, πάν-

""Ωστε περί μὲν τούτων παύομαι λέγων τίς γὰρ

τες δμοίως ἐπίστασθε.

35

οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι οὖτ' ἄλλως καλῶς ἔχει οὔτε συμφέρει ενί τινι τὰ πράγματα προστάσσεσθαι καὶ ενα τινὰ πάντων τῶν ὑπαργόντων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν κύριον γίγνεσθαι, καν τα μάλιστα άριστός τις ή; αί τε γάρ μεγάλαι τιμαί καὶ αί ὑπέρογκοι έξουσίαι καὶ τούς τοιούτους ἐπαίρουσι καὶ διαφθείρουσιν. 2 ἐκεῖνο δὲ δὴ σκοπεῖν ὑμᾶς ἀξιῶ, ὅτι οὐδὲ οἶόν τέ έστιν ένα ἄνδρα πάσης της θαλάσσης ἐπάρξαι καὶ πάντα τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον ὀρθώς διοικήσαι. δεῖ μεν γαρ ύμας, είπερ τι των δεόντων ποιήσετε, πανταχή άμα αὐτοῖς πολεμήσαι, ίνα μη συνιστάμενοι πρός άλλήλους, μηδ' 2 αὐ τὰς ἀναφυγάς πρὸς τοὺς οὐ πολεμουμένους ἔχοντες, δύσληπτοι 3 γένωνται. τοῦτο δὲ οὐδένα ἂν τρόπον είς τις άρξας πράξαι δυνηθείη· πώς 3 γαρ αν ύπο τας αὐτὰς ἡμέρας ἔν τε τῆ Ἰταλία καὶ ἐν τῆ Κιλικία, τη τε Αιγύπτω και τη Συρία, τη τε Έλλάδι και τη Ίβηρία, τῷ τε Ἰονίω καὶ ταῖς νήσοις πολεμήσειε; πολλούς μέν δη διά τοῦτο καὶ στρατιώτας καὶ στρατηγούς ἐπιστῆναι δεῖ τοῖς πράγμασιν, 36 είπερ τι όφελος αὐτῶν ἔσται· εἰ δὲ δή τις ἐκεῖνό φησιν, ὅτι κᾶν ἐνί τω πάντα τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιτρέψητε, πάντως που καὶ ναυάρχους καὶ ὑπάρχους πολλούς έξει, πως ού πολύ δικαιότερον καὶ συμφορώτερον (έγω γαρ αν είποιμι) και τί κωλύει τούτους αὐ τοὺς ὑπάρξειν ἐκείνω μέλλοντας καὶ προχειρισθήναι ύφ' ύμων έπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν 2 ήγεμονίαν παρ' ύμων αὐτοτελή λαβείν; οὕτω μεν 1 αύτουs added by Rk. 2 μηδ' Bk., μήτ' L. 3 πωs Bk., ποῦ L. 56

rule have often disturbed our populace and brought B.C. 67 upon themselves countless evils.

"About this, then, I shall say no more. For who does not realize that it is in no wise fitting, nor yet advantageous, to entrust affairs to any one man, or for any one man to be put in control of all the blessings we have, however excellent he may be? Great honours and excessive powers excite and ruin even such persons. And what is more, I ask you to consider this fact also, that it is not really possible for one man to hold sway over the whole sea and to manage the whole war properly. For you must, if you are going to accomplish any of the needful results, make war on them everywhere at once, so that they may not, either by uniting or by finding a refuge among those not involved in war, become hard to capture. But no one man in command could by any manner of means accomplish this. For how could he fight on the same days in Italy and in Cilicia, Egypt and Syria, Greece and Spain, in the Ionian Sea and the Consequently it is necessary for many soldiers and generals also to be in command of affairs, if they are going to be of any use to you. And in case any one urges that, even if you confide the entire war to some one man, he will in any case have many admirals and lieutenants, my reply would be: Is it not much more just and advantageous that these men destined to serve under him be chosen by you beforehand for this very purpose and receive independent authority from you? What prevents such a course? By this plan they will pay better heed to the

γὰρ καὶ φροντιοῦσι τοῦ πολέμου μᾶλλον, ἄτε καὶ ἰδιαν ἔκαστος αὐτῶν μερίδα πεπιστευμένος καὶ ἐς μηδένα ἔτερον τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀμέλειαν ἀνενεγκεῖν δυνάμενος, καὶ φιλοτιμήσονται πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀκριβέστερον, ἄτε καὶ αὐτοκρατεῖς ὄντες καὶ τὴν δόξαν ὧν ἃν ἐργάσωνται αὐτοὶ κτησόμενοι ἐκείνως δὲ τίνα μὲν ὁμοίως οἴεσθε . . ἄλλω τω ὑποκείμενον, τίνα δ' ἀπροφασίστως ὁτιοῦν ποιήσειν, μέλλοντα μὴ ἑαυτῷ ἀλλ' ἐτέρω κρατήσειν; ""Ωσθ' ὅτι μὲν εἶς οὐδ' ἂν δύναιτο τοσοῦτον ἄμα

3 "" Ωσθ' ὅτι μὲν εἶς οὐδ' ἀν δύναιτο τοσοῦτον ἄμα πόλεμον πολεμῆσαι, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ Γαβινίου ὡμολόγηται πολλοὺς γοῦν τῷ χειροτονηθησομένῳ συνεργοὺς ἀξιοῖ δοθῆναι. λοιπὴ δὲ δὴ σκέψις ἐστὶ πότερόν ποτε ἄρχοντας αὐτοὺς ἢ ὑπάρχοντας, καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἢ ὑποστρατήγους,¹ καὶ πρὸς τοῦ δήμου παντὸς ἐπ' αὐτοκράτορός τινος ἡγεμονίας ἢ πρὸς ἐκείνου μόνου ἐφ' ὑπηρεσία αὐτοῦ, πεμ-4 φθῆναι δεῖ. οὐκοῦν ὅτι μὲν καὶ νομιμώτερον καὶ συμφορώτερον² καὶ πρὸς τάλλα πάντα καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς ληστὰς τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἐγὼ λέγω ἐστί, πᾶς ἄν τις ὑμῶν όμολογήσειε. χωρὶς δὲ τούτου καὶ ἐκεῖνο ὁρᾶτε οἶόν ἐστι, τὸ πάσας ὑμῶν τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἐπὶ τῆ τῶν καταποντιστῶν προφάσει καταλυθῆναι, καὶ μηδεμίαν αὐτῶν μήτε ἐν τῆ ὑπηκόῳ τὸν χρόνον

¹ ή ὑποστρατήγους supplied by Bs.

² και συμφορώτερον supplied by Reim

³ The following two fragments would seem to belong here if the number of the book is correctly given:—

Δίων $λ \varsigma'$ βιβλίφ· ''οὕτε ἀνεπίφθονον ἔσται αὐτ $\hat{\phi}$ πάντων τῶν ὑμετέρων μοναρχ $\hat{\eta}$ σαι.''—Bekk. Aneed. 157, 30.

 $[\]Delta (\omega \nu \lambda \varsigma' \beta i \beta \lambda i \varphi' ' \delta \epsilon \hat{\imath} \delta \epsilon \delta \hat{\jmath} \pi \sigma v \kappa \alpha \hat{\imath} \tau \sigma \hat{\imath} \tau \sigma i \sigma \hat{\jmath} \tau \delta \nu \phi \rho \delta \nu i \mu \sigma \nu \alpha \nu \delta \rho \alpha \pi \rho \sigma \nu \epsilon \hat{\imath} \sigma \theta \alpha i." - Ib. 166, 21.$

war, since each of them will be entrusted with his own particular part in it and cannot lay upon any one else the responsibility for neglect of it, and there will be keener rivalry among them because they are independent and will themselves get the glory for whatever they achieve. But by the other plan what man, do you think, subordinate to some one else, will [show] the same [zeal], what man will perform any duty readily, when he is going to win victories not for himself but for another?

"That one man, now, could not at one time carry on so great a war has been admitted on the part of Gabinius himself; at any rate he asks for many assistants to be given to the one who shall be elected. The question remains, then, whether actual commanders or assistants should be sent, whether generals or lieutenants, and whether they should be commissioned by the entire populace with full authority, or by the commander alone for his assistance. Surely every one of you will admit that my proposal is more in accordance with law and more advantageous with reference to the freebooters themselves as well as in all other respects. And apart from this, observe how it looks for all your offices to be overthrown on the pretext of the pirates, and for none of them either in Italy or in subject territory during this time . . . "1

¹ The following two fragments are perhaps from the speech of Catulus:—

Dio, Book XXXVI. "Nor will his task as monarch over all your possessions be free from envy."

Dio, Book XXXVI. "And naturally the prudent man must take thought for such a contingency."

Xiphilinus

- 36 Κάτλου δέ τινος τῶν ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν εἰρηκότος πρὸς τὸν δῆμον "ἐὰν ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐκπεμφθεὶς σφαλῆ, οἶα ἔν γε ¹ ἀγῶσι πολλοῖς καὶ τούτοις θαλαττίοις φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι, τίνα ἄλλον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὰ ἀναγκαιότερα εὐρήσετε;" ὁ ὅμιλος σύμπας ὥσπερ ἀπὸ συγκειμένου τινὸς ἀνεβόησεν εἰπὼν "σέ." καὶ οὕτω Πομπήιος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς θαλάσσης τῶν τε νήσων καὶ τῆς ἠπείρου ἐς τετρακοσίους σταδίους ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ἄνω εἰλήφει.— Χiphil. p. 4, 2-11 Dind.
 - 37. . . της δε Ίταλίας ἀντὶ ὑπάτου ἐπὶ τρία ἔτη, προσέταξαν αὐτῷ ὑποστρατήγους τε πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ τὰς ναῦς άπώσας, τά τε χρήματα καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα όσα αν έθελήση λαβείν έψηφίσαντο. καὶ ἐκεῖνά τε καὶ ἡ γερουσία καὶ ἄκουσα ἐπεκύρωσε, καὶ τάλλα ὅσα πρόσφορα ἐς αὐτὰ ἢν 2 2 εκάστοτε εγίγνωσκεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ επειδή τοῦ Πίσωνος μή ἐπιτρέψαντος τοῖς ὑπάρχοις καταλόγους εν τη Γαλατία τη Ναβωνησία, ης ηρχε, ποιήσασθαι, δεινως ο δμιλος ήγανάκτησε καὶ εὐθύς γ' αν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξήλασαν, εἰ μὴ ὁ 3 Πομπήιος παρητήσατο. παρασκευασάμενος οὖν ώς τό τε πράγμα καὶ τὸ φρόνημα αὐτοῦ ἀπήτει, πᾶσαν ἄμα τὴν θάλασσαν, ὅσην οἱ καταποντισταὶ έλύπουν, τὰ μέν αὐτός, τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑποστρατήγων περιέπλευσε, καὶ τὰ πλείω αὐτῆς 4 αὐτοετὲς ἡμέρωσε. πολλη μὲν γὰρ καὶ τῆ παρασκευη τη τε του ναυτικού και τη των δπλιτων έγρητο, ώστε καὶ ἐν τῆ θαλάσση καὶ ἐν τῆ γῆ
 - ¹ $\gamma \in Bk.$, $\tau \in VC.$ ² $\hat{\eta} \nu Bs.$, $\hat{\epsilon} \hat{l} \nu \alpha \iota \hat{\eta} \nu L.$

Xiphilinus

Catulus, one of the aristocrats, had said to the RC. 67 people: "If he fails when sent out on this errand—as not infrequently happens in many contests, especially on the sea—what other man will you find to take his place for still more urgent tasks?" Thereupon the entire throng, as if by previous agreement, cried out and exclaimed: "You!" Thus Pompey secured command of the sea and of the islands and of the mainland for fifty miles 1 inland from the sea.

. . . and of Italy in place of consul for three years; and they assigned to him fifteen lieutenants and voted all the ships, money and armaments that he might wish to take. The senate also, though quite reluctantly, ratified these measures and likewise passed such others from time to time as were necessary to their effectiveness. Its action was prompted more particularly by the fact that when Piso refused to allow the under-officers to hold enlistments in Gallia Narbonensis, of which he was governor, the populace was furiously enraged and would straightway have removed him from office, had not Pompey begged him off. So, after making preparations as the situation and as his judgment demanded. Pompey patrolled at one time the whole stretch of sea that the pirates were troubling, partly by himself and partly through his lieutenants; and he subdued the greater part of it that very year. For not alone was the force that he directed vast both in point of fleet and infantry, so that he was

¹ Literally four hundred stades; here eight stades is taken as the equivalent of the Roman mile. Cf. p. 237 and note.

ἀνυπόστατος εἶναι, πολλῆ δὲ καὶ τῆ φιλανθρωπία τῆ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντάς οἱ, ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου παμπόλλους προσποιήσασθαι· οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι ταῖς τε δυνάμεσιν ἡττώμενοι καὶ τῆς χρηστότητος αὐτοῦ πειρώμενοι προθυμότατα αὐτῷ προσεχώρουν. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα αὐτῶν ἐπεμελεῖτο, καὶ ὅπως μηδ' αὐθίς ποτε ἐς ἀνάγκην πονηρῶν ἔργων ὑπὸ πενίας ἀφίκωνται, καὶ χώρας σφίσιν ὅσας ἐρήμους ἐώρα, καὶ πόλεις ὅσαι¹ 6 ἐποίκων ἐδέοντο, ἐδίδου. καὶ ἄλλαι τε ἐκ τούτου συνωκίσθησαν καὶ ἡ Πομπηιόπολις ἐπικληθεῖσα· ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῆ Κιλικία τῆ παραθαλασσία καὶ ἐπεπόρθητο ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιγράνου, Σόλοι πρότερον ἀνομασμένη.

38 'Επὶ μεν δὴ τοῦ 'Ακιλίου τοῦ τε Πίσωνος ταῦτά τε οὕτως ἐγένετο, καὶ κατὰ τῶν δεκασμοῦ περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀλισκομένων ² ἐνομοθετήθη πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν ὑπάτων μἦτ' ἄρχειν μήτε βουλεύειν σφῶν μηδένα, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήματα προσοφλισ-2 κάνειν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἥ τε τῶν δημάρχων δυναστεία ἐς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐπανεληλύθει, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν τιμητῶν ³ διαγεγραμμένων ἀναλαβεῖν τρόπον τινὰ ⁴ τὴν βουλείαν ἐσπούδαζον, συστάσεις καὶ παρακελευσμοὶ παμπληθεῖς ἐφ' ἀπάσαις ταῖς ³ ἀρχαῖς ἐγίγνοντο. ἔπραξαν δὲ τοῦθ' οἱ ὕπατοι οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἤχθοντο τῷ πράγματι (αὐτοὶ γὰρ διασπουδάσαντες ἀπεδείχθησαν, καὶ ὅ γε Πίσων καὶ γραφεὶς ἐπὶ τούτω καὶ πρὸς ἑνὸς καὶ πρὸς

¹ δσαι R. Steph., δσας L.

³ άλισκομένων R. Steph, αναλισκομένων L.

³ τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν τιμητῶν Xyl., ὑπὸ τῶν τιμητῶν τῶν L.

irresistible both on sea and on land, but his leniency toward those who made terms with him was equally great, so that he won over large numbers by such a course; for those who were defeated by his troops and experienced his clemency went over to his side very readily. Besides other ways in which he took care of them he would give them any lands he saw vacant and cities that needed more inhabitants, in order that they might never again through poverty fall under the necessity of criminal deeds. Among the other cities settled at this time was the one called Pompeiopolis. It is on the coast of Cilicia and had been sacked by Tigranes; its former name was Soli.

Besides these events in the year of Acilius and Piso, a law directed at men convicted of bribery in seeking office was framed by the consuls themselves, to the effect that any such person should neither hold office nor be a senator, and should incur a fine besides. For now that the power of the tribunes had been restored to its ancient status, and many of those whose names had been stricken off the list by the censors were aspiring to regain the rank of senator by one means or another, a great many factions and cliques were being formed aiming at all the offices. Now the consuls did not take this course because they were displeased at the practice; in fact they themselves were shown to have conducted a vigorous canvass, and Piso had actually been indicted on this charge, but had escaped being

έτέρου τινὸς έξεπρίατο τὸ μὴ κατηγορηθήναι) 4 ἀλλ' ὅτι ἠναγκάσθησαν ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας. αίτιον δὲ ὅτι Γάιός τις Κορνήλιος δημαρχῶν πικρότατα ἐπιτίμια τάξαι κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπεχείρησε καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ ὁ ὅμιλος ἡρεῖτο. ἡ γὰρ βουλή συνιδοῦσα ὅτι τὸ μὲν ὑπερβάλλον τῶν τιμωρημάτων έν μεν ταίς ἀπειλαίς ἔκπληξίν τινα ἔγει, οὔτε δὲ τούς κατηγορήσοντας οὔτε τοὺς καταψηφιουμένους των υπαιτίων, άτε καὶ ἀνηκέστων αυτών 5 όντων, ραδίως ευρίσκει, τὸ δὲ δὴ μέτριον ἔς τε τὰς κατηγορίας συχνούς προάγει καὶ τὰς καταψηφίσεις οὐκ ἀποτρέπει, μεταρρυθμίσαι πη έσήγησιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις νομοθετῆσαι 39 αὐτὴν ἐκέλευσεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ αί τε ἀρχαιρεσίαι προεπηγγελμέναι ήσαν, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτ' οὐδὲν προνομοθετηθήναι πρὸ αὐτῶν έξην, καὶ οἱ σπουδαργιώντες πολλά καὶ κακά ἐν τῷ διακένω τούτω1 έποίουν, ώστε καὶ σφαγὰς γίγνεσθαι, τόν τε νόμον έψηφίσαντο καὶ προ εκείνων έσενεχθηναι καὶ 2 Φρουράν τοις υπάτοις δοθήναι. άγανακτήσας ούν έπι τούτοις ο Κορνήλιος γνώμην εποιήσατο μη έξειναι τοις βουλευταίς μήτε άρχην τινι έξω των νόμων αιτήσαντι διδόναι μήτ άλλο μηδέν τῶν τῶ δήμω προσηκόντων ψηφίζεσθαι 3 τοῦτο γαρ ενενομοθέτητο μεν εκ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου, οὐ 3 μέντοι καὶ τῷ ἔργῷ ἐτηρεῖτο. Θορύβου τε ἐπ' αὐτῶ 4 πολλοῦ συμβάντος (καὶ 5 γὰρ πρασσον των τε άλλων των έκ της γερουσίας συγνοί και ο Πίσων) τάς τε ράβδους αὐτοῦ ο όχλος συνέτριψε καὶ αὐτὸν διασπάσασθαι ἐπε-

¹ τούτφ Bs., τούτφ χρόνφ L. 2 πρδ Turn., πρδs L.

brought to trial by bribing one man after another; B.C. 67 it was rather because they were forced to it by the senate. The reason for this was that one Gaius Cornelius while tribune undertook to lay very severe penalties upon those guilty of bribery, and the populace adopted them. The senate, however, realizing that while excessive punishments have some deterrent force as threats, yet men are not then easily found to accuse or condemn those on trial, since the latter will be in desperate danger, whereas moderation encourages many to accusations and does not prevent condemnations, was desirous of modifying his proposition somehow, and bade the consuls frame it as a law. But since the elections had already been announced, and accordingly no law could be enacted till they were held, and the canvassers were doing much mischief in the meanwhile, to such an extent even that assassinations occurred, the senators voted that the law should be introduced before the elections and that a body-guard should be given to the consuls. Cornelius, angry at this, proposed that the senators should not be allowed to grant office to any one seeking it in a way not prescribed by law, nor to usurp the people's right of decision in any other matter. This, indeed, had been the law from very early times, but it was not being observed in practice. When a great uproar arose at this, since Piso and a number of the senators opposed him, the crowd broke the consul's fasces to pieces and threatened

65

4 χείρησεν. ίδων οθν την όρμην αθτων ό Κορνήλιος τότε μέν, πριν επιψηφίσαι τι, διαφηκε τον σύλλογον, ὕστερον δὲ προσέγραψε τῷ νόμω τήν τε βουλην πάντως περί αὐτῶν προβουλεύειν καὶ τὸν 40 δημον επάναγκες επικυρούν το προβούλευμα. καί ούτως ἐκεῖνόν τε διενομοθέτησε καὶ ἔτερον τοιόνδε. Οί στρατηγοί πάντες τὰ δίκαια καθ' à δικάσειν έμελλον, αὐτοὶ 1 συγγράφοντες έξετίθεσαν γάρ πω πάντα τὰ 2 δικαιώματα τὰ περὶ τὰ συμ-2 βόλαια διετέτακτο, ἐπεὶ οὖν 3 οὔτε ἐσάπαξ τοῦτ' έποίουν οὔτε τὰ γραφέντα ἐτήρουν, ἀλλά πολλάκις αὐτὰ μετέγραφον καὶ συχνὰ ἐν τούτφ πρὸς χάριν ή καὶ κατ' έχθραν τινῶν, ὅσπερ εἰκός, έγίγνετο, έσηγήσατο κατ' άρχάς τε εὐθύς αὐτοὺς τὰ δίκαια οίς χρήσονται 4 προλέγειν, καὶ μηδὲν ἀπ' 3 αὐτῶν παρατρέπειν. τό τε σύμπαν οὕτως ἐπιμελὲς τοις 'Ρωμαίοις κατά του χρόνου έκεινου το μηδέν δωροδοκείσθαι έγένετο ώστε πρὸς τῷ τοὺς έλεγχομένους κολάζειν καὶ τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας αὐτῶν έτίμων. τοῦ γοῦν Κόττου τοῦ Μάρκου τὸν μὲν ταμίαν Πούπλιον "Οππιον ἐπί τε δώροις καὶ έπὶ ὑποψία ἐπιβουλῆς ἀποπέμψαντος, αὐτοῦ δὲ 4 πολλά ἐκ τῆς Βιθυνίας χρηματισαμένου, Γάιον Κάρβωνα τὸν κατηγορήσαντα αὐτοῦ τιμαῖς ὑπατικαίς καίπερ δεδημαρχηκότα μόνον, έσέμνυναν. καὶ οὖτος μὲν τῆς τε Βιθυνίας καὶ αὐτὸς ὕστερον άρξας, καὶ μετριώτερον οὐδὲν τοῦ Κόττου πλημμελήσας, άντικατηγορήθη ύπὸ τοῦ υίέος αὐτοῦ καὶ 5 ἀνθεάλω· πολλώ γάρ που ράον ἄλλοις ἐπιτιμωσί

¹ αὐτοὶ Leuncl., αὐτοῖς L. ² τὰ Bk., & L.

³ έπει οδυ Bk., εποίουν L.

⁴ χρήσονται R. Steph., χρήσωνται L.

to tear him limb from limb. Cornelius, accordingly, B.C. 67 seeing their violence, dismissed the assembly for the time being before calling for any vote; later he added to the law a provision that the senate should invariably pass a preliminary decree concerning these matters and that it should be necessary for this decree to be ratified by the people. So he secured the passage of both that law and another now to be explained.

The practors themselves had always compiled and published the principles of law according to which they intended to try cases; for the decrees regarding contracts had not all vet been laid down. since they were not in the habit of doing this once for all and did not observe the rules as written, but often made changes in them, many of which were introduced out of favour or out of hatred of some one, he moved that they should at the very outset announce the principles they would follow, and not swerve from them at all. In fine, the Romans were so concerned at that time to prevent bribery, that in addition to punishing those convicted they even honoured the accusers. For instance, after Marcus Cotta had dismissed the quaestor Publius Oppius because of bribery and suspicion of conspiracy, though he himself had made great profit out of Bithynia, they elevated Gaius Carbo, his accuser, to consular honours, although he had served only as But when Carbo himself later became governor of Bithynia and erred no less than Cotta, he was in his turn accused by Cotta's son and convicted. Some persons, of course, can more easily censure

τινες η έαυτοίς παραινούσι, και προχειρότατά γε

ἐφ' οἶς τιμωρίας ἀξίους τοὺς πέλας εἶναι νομίζουσιν αὐτοὶ ποιοῦσιν, ὥστε μηδεμίαν πίστιν ἐξ ὧν ἑτέροις ἐγκαλοῦσιν, ὅτι καὶ μισοῦσιν αὐτά, λαμ-41 βάνειν Λούκιος δὲ δὴ Λούκουλλος τὴν μὲν στρατηγίαν τὴν οἴκοι διῆρξε, τῆς δὲ δὴ Σαρδοῦς ἄρξαι μετ' αὐτὴν λαχὼν οὐκ ἠθέλησε, μισήσας τὸ πρᾶγμα διὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τοὺς οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι δρῶντας. ὅτι γὰρ ἐπιεικὴς ἦν, ἱκανώτατα 2 διέδειξεν τοῦ γὰρ ᾿Ακιλίου συντριβῆναι τὸν δίφρον αὐτοῦ, ἐφ' οῦ ἐδίκαζε, κελεύσαντος ὅτι παριόντα ποτὲ αὐτὸν ἰδὼν οὐκ ἐξανέστη, οὔτ' ὀργῆ ἐχρήσατο καὶ ὀρθοστάδην μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ συνάρχοντες αὐτοῦ δὶ ἐκεῦνον διεδίκασαν.

 $^{^1}$ ό inserted by Rk. 2 αὐτ $\hat{\varphi}$ R. Steph., αὐτ $\hat{\omega}$ ν L. 3 νουμηνία Βk., νουμηνία ἐπύθετο L. 4 ἐν $\hat{\eta}$ added by St.

⁵ απεψηφίσατο Leunel., απεψηφίσαντο L.

others than admonish themselves, and when it comes B.C. 67 to their own case do very readily the things for which they think their neighbours deserving of punishment. Hence they cannot, from the mere fact that they accuse others, inspire confidence in their own hatred of the acts in question. Lucius Lucullus, on the other hand, after finishing his term of office as praetor urbanus, and being chosen by lot thereafter to serve as governor of Sardinia, declined the province, detesting the business because of the many whose administration of affairs in foreign lands was anything but honest. That he was of a mild disposition he had given the fullest proof. For when Acilius once commanded that the chair on which he sat while hearing cases should be broken in pieces because Lucullus, on seeing Acilius pass by, had not risen, the practor not only did not give way to rage, but thereupon both he himself and his colleagues on his account gave their decision standing.

Roscius likewise introduced a law, and so did Gaius Manilius, at the time when the latter was tribune. The former received some praise for his, which marked off sharply the seats of the knights in the theatres from the other locations; but Manilius came near having to stand trial. He had granted the class of freedmen the right to vote with those who had freed them; this he did on the very last day of the year toward evening, after suborning some of the populace. The senate learned of it immediately acc. 66 on the following day, the first of the month, the day on which Lucius Tullus and Aemilius Lepidus entered upon their consulship, and it rejected his law.

¹ Dio uses the form Μάλλιος, the Greek for Manlius or Mallius.

έπειδη το πληθος δεινώς ηγανάκτει, τὰ μὲν πρώτα ές τε τὸν Κράσσον καὶ ἐς ἄλλους τινὰς τὴν γνώμην 4 ανήγεν, ώς δ' οὐδεὶς ἐπίστευέν οί, τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ ἀπόντα 1 ἐκολάκευσεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι τὸν Γαβίνιον πλείστον παρ' αὐτῷ δυνάμενον ἤσθετο. τόν τε γὰρ τοῦ Τιγράνου καὶ τὸν τοῦ Μιθριδάτου πόλεμον, τήν τε Βιθυνίαν καὶ την Κιλικίαν αμα 43 άρχην 2 αὐτῷ προσέταξεν. ἀγανάκτησις μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀντιλογία καὶ τότε παρὰ τῶν δυνατῶν, διά τε τάλλα καὶ διότι ὅ τε Μάρκιος 3 καὶ ὁ ᾿Ακίλιος πρίν 4 του χρόνου σφίσι της άρχης εξήκειν κατε-2 λύοντο, ἐγένετο· ὁ δὲ ὅμιλος, καίτοι μικρὸν έμπροσθεν τους ἄνδρας τους καταστήσοντας τὰ έαλωκότα, ώς καὶ διαπεπολεμηκώς έξ ὧν σφίσιν ό Λούκουλλος ἐπεστάλκει, πέμψας, ὅμως ἐψηφίσατο αὐτά, ἐναγόντων σφᾶς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τοῦ τε Καίσαρος καὶ τοῦ Κικέρωνος τοῦ Μάρκου.

Οὖτοι 5 γὰρ αὐτοῖς συνηγωνίσαντο οὐχ ὅτι καὶ συμφέρειν αὐτὰ τῆ πόλει ἐνόμιζον, οὐδ΄ ὅτι τῷ Πομπηίω χαρίσασθαι ήθελον άλλ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ ως γενήσεσθαι έμελλε, Καίσαρ μεν τόν τε όχλον αμα έθεράπευσεν ατε καὶ ὁρῶν ὅσω 6 τῆς βουλῆς 4 επικρατέστεροι ήσαν, καὶ ξαυτώ τό τι των δμοίων Ψηφισθήναί ποτε παρεσκεύασε, κάν τούτω και τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ ἐπιφθονώτερον καὶ ἐπαχθέστερον έκ των διδομένων οι ποιήσαι, όπως σφίσι προς κόρου θασσον γένηται, ήθέλησε, Κικέρων δὲ τήν τε πολιτείαν άγειν ήξίου, καὶ ενεδείκνυτο καὶ τῶ

¹ ἀπόντα Madvig, ἄκοντα L.

² ἀρχὴν R. Steph., ἄρχειν L. 3 Μάρκιος R. Steph., μάρκος L.
 4 πρίν R. Steph., ώς πρίν L.
 5 οὖτοι Βk., οὔτω L.
 6 ὄσφ Βk., ὅσα L.

⁵ οὖτοι Bk., οὕτω L.

He, then, in fear because the plebs were terribly B.C. 66 angry, at first ascribed the idea to Crassus and some others; but as no one believed him, court to Pompey even in the latter's absence. especially because he knew that Gabinius had the greatest influence with him. He went so far as to offer him command of the war against Tigranes and that against Mithridates, and the governorship of Bithynia and Cilicia at the same time. Now indignation and opposition were manifest even then on the part of the optimates, particularly because Marcius and Acilius were being removed before the period of their command had expired. But the populace, although a little earlier it had sent the proper officials to establish a government over the conquered territory, regarding the war as at an end from the letters which Lucullus sent them, nevertheless voted to do as Manilius proposed. They were urged to this course very strongly by Caesar and Marcus Cicero.

These men supported the measure, not because they thought it advantageous to the state or because they wished to do Pompey a favour; but inasmuch as things were certain to turn out that way, Caesar not only courted the good-will of the multitude, observing how much stronger they were than the senate, but also at the same time paved the way for a similar vote to be passed some day in his own interest. Incidentally, also, he wished to render Pompey more envied and odious as a result of the honours conferred upon him, so that the people might get their fill of him more quickly. Cicero, on his part, was aspiring to leadership in the state, and was endeavouring to make it clear to both the

πλήθει καὶ τοῖς δυνατοῖς ὅτι, ὁποτέροις ἄν σφων 5 πρόσθηται, πάντως αὐτοὺς ἐπαυξήσει. ἐπημφοτέριζέ τε γὰρ καὶ ποτὲ μὲν τὰ τούτων ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων, ἵν' ἱπ' ἀμφοτέρων σπουδάζηται, έπραττε. τους γοῦν βελτίους πρότερον προαιρείσθαι λέγων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀγορανομῆσαι μᾶλλον η δημαρχήσαι έθελήσας, τότε προς τούς 44 συρφετώδεις μετέστη. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δίκης τέ τινος τῷ Μαλλίω πρὸς τῶν δυνατῶν παρασκευασθείσης, καὶ ἐκείνου χρόνον τινὰ ἐμποιῆσαι αὐτῆ σπουδάζοντος, τά τε άλλα κατ αὐτοῦ ἔπραττε, καὶ μόλις αὐτόν (ἐστρατήγει γὰρ καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ δικαστηρίου είχεν) ές την ύστεραίαν ανεβάλετο, πρόφασιν έπ' έξόδω τὸ έτος είναι ποιη-2 σάμενος. κάν τούτω δυσχεράναντος τοῦ ὁμίλου έσηλθέ τε ές τὸν σύλλογον αὐτῶν, ἀναγκασθεὶς δηθεν ύπὸ τῶν δημάρχων, καὶ κατά τε της βουλης κατέδραμε καὶ συναγορεύσειν τῷ Μαλλίω ὑπέσχετο. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τούτου τά τε ἄλλα κακῶς ήκουε καὶ αὐτόμολος ώνομάζετο, τάραχος δέ τις εὐθὺς ἐπιγενόμενος ἐκώλυσε τὸ δικαστήριον συναγθηναι.

3 Πούπλιός τε γὰρ Παῖτος καὶ Κορνήλιος Σύλλας, ἀδελφιδοῦς ἐκείνου τοῦ πάνυ Σύλλου, ὕπατοί τε ἀποδειχθέντες καὶ δεκασμοῦ ἀλόντες ἐπεβούλευσαν τοὺς κατηγορήσαντάς σφων Κότταν τε καὶ Τορκουᾶτον Λουκίους, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ αὐτοὶ ἀνθηρέθησαν,³ ἀποκτεῖναι. καὶ παρεσκευάσθησαν μὲν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Γναῖος Πίσων καὶ Λούκιος Κατιλίνας ἀνὴρ θρασύτατος (ἤτήκει δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς

¹ τν' R. Steph., δν L. 2 ξπραττε R. Steph., πράττειν L. 3 ἀνθηρέθησαν Χyl., ἀνηρέθησαν L.

plebs and the optimates that he was sure to make B.G. 66 whichever side he should join preponderate. was accustomed to play a double rôle and would espouse now the cause of one party and again that of the other, to the end that he might be courted by both. For example, a little while before he had said that he chose the side of the optimates and for that reason wished to be aedile rather than tribune: but now he went over to the side of the rabble. Soon after, when a suit was instituted by the optimates against Manilius and the latter was striving to gain some delay in the matter, Cicero tried in every way to thwart him, and only after obstinate objection did he put off his case till the following day, offering as an excuse that the year was drawing to a close. He was enabled to do this by the fact that he was praetor and president of the court. Thereupon, when the crowd showed their displeasure, he entered their assembly, compelled to do so, as he claimed, by the tribunes, and after inveighing against the senate. promised to speak in support of Manilius. For this he fell into ill repute generally, and was called "turn-coat;" but a tumult that immediately arose prevented the court from being convened.

Publius Paetus and Cornelius Sulla, a nephew or the great Sulla, who had been elected consuls and then convicted of bribery, had plotted to kill their accusers, Lucius Cotta and Lucius Torquatus, especially after the latter had also been convicted. Among others who had been suborned were Gnaeus Piso and also Lucius Catiline, a man of great audacity, who had sought the office himself

τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὀργὴν ἐποιεῖτο), οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἦδυνήθησάν τι δρᾶσαι διὰ τὸ τήν τε ἐπιβουλὴν προμηνυθῆναι καὶ φρουρὰν τῷ τε Κόττα καὶ τῷ Τορκουάτω παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς δοθῆναι . . . δόγμα τι κατ' αὐτῶν γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ δήμαρχός τις ἦναντιώθη. ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν καὶ ῶς ὁ Πίσων ἐθρασύνετο, ἐφοβήθη τε ἡ γερουσία μή τι συνταράξη, καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτὸν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, πρόφασιν

ώς καὶ ἐπ' ἀρχήν τινα, ἔπεμψε.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἀδική45 σας τι αὐτούς, ἐσφάγη· Πομπήιος δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Κρήτην τόν τε Μέτελλον
πλευσούμενος ἡτοιμάζετο, μαθὼν δὲ τὰ δεδογμένα
προσεποιεῖτο μὲν ἄχθεσθαι ὡς καὶ πρότερον, καὶ
τοῖς ἀντιστασιώταις ὡς καὶ πράγματα ἀεί ποτε
αὐτῷ, τοῦ ¹ καὶ πταῖσαί τι, παρέχουσιν ἐπεκάλει,
2 ἀσμεναίτατα δὲ αὐτὰ ἀναδεξάμενος Κρήτην μὲν
καὶ ² τἆλλα τὰ ἐν τῷ θαλάσση, εἴ πού τι ἀδιοίκητον
κατελέλειπτο, παρ' οὐδὲν ἔτ' ἤγαγε, πρὸς δὲ δὴ
τὸν τῶν βαρβάρων πόλεμον παρεσκευάζετο.

Κάν τούτφ βουληθείς της του Μιθριδάτου διανοίας πειρασθαι, πέμπει τον Μητροφάνη 3 φιλίους 3 αὐτῷ λόγους φέροντα. καὶ δς τότε μὲν ἐν ὀλιγωρία αὐτὸν ἐποιήσατο (τοῦ γὰρ ᾿Αρσάκου τοῦ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλέως ἀποθανόντος ἐν τῷ χρόνῷ τούτῷ Φραάτην τὸν διάδοχον αὐτοῦ προσεδόκησεν οἰκειώσεσθαι), ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ Πομπήιος τὴν φιλίαν τῷ Φραάτη διὰ ταχέων ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦς προσυνέθετο καὶ ἐς τὴν ᾿Αρμενίαν αὐτὸν τὴν τοῦ Τιγράνου προεμβαλεῖν ἀνέπεισε, πυθόμενος

 $^{^{1}}$ $\tau v \hat{v}$ Rk., $\tau \delta$ L. 2 kal Rk., \hbar L. 3 $\phi i \lambda lovs$ St., $\phi i \lambda ovs$ L,

and was angry on this account. They were unable, B.C. 66 however, to accomplish anything because the plot was revealed beforehand and a body-guard given to Cotta and Torquatus by the senate. Indeed, a decree [would have been] passed against them, had not one of the tribunes opposed it. And when Piso even then continued to display his audacity, the senate, fearing he would cause some riot, sent him at once to Spain, ostensibly to hold some command or other; there he met his death at the hands of the natives whom he had wronged.

Pompey was at first making ready to sail to Crete against Metellus, and when he learned of the decree that had been passed, pretended to be annoyed as before, and charged the members of the opposite faction with always loading tasks upon him so that he might meet with some reverse. In reality he received the news with the greatest joy, and no longer regarding as of any importance Crete or the other maritime points where things had been left unsettled, he made preparations for the war with the barbarians.

Meanwhile, wishing to test the disposition of Mithridates, he sent Metrophanes to him with friendly proposals. Now Mithridates at that time held him in contempt; for as Arsaces, king of the Parthians, had recently died, he expected to conciliate Phraates, his successor. But Pompey anticipated him by quickly establishing friendship with Phraates on the same terms and persuading the latter to invade promptly the part of Armenia belonging to Tigranes. When Mithridates ascer-

τοῦτο κατέδεισε, καὶ πρεσβευσάμενος εὐθὺς 4 σύμβασιν ἔπραττε. κελεύσαντος δὲ ¹ αὐτῷ τοῦ Πομπηίου τά τε ὅπλα καταθέσθαι καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους ἐκδοῦναι οὐκ ἔσχε καιρὸν βουλεύσασθαι ἀκούσαντες γὰρ ταῦτα οἱ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδφ αὐτοῦ ὄντες, καὶ φοβηθέντες οἵ τε αὐτόμολοι (πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν) μὴ ἐκδοθῶσι, καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι μὴ ἄνευ ἐκείνων πολεμεῖν ἀναγκασθῶσιν, ἐθορύ-5 βησαν.² κὰν ἐξειργάσαντό τι τὸν Μιθριδάτην, εἰ μὴ ψευσάμενος ὅτι οὐκ ἐπὶ σπονδαῖς ἀλλὶ ἐπὶ κατασκοπῆ τῆς τῶν 'Ρωμαίων παρασκευῆς τοὺς πρέσβεις ἔπεμψε, μόλις αὐτοὺς κατέσχεν.

6 'Ο οὐν Πομπήιος ἐπειδὴ πολεμητέα οἱ ἔγνω εἶναι, τά τε ἄλλα παρεσκευάσατο καὶ τοὺς Οὐαλεριείους προσκατελέξατο. καὶ αὐτῷ ἐν τῆ Γαλατία ἤδη ὄντι ὁ Λούκουλλος ἀπαντήσας διαπεπολεμῆσθαί τε πάντα ἔφη καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι στρατείας δεῖσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς πρὸς τὴν διοίκησιν αὐτῶν 2 πεμφθέντας ἤδη παρεῖναι. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐπείσθη ἐπαναχωρῆσαι, πρὸς λοιδορίας ἐτράπετο, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ πολυπράγμονα καὶ φιλοπόλεμον καὶ φιλαρχοῦντα αὐτὸν ἀποκαλῶν. ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος βραχὸ αὐτοῦ φροντίσας ἀπεῖπε μηδένα ἔτ' αὐτῷ πειθαρχῆσαι, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἠπείχθη,

σπουδήν έχων ὅτι τάχιστά οἱ συμμῖξαι.

47 Καὶ δς τέως μὲν ἔφευγε (ταῖς γὰρ δυνάμεσιν ήλαττοῦτο) καὶ τήν τε ἐν ποσὶν ἀεὶ ἔκειρε, καὶ ἐπλάνα τε αὐτὸν³ ἄμα καὶ ἐπιδεῖσθαι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐποίει· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐς τὴν ᾿Αρμενίαν διά

 $^{^1}$ δè Bk., τε LU°. 2 έθορύβησαν ν. Herw., έθορυβήθησαν LU°. 3 αὐτὸν Xyl., έαυτὸν L.

tained this, he was alarmed and straightway sent an embassy and tried to arrange a truce. But when Pompey demanded that he lay down his arms and deliver up the deserters, he had no opportunity to deliberate; for the large number of deserters who were in his camp, hearing of it and fearing they should be delivered up, and likewise the barbarians, fearing that they should be compelled to fight without them, raised an uproar. And they would have done some harm to the king, had he not by pretending that he had sent the envoys, not for a truce, but to spy out the Roman strength, with difficulty held them in check.

Pompey, therefore, having decided that he must needs fight, was busy with his various preparations; among other things he reënlisted the Valerians. When he was now in Galatia, Lucullus met him and declared the whole conflict over, claiming there was no further need of an expedition, and that for this reason, in fact, the men sent by the senate to arrange for the government of the districts had arrived. Failing to persuade him to retire, Lucullus turned to abuse, stigmatizing him as officious, greedy for war, greedy for office, and so on. Pompey, paying him but slight attention, forbade anybody longer to obey his commands and pressed on against Mithridates, being eager to join issue with him as quickly as possible.

The king for a time kept fleeing, since his forces were inferior; he continually devastated the country before him, gave Pompey a long chase, and at the same time made him feel the want of provisions. But when his adversary invaded Armenia, both for

τε τοῦτο καὶ ὡς ἐρήμην αὐτὴν αἱρήσων ἐνέβαλεν, 2 ούτω δὴ δείσας μὴ προκαταληφθῆ ἦλθέ τε ἐς αὐτήν, καὶ λόφον ἀντικαταλαβών ὄχυρὸν τῷ μὲν παντί στρατῷ ἡσύχαζεν, ἐλπίζων τοὺς μὲν ἡωμαίους ἀπορία τῶν τροφῶν ἐκτρυχώσειν (αὐτὸς γὰρ ἄτε ἐν ὑπηκόω χώρα πολλαχόθεν αὐτῶν εὐπόρει), τῶν δὲ δὴ ἱππέων ἀεί τινας ἐς τὸ πεδίον ψιλον ον καταπέμπων τούς τε προστυγχάνοντάς σφισιν ἐκάκου, καὶ ἐξαυτομολοῦντας ἐπὶ τούτω 3 συχνούς εδέχετο. ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος ενταῦθα μεν οὐκ ἐθάρσησεν αὐτοῖς συμβαλεῖν, μεταστρατοπεδευσάμενος δὲ ἐτέρωσε, ὅθεν ὑλώδους τοῦ πέριξ χωρίου όντος ήττον ύπό τε τοῦ ίππικοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ τοξικοῦ τοῦ τῶν ἐναντίων λυπηθήσεσθαι 4 ἔμελλεν, ἐλόχισεν ή καιρὸς ἡν, καὶ ὀλίγοις τισὶν έκ τοῦ προφανοῦς τῷ στρατοπέδω τῶν βαρβάρων προσμίξας ετάραξε τε αὐτούς, καὶ ὑπαγαγών ες δ εβούλετο 1 πολλούς απέκτεινε. θαρσήσας τε έκ τούτου καὶ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἄλλους ἄλλη ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔπεμπεν. Ο οὖν Μιθριδάτης, ἐπειδὴ ταῦτά τε ἀσφαλῶς 48 έπορίζετο, καὶ τὴν ἀναῖτιν² χώραν τῆς τε ἀρ-μενίας οὖσαν καὶ θεῷ τινι ἐπωνύμφ ἀνακειμένην

επορίζετο, καὶ τὴν 'Αναῖτιν' χώραν τῆς τε 'Αρμενίας οὖσαν καὶ θεῷ τινι ἐπωνύμῷ ἀνακειμένην 2 διά τινων ἐχειρώσατο, κἀκ τούτου καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέκλινον, καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ τοῦ Μαρκίου στρατιῶται προσεγένοντο, ἐφοβήθη καὶ οὐκέτι κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινεν, ἀλλ' αὐτίκα τε τῆς νυκτὸς ἄρας ἔλαθε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα νυκτο-3 πορῶν ἐς τὴν τοῦ Τιγράνου 'Αρμενίαν προήει. καί οἱ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπηκολούθει μὲν ἐπιθυμῶν διὰ

¹ έβούλετο Reim., έβουλεύετο L.

² 'Αναΐτιν Fabr., μανάιτιν L (ταναΐτιδι ch. 53, 5).

this reason and because he expected to capture it B.C. 66 while abandoned, Mithridates, fearing it would be occupied before his arrival, also entered that country. He seized a strong hill opposite the Romans and there rested with his entire army, hoping to exhaust them by the failure of their provisions, while he could secure an abundance from many quarters, being among his own subjects. But he kept sending down some of his cavalry into the plain, which was bare, and attacking those who fell in with them, as a result of which he was receiving large numbers of deserters. Pompey did not dare to assail them in that position, but moved his camp to another spot where the surrounding country was wooded and where he would be troubled less by the foe's cavalry and archers, and there he set an ambuscade where an opportunity offered. Then with a few troops he openly approached the camp of the barbarians, threw them into disorder, and luring them to the point he wished, killed a large number. Encouraged by this success, he also sent men out in various directions over the country after provisions.

When Pompey continued to procure these in safety and through certain men's help had become master of the land of Anaïtis, which belongs to Armenia and is dedicated to a certain goddess of the same name, and many others as a result of this kept revolting to him, while the soldiers of Marcius were added to his force, Mithridates became frightened and no longer kept his position, but immediately set out unobserved in the night, and thereafter by night marches advanced into the Armenia of Tigranes. Pompey followed after him, eager to engage in battle; yet he

μάχης έλθειν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ πρότερον οὔτε μεθ' ήμέραν (οὐ γὰρ ἐξήεσαν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου) οὔτε νύκτωρ ετόλμησε τοῦτο ποιῆσαι (τὴν γὰρ ἀγνωσίαν τῶν χωρίων ἐδεδίει) πρίν σφας πρὸς τῆ μεθορία γενέσθαι τότε γάρ είδως αὐτούς διαφεύγειν μέλλοντας ἠναγκάσθη νυκτομαχῆσαι. 4 γνοὺς οὐν τοῦτο προαπῆρε, μεσημβριάζοντας τοὺς βαρβάρους λαθών, ή πορεύεσθαι έμελλον καὶ έντυχών τινι χωρίφ κοίλφ μεταξύ γηλόφων τινῶν οντι, ενταθθα τό τε στράτευμα επί τὰ μετέωρα 5 ἀνεβίβασε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπέμεινεν. ἐπειδή τε έκεινοι μετά τε άδείας και άνευ προφυλακής, ατε μήτε¹ έμπροσθε δεινόν τι πεπονθότες καὶ τότε ές τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἤδη προχωροῦντες ὥστε μηδὲ ἐφέψεσθαί σφισιν ἔτι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐλπίζειν, ές τὸ κοῖλον ἐσῆλθον, ἐπέθετο αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ σκότω. ούτε γὰρ ἄλλο τι φῶς εἶχον οὔτε ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τι ἔλαμπεν.

Έγένετο δὲ ἡ μάχη τοιάδε. πρῶτον μὲν οἱ σαλπικταὶ πάντες ἄμα τὸ πολεμικὸν ἀπὸ συνθήματος ἐβόησαν, ἔπειτα δὲ οῖ τε στρατιῶται καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς ὄχλος πᾶς ἐπηλάλαξε, καὶ οἱ μὲν τὰ δόρατα πρὸς τὰς ἀσπίδας, οἱ δὲ καὶ λίθους πρὸς 2 τὰ χαλκᾶ σκεύη προσεπέκρουσαν. καὶ σφων τὴν ἡχὴν τὰ ὅρη ἔγκοιλα ὄντα καὶ ὑπεδέξατο καὶ ἀνταπέδωκε φρικωδεστάτην, ὥστε τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐξαπιναίως ἔν τε τῆ νυκτὶ καὶ ἐν τῆ ἐρημία αὐτῶν ἀκούσαντας δεινῶς ἐκπλαγῆναι ὡς καὶ δαιμονίφ τινὶ πάθει περιπεπτωκότας. κἀν τούτφ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πανταχόθεν ἀπὸ τῶν μετεώρων λίθοις τοξεύμασιν ἀκοντίοις βάλλοντες πάντως γέ τινας

did not venture to do so either by day, for they would B.C. 66 not come out of their camp, or by night, since he feared his ignorance of the country, until they got near the frontier. Then, knowing that they were about to escape, he was compelled to fight by night. Having decided on this course, he eluded the barbarians while they were taking their noonday rest, and went on ahead by the road along which they were to march. And coming upon a defile between some hills, he stationed his army there on the higher ground and awaited the enemy. When the latter had entered the defile confidently and without any precaution, in view of the fact that they had suffered no injury previously and now at last were gaining safety, insomuch that they even expected the Romans would no longer follow them, he fell upon them in the darkness; for there was no illumination from the sky, and they had no kind of light with them.

The course of the battle was as follows: First, all the trumpeters together at a signal sounded the attack, then the soldiers and all the multitude raised a shout, while some clashed their spears against their shields and others struck stones against the bronze implements. The mountains surrounding the valley took up and gave back the din with most frightful effect, so that the barbarians, hearing them suddenly in the night and in the wilderness, were terribly alarmed, thinking they had encountered some supernatural phenomenon. Meanwhile the Romans from the heights were hurling stones, arrows, and javelins upon them from every side, inevitably wounding some by reason of their num-

18

ύπὸ τοῦ πλήθους αὐτῶν ἐτίτρωσκον καὶ ἐς πᾶν κακοῦ σφας κατέστησαν· οὖτε γὰρ ἐς παράταξιν ἀλλ' ἐς πορείαν ἐσταλμένοι, καὶ ἐν ταὐτῷ τοῖς τε ίπποις καὶ ταῖς καμήλοις καὶ παντοδαποῖς σκεύεσι¹ καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἀναστρεφόμενοι, 4 καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ κελήτων, οἱ δὲ ἐφ' ἀρμάτων τῶν τε καμαρών και τών άρμαμαξών άναμίξ όχούμενοι, και οι μεν ήδη τιτρωσκόμενοι, οι δε προσδεχόμενοι τρωθήσεσθαι, έταράσσοντο, κάκ τούτου ράον, ἄτε καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐμπελαζόμενοι, ἐφθεί-5 ρουτο. καὶ ταῦτα μέν, ἕως ἄπωθεν ἐβάλλοντο, έπασχον έπει δε έξαναλώσαντες οι 'Ρωμαίοι την πόρρωθεν άλκην επικατέδραμόν 2 σφισιν, έφονεύετο μέν τὰ περιέσχατα (καὶ έξήρκει πρὸς τον θάνατον αὐτοῖς μία πληγὴ ἄτε καὶ ψιλοῖς οὖσι τοῖς πλείοσι), συνεπιέζετο δὲ τὰ μέσα, πάντων ἐπ' αὐτὰ ὁ ὑπὸ τοῦ πέριξ δέους χω-6 ρούντων. καὶ οὕτω καὶ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ὡθούμενοι καὶ συμπατούμενοι διώλλυντο, οὐδ' εἶχον οὐδὲν οὔτε ἐαυτοῖς ἐπαρκέσαι οὔτε ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους τολμήσαι ίππης γαρ και τοξόται το πλείστον όντες ἄποροι μεν εν τῷ σκότω προιδέσθαι τι. ἄποροι δὲ ἐν τῆ στενοχωρίᾳ μηχανήσασθαι ἐγίγνοντο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ σελήνη ἀνέτειλεν, οἰ μεν εχαιρον ώς καὶ εν τῷ φωτὶ πάντως τινας 4 7 ἀμυνούμενοι. κᾶν ὡφελήθησάν τι, εἰ μὴ οἱ Ῥωμαΐοι κατόπιν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες, πολλήν σφισι πλά-νην, τοτὲ μὲν τἢ τοτὲ δὲ τἢ προσπίπτοντες, καὶ έν τη όψει και έν τω έργω ένεποίουν. πάμπολλοί

¹ σκεύεσι Naber, οδσι L.

² ἐπικατέδραμον Leuncl., ἔπειτα κατέδραμον L.

³ ἐπ' αὐτὰ Leuncl., ὑπ' αὐτὰ L. Τινὰς Βε., τινὰ L.

bers; and they reduced them to the direct ex-B.C. 66 tremity. For the barbarians were not drawn up for battle, but for the march, and both men and women were moving about in the same place with horses and camels and all sorts of baggage; some were riding on chargers, others in chariots or in the covered waggons and carriages, in indiscriminate confusion; and as some were being wounded already and others were expecting to be wounded they were thrown into confusion, and in consequence the more easily slain, since they kept huddling together. This was what they endured while they were still being assailed from a distance. But when the Romans, after exhausting their long-distance missiles, charged down upon them, the outermost of the enemy were slaughtered, one blow sufficing for their death, since the majority were unarmed, and the centre was crushed together, as all by reason of the danger round about them moved thither. So they perished, pushed about and trampled upon by one another without being able to defend themselves or show any daring against the enemy. For they were horsemen and bowmen for the most part, and were unable to see before them in the darkness and unable to carry out any manœuvre in the narrow space. When the moon rose, the barbarians rejoiced, thinking that in the light they would certainly beat back some of the foe. And they would have been benefited somewhat, if the Romans had not had the moon behind them and as they assailed them, now on this side and now on that, caused much confusion both to the eyes and hands of the others. For the

τε γὰρ ὄντες καὶ ἐπὶ βαθύτατον κοινῆ πάντες ἀποσκιάζοντες ἔσφαλλον αὐτούς, ἐν ῷ γε ¹ οὔπω² 8 προσέμισγόν σφισιν ἐς γὰρ τὸ κενὸν οἱ βάρβαροι, ὡς καὶ ἐγγὺς αὐτῶν ὄντων, μάτην ἔπαιον, καὶ ὁμόσε χωρήσαντες ἐν τῆ σκιᾳ μὴ προσδεχόμενοι ἐτιτρώσκοντο. καὶ οὕτως ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν πολλοὶ καὶ ἑάλωσαν οὐκ ἐλάττους. συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ διέφυγον, ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτης.

Καὶ τότε μὲν πρὸς τὸν Τιγράνην ηπείγετο ἐπεὶ 50 δὲ προπέμψας πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδὲν φίλιον εύρετο, ότι τοῦ υίέος αὐτῶ Τιγράνου στασιάσαντος ἐκείνον μεν πάππον αὐτοῦ ὄντα αἴτιον της διαφοράς ὑπετόπησε γεγονέναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐχ ὅπως αὐτὸν έδέξατο, άλλὰ καὶ τοὺς προπεμφθέντας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συνέλαβε καὶ κατέδησε, διαμαρτών ών 3 ήλπισεν 2 ές τε τὴν Κολχίδα ἀπετράπετο, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν πεζή πρός τε την Μαιώτιν και πρός του Βόσπορου, τούς μεν πείθων, τούς δε και βιαζόμενος, άφίκετο, καὶ τήν τε χώραν ἐκομίσατο, τὸν Μαχάρην τὸν παίδα τὸν τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀνθελόμενον καὶ τότε αὐτῆς κρατοῦντα καταπλήξας ὥστε μηδὲ ές όψιν αὐτῷ έλθεῖν, καὶ ἐκεῖνον διὰ τῶν συνόντων οί, τήν τε ἄδειάν σφισι καὶ χρήματα δώσειν ὑπι-3 σχνούμενος, ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐν ῷ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, ὁ Πομπήιος ἔπεμψε μὲν⁴ τοὺς ἐπιδιώξοντας⁵ αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔφθη ὑπὲρ τὸν Φᾶσιν ἐκδράς, πόλιν εν τῷ χωρίφ εν ῷ ενενικήκει συνώκισε, τοις τραυματίαις καὶ τοις ἀφηλικεστέροις τῶν

 $[\]begin{array}{lll} ^1 \ \gamma \epsilon \ St., \ \tau \epsilon \ L. & ^2 \ o \rlap{v} \pi \omega \ Rk., \ o \rlap{v} \tau \omega \ L \\ ^3 \ \mathring{\omega} \nu \ Reim., \ o \mathring{\upsilon} \nu \ \mathring{\omega} \nu \ L. & ^4 \ \mu \grave{\epsilon} \nu \ added \ by \ Bk. \end{array}$

⁵ ἐπιδιώξοντας Η. Steph., ἐπιδιωξάντας L.

assailants, being very numerous, and all of them B.C. 66 together casting the deepest shadow, baffled their opponents before they had yet come into conflict with them. The barbarians, thinking them near, would strike vainly into the air, and when they did come to close quarters in the shadow, they would be wounded when not expecting it. Thus many of them were killed and no fewer taken captives. A considerable number also escaped, among them Mithridates.

The king then hastened toward Tigranes. But on sending couriers to him he found no friendship awaiting him, because the young Tigranes had risen against his father, and the latter suspected that Mithridates, the youth's grandfather, had really been responsible for the quarrel. For this reason, far from receiving him, Tigranes even arrested and threw into prison the men sent ahead by him. Failing, therefore, of the expected refuge, he turned aside into Colchis, and thence on foot reached Maeotis and the Bosporus, using persuasion with some and force with others. He also recovered that country, after so terrifying Machares, his son, who had espoused the cause of the Romans and was then ruling there, that he would not even come into his presence; and he likewise caused this son to be killed by his associates, to whom he promised to grant immunity and money. In the course of these events Pompey sent men to pursue him; but when he outstripped them by fleeing across the Phasis, the Roman leader colonized a city in the territory where he had been victorious, and gave it over to the wounded and superannuated soldiers.

στρατιωτῶν αὐτὴν δούς. καί σφισι καὶ τῶν περιχώρων ἐθελονταὶ πολλοὶ τουνώκησαν, καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ νῦν, Νικοπολῖταί τε ἀνομασμένοι καὶ ἐς τὸν Καππαδοκικὸν νομὸν συντελοῦντες.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἐποίει· ὁ δὲ δὴ Τιγράνης ὁ 51 τοῦ Τιγράνου παῖς παραλαβών τινας τῶν πρώτων, ἐπεὶ οὐ 3 καθ' ἡδονὴν αὐτοῖς ὁ γέρων ἦρχε, πρός τε τὸν Φραάτην κατέφυγε, καὶ περισκοποῦντα αὐτὸν διὰ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον γενομένας ὅ τι χρὴ πρᾶξαι, ἐς τὴν 2 'Αρμενίαν έμβαλείν ανέπεισε. καὶ ηλθον μέν μέχρι τῶν ᾿Αρταξάτων, πᾶσαν τὴν ἐν ποσὶ χειρούμενοι, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις προσέβαλον ὁ γαρ Τιγράνης ο γέρων ές τα όρη φοβηθείς σφας ανέφυγεν επεὶ μέντοι χρόνου τε τῆ προσεδρεία δεῖν ἔδοξε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Φραάτης μέρος τι της δυνάμεως τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ καταλιπὼν ές την οἰκείαν ἀνεχώρησεν, ἀντεπῆλθέ τε ἐνταῦθα ὁ 3 πατηρ αὐτῷ μονωθέντι καὶ ἐνίκησε. Φυγὼν οὖν έκεινος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πρὸς τὸν Μιθριδάτην τὸν πάππον ὥρμησεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθεν αὐτὸν ἡττημένον καὶ βοηθείας μᾶλλον δεόμενον ή τινι ἐπικουρήσαι δυνάμενον, προσεχώρησε τοις 'Ρωμαίοις, και αὐτῶ ό Πομπήιος ήγεμόνι χρησάμενος ές τε την 'Αρμεγίαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἐστράτευσε.

52 Καὶ δς μαθών τοῦτο καὶ καταδείσας ἐπεκηρυκεύσατό τε εὐθὺς αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς τοῦ Μιθριδάτου ἐξέδωκεν. ἐπειδή τε, ἐναντιωθέντος οἱ τοῦ υἱέος, οὐδενὸς μετρίου ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ

¹ πολλοί Rk., πολλοί και L.

² συνώκησαν R. Steph., συνώικισαν L.

Many also of the neighbouring people voluntarily B.C. 66 joined the settlement and later generations of them are in existence even now, being called Nicopolitans and belonging to the province of Cappadocia.

While Pompey was thus engaged, Tigranes, the son of Tigranes, fled to Phraates, taking with him some of the foremost men, because his father was not ruling to suit them; and though Phraates, in view of the treaty made with Pompey, hesitated about what he ought to do, he was persuaded to invade Armenia. So they came as far as Artaxata, subduing all the country before them, and even assailed that place too, for Tigranes the elder in fear of them had fled to the mountains. But when it appeared that time was required for the siege, Phraates left a part of the force with the young Tigranes and retired to his own land. Thereupon the father took the field against his son, who was now left alone, and conquered The latter, in his flight, set out at first to go to Mithridates, his grandfather; but when he learned that he had been defeated and was rather in need of aid than able to assist any one, he went over to the Romans. Pompey, employing him as a guide, made an expedition into Armenia against his father.

Tigranes, learning of this, and becoming alarmed, immediately made overtures to him and delivered up the envoys of Mithridates. And when, on account of the opposition of his son, he could gain no moderate

Nicopolis = "City of Victory."

καὶ ῶς ὁ Πομπήιος τόν τε ᾿Αράξην διέβη καὶ 2 τοις 'Αρταξάτοις ἐπλησίασεν, οὕτω δὴ τήν τε πόλιν αὐτῷ παρέδωκε καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ ἐθελοντὴς ἡκεν, ἐν μέσω ἐαυτὸν ὅτι μάλιστα τοῦ τε προτέρου ἀξιώματος καὶ τῆς τότε ταπεινότητος σκευάσας, ὅπως αἰδέσεώς τε καὶ 3 έλέου αμα άξιος αὐτῷ φανείη τὸν μὲν γὰρ χιτῶνα τὸν μεσόλευκον καὶ τὸν κάνδυν τὸν ὁλοπόρφυρον έξέδυ, τὴν δὲ δὴ τιάραν τό τε ἀνάδημα εἶχε. Πομπήιος δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ ἵππου κατεβίβασεν αὐτόν, ραβδοῦχόν τινα πέμψας (προσήλαυνε γάρ ώς καὶ ές αὐτὸ τὸ ἔρυμα κατὰ τὸ σφέτερον ἔθος ίππεύσων), ἐσελθόντα δὲ αὐτοποδία καὶ τό τε διάδημα ἀπορρίψαντα καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν 4 πεσόντα προσκυνοῦντά τε ίδων ηλέησε, καὶ ἀναπηδήσας έξανέστησέ τε αὐτόν, καὶ ταινιώσας τῷ ἀναδήματι ἔς τε τὴν πλησίαν ἔδραν ἐκάθισε καὶ παρεμυθήσατο, εἰπων ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι οὐ τὴν τῶν ᾿Αρμενίων βασιλείαν ἀπολωλεκώς ἀλλὰ καὶ την των 'Ρωμαίων φιλίαν προσειληφώς είη. καὶ δ μεν τούτοις τε αὐτον ἀνεκτήσατο καὶ ἐπὶ 53 δεῦπνον ἐκάλεσεν· ὁ δὲ υίος (ἐκάθητο δὲ ἐκ τοῦ έπὶ θάτερα τοῦ Πομπηίου) οὔθ' ὑπανέστη τῶ πατρὶ οὖτ' ἄλλο τι αὐτὸν έδεξιώσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ έπὶ τὸ δείπνον κληθεὶς οὐκ ἀπήντησεν. ὅθεν ὑπό γε 1 τοῦ Πομπηίου μάλιστα ἐμισήθη.

2 Τῆ γοῦν ὑστεραία διακούσας αὐτῶν τῷ μὲν πρεσβυτέρῳ τὴν πατρώαν πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν ἀπέδωκε τὰ γὰρ προσκτηθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (ἡν δὲ ἄλλα τε καὶ τῆς Καππαδοκίας τῆς τε Συρίας μέρη, ἡ

terms, but even as it was Pompey had crossed the B.C. 66 Araxes and drawn near to Artaxata, then at last Tigranes surrendered the city to him and came voluntarily into his camp. He had arrayed himself so far as possible in a manner midway between his former dignity and his present humbled state, in order that he might seem to him worthy both of respect and pity; for he had put off his tunic shot with white and the candys 1 of pure purple, but wore his tiara and head-band. Pompey, however, sent a lictor and made him dismount from his horse, since the king was riding up as if to enter the very fortification on horseback according to the custom of his people. But when he saw him enter on foot, cast aside his head-dress and prostrate himself on the ground to do him obeisance, he felt an impulse of pity; so springing up hastily, he raised him, bound on the head-band and seated him upon a chair close by, and spoke words of encouragement, telling him among other things that he had not lost the kingdom of Armenia, but had gained the friendship of the Romans. By these words Pompey restored his spirits, and then invited him to dinner. But the son, who sat on the other side of Pompey, did not rise at the approach of his father nor greet him in any other way, and furthermore, though invited to dinner, did not present himself, whence he incurred Pompey's most cordial hatred.

Now on the following day, when Pompey had heard the claims of both, he restored to the elder all his hereditary domain; but what he had acquired later (chiefly portions of Cappadocia and Syria, as

¹ The outer garment of the Persians, provided with sleeves.

τε Φοινίκη καὶ ἡ Σωφανηνή χώρα τοῖς 'Αρμενίοις πρόσορος οὐ σμικρά) παρείλετο αὐτοῦ, καὶ προσέτι καὶ χρήματα αὐτὸν ἤτησεν τῷ δὲ νεωτέρω 1 3 την Σωφανηνην μόνην ἀπένειμε. καὶ ἔτυχον γὰρ οί θησαυροί εν αὐτη ὄντες, ημφεσβήτησε τε περί αὐτῶν ὁ νεανίσκος, καὶ άμαρτὼν (οὐ γὰρ εἶχεν Πομπήιος όπόθεν άλλοθεν τὰ ώμολογημένα κομίσηται) ήγανάκτησε καὶ δρασμὸν έβουλεύσατο. ο οὖν Πομπήιος προμαθών τοῦτο ἐκεῖνόν τε ἐν φυλακή άδέσμω εποιήσατο, καὶ πέμψας πρὸς τούς τὰ χρήματα φυλάττοντας τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ 4 πάντα σφας δουναι εκέλευσεν, επειδή τε μήθ ύπήκουσαν, λέγοντες τὸν νεανίσκον, οὖπερ ή χώρα ήδη ἐνομίζετο, χρηναί σφισι τοῦτο προστάξαι, έπεμψεν² αὐτὸν πρὸς τὰ φρούρια, καὶ ὁ μὲν κεκλειμένα αὐτὰ εύρων προσηλθέ τε ἐγγύς, καὶ ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἄκων αὐτὰ ἀνοιχθηναι ως δ' οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐπείθοντο, προϊσχόμενοι ὅτι μὴ ἑκούσιος άλλ' άναγκαστός την πρόσταξιν έποιείτο, έγαλέπηνεν ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ ἔδησε τὸν Τιγράνην.

5 Καὶ οὕτως ὅ τε γέρων τοὺς θησαυροὺς παρέλαβε, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔν τε τῆ χώρα τῆ ᾿Αναἴτιδι ³ καὶ πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Κυρνῷ τριχῆ νείμας τὸν στρατὸν παρεχείμασε, τά τε ἄλλα παρὰ τοῦ Τιγράνου συχνὰ καὶ χρήματα πολλῷ πλείω τῶν 6 ὁμολογηθέντων λαβών. ἀφ' οὖπερ οὐχ ἤκιστα καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἔς τε τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους οὐ ⁴ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐσέγραψε, καὶ τὸν νίὸν αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην μετὰ φρουρᾶς ἐσήγαγεν.

¹ νεωτέρφ Βκ., υίεῖ τῶι ἐτέρωι L.

² ἔπεμψεν Turn., ἔπεμψαν L.

^{3 &#}x27;Avatridi Fabr., ταναίτιδι L. où added by Rk.

well as Phoenicia and the large district of Sophene B.C. 66 bordering on Armenia) he took away, and demanded money of him besides. To the younger he assigned Sophene only. And inasmuch as this was where the treasures were, the young man began a dispute about them, and not gaining his point, since Pompey had no other source from which to obtain the sums agreed upon, he became angry and planned to escape. Pompey, being informed of this in season, kept the youth in honourable confinement and sent to those who were guarding the money, bidding them give it all to his father. But they would not obey, stating that it was necessary for the young man, to whom the country was now held to belong, to give them this command. Then Pompey sent him to the forts. He, finding them all locked up, came near and reluctantly ordered that they be opened. When the keepers obeyed no more than before, claiming that he issued the command not of his own free will, but under compulsion, Pompey was vexed and put Tigranes in chains.

Thus the old king secured the treasures, and Pompey passed the winter in the land of Anatis and near the river Cyrnus, after making three divisions of his army. From Tigranes he received plenty of everything and far more money than had been agreed upon. It was for this reason particularly that he shortly afterward enrolled the king among the friends and allies of the Roman people and brought his son to Rome under guard.

54 Οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐν ἡσυχία διεχείμασεν. 'Οροίσης γὰρ ᾿Αλβανῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κύρνου οἰκούντων βασιλεύς, τὸ ¹ μέν τι καὶ τῷ Τιγράνη τῷ νεωτέρφ φίλω οι όντι χαρίσασθαι βουληθείς, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλείστον δείσας μη καὶ ές την 'Αλβανίδα οί 'Ρωμαΐοι ἐσβάλωσι, καὶ νομίσας ὅτι, αν ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι ἀδοκήτοις σφίσι καὶ μὴ καθ' εν στρατο-πεδευομένοις προσπέση, πάντως τι έξεργάσεται, έστράτευσεν έπ' αὐτους παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ Κρόνια, 2 καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ Μέτελλον Κέλερα, παρ' ὧ δ Τιγράνης ήν, ήλασεν, άλλους δε έπὶ τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ άλλους ἐπὶ Λούκιον Φλάκκον τὸν τῆς τριτημορίδος ἄρχοντα ἔπεμψεν, ὅπως πάντες ἄμα 3 ταραχθέντες μή συμβοηθήσωσιν άλλήλοις. οὐ μην και διεπράξατο οὐδαμόθι οὐδέν έκεινόν τε γάρ ὁ Κέλερ ἰσχυρῶς ἀπεκρούσατο, καὶ ὁ Φλάκκος ἐπειδὴ πολύν τὸν περίβολον τῆς ταφρείας όντα ἀδύνατος ἢν ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους σῶσαι, ἐτέραν ἔνδοθεν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ δόξαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοίς εναντίοις ώς και φοβηθείς εμβαλών, επε-4 σπάσατο αὐτοὺς εἴσω τῆς ἔξωθεν τάφρου, κάνταθθα μη προσδεχομένοις σφίσιν ἐπεκδραμών πολλούς μεν έν χερσί, πολλούς δε καὶ φεύγοντας έφονευσε. καν τούτω ο Πομπήιος προμαθών τε την 2 πείρασιν των βαρβάρων ην έπι τους άλλους έπεποίηντο, προαπήντησε τοῖς ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπιοῦσιν³ ἀπροσδόκητος, καὶ κρατήσας ἐπὶ τὸν 'Οροίσην εὐθὺς ὥσπερ εἶχεν ἢπείχθη. καὶ ἐκεῖνον μεν ου κατέλαβεν (ἀπωσθείς τε γάρ υπο του Κέλερος καὶ μαθών καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων πταίσματα

τὸ Xyl., τῶι L.
 τε τὴν Βκ., τήν τε L.
 ἐπιοῦσιν R. Steph., ἀπιοῦσιν Ι.

The quiet of his winter quarters, however, was B.C. 66 not unbroken. Oroeses, king of the Albanians dwelling beyond the Cyrnus, made an expedition against them just at the time of the Saturnalia. He was impelled partly by the desire to do a favour to Tigranes the younger, who was a friend of his, but chiefly by the fear that the Romans would invade Albania; and he cherished the idea that if he should fall upon them in the winter, when they were not expecting hostilities and were not encamped in one body, he would surely achieve some success. Oroeses himself marched against Metellus Celer, in whose charge Tigranes was, and sent some against Pompev and others against Lucius Flaccus, the commander of a third of the army, in order that all might be thrown into confusion at once, and so might not assist one another. And vet, in spite of all, he accomplished nothing at any point. Celer vigorously repulsed Oroeses. Flaccus, being unable to save the whole circuit of his entrenchments by reason of their size, constructed another line inside. This fixed in his opponents' minds the impression that he was afraid, and so he was able to entice them inside of the outer trench, where by making an unexpected charge upon them he slaughtered many in the conflict and many in flight. Meanwhile Pompey, having already learned of the attempt which the barbarians had made on the others, came, much to their surprise, to meet the detachment that was proceeding against him, conquered it, and at once hurried on just as he was against Oroeses. He did not overtake him, however, since Oroeses had fled after being repulsed by Celer and learning of the failures of the others; but he

¹ This river is called the Cyrus by other writers.

5 ἔφυγε), τῶν μέντοι 'Αλβανῶν συχνοὺς περὶ τὴν τοῦ Κύρνου διάβασιν συλλαβῶν ἔφθειρε. κἀκ τούτου δεηθεῖσιν αὐτοῖς ἐσπείσατο· ἄλλως μὲν γὰρ καὶ σφόδρα ἐπεθύμει ἐς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἀντεμβαλεῖν, διὰ δὲ δὴ τὸν χειμῶνα ἡδέως τὸν πόλεμον ἀνεβάλετο.

seized and destroyed many of the Albanians near the B.C. 66 crossing of the Cyrnus. He then made a truce at their request; for although on other accounts he was extremely anxious to invade their country out of revenge, he was glad to postpone the war because of the winter.

Τάδε ένεστιν έν τῷ τριακοστῷ έβδόμφ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

- α. 'Ως δ Πομπήιος πρός 'Ιβηρας τους έν τῆ 'Ασία ἐπολέμησεν.
- Β. 'Ως Πομπήιος του Πόντου τη Βιθυνία προσένειμεν.
- γ. 'Ως Πομπήιος τήν τε Συρίαν και την Φοινίκην ύπηγάγετο.
- δ. 'Ως Μιθριδάτης ἀπέθανε.
- ε. Περί τῶν Ἰουδαίων.
- 5. 'Ως Πομπήιος καταστησάμενος τὰ ἐν τῆ 'Ασία εἰς 'Ρώμην èπανῆλθε.
- ζ. Περί Κικέρωνος καί Κατιλίνου καί τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῶν πραχθέντων.
- η. Περί Καίσαρος και Πομπηίου και Κράσσου και της συνωμοσίας αὐτῶν.

Χρόνου πλήθος έτη έξ, εν οίς άρχοντες οι αριθμούμενοι οίδε **ἐγένοντα**

Λ. Αὐρήλιος Μ. υί. Κόττας

Λ. Μάλλιος Λ. υί. Τορκουᾶτος

Λ. Ἰούλιος Λ. νί. 1 Καΐσαρ

Γ. Μάρκιος Γ. υί. Φίγουλος

Μ. Τούλλιος Μ. υί. Κικέρων ήπ

Γ. 'Αντώνιος Μ. νί.

Δέκιμος 'Ιούνιος Μ. υί. Σιλανός ύπ.

Λ. Λικίννιος Λ. υί. Μουρήνας

Μ. Πούπιος 2 Μ. υί. Πίσων

Μ. Οὐαλέριος 3 Μ. υί. Μεσσάλας Νιγρός 4 ὑπ.

Λ.⁵ 'Αφράνιος Αξλ. υί.

Κ. Καικίλιος Κ. υί. Μέτελλος Κέλερ ὑπ.

Τότε μεν δη ταθτ' επραξε, τω δ' επιγιγνομένω έτει. τοῦ τε Κόττου τοῦ Λουκίου καὶ τοῦ Τορκουάτου τοῦ 6 Λουκίου ὑπατευόντων, ἐπολέμησε μέν καὶ τοῖς 'Αλβανοῖς, ἐπολέμησε δὲ καὶ τοῖς

² Πούπιος Palm., πούπλιος L.

¹ Τορκουᾶτος Λ. Ιούλιος Λ. υί. supplied by Palm.

The following is contained in the Thirty-seventh of Dio's Rome:-

How Pompey fought against the Asiatic Iberians (chaps.

How Pompey annexed Pontus to Bithynia [lost between chaps. 7 and 8].

How Pompey brought Syria and Phoenicia under his sway [lost between chaps. 7 and 8].

How Mithridates died (chaps. 10-14).

About the Jews (chaps. 15-19).

How Pompey after settling affairs in Asia returned to Rome (chaps. 20-23).

About Cicero and Catiline and their doings (chaps. 24-42). About Caesar and Pompey and Crassus and their league (chaps. 43-58).

Duration of time, six years, in which there were the following magistrates (consuls), here enumerated:—

R.C.

- 65 L. Aurelius M. F. Cotta, L. Manlius L. F. Torquatus.
- 64 L. Julius L. F. Caesar, C. Marcius C. F. Figulus.
- 63 M. Tullius M. F. Cicero, C. Antonius M. F.
 62 D. Junius M. F. Silanus, L. Licinius L. F. Murena.
- 61 M. Pupius M. F. Piso, M. Valerius M. F. Messalla Niger.
- L. Afranius A. F., C. Caecilius C. F. Metellus Celer.

The year following these exploits, in the consul-B.C. 65 ship of Lucius Cotta and Lucius Torquatus, Pompey engaged in warfare with both the Albanians and the

⁵ A. added by H. Steph., space left in L.

6 τοῦ added by Bk.

н

³ Οὐαλέριος R. Steph., γαλεριος L. 4 Νιγρός Palm., νιπρος L.

*Ιβηρσι. καὶ προτέροις γε τούτοις καὶ παρὰ 2 γνώμην ήναγκάσθη συνενεχθήναι: 'Αρτώκης γὰρ ό βασιλεύς αὐτῶν (νέμονται δὲ ἐπ' ἀμφότερα τοῦ Κύρνου, τῆ μὲν τοῖς 'Αλβανοῖς, τῆ δὲ τοῖς 'Αρμενίοις πρόσοροι) φοβηθείς μη και έφ' έαυτον τράπηται, πρέσβεις μεν ως καὶ ἐπὶ φιλία πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔπεμψε, παρεσκευάζετο δὲ ὅπως ἐν τῷ θαρσοῦντι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀνελπίστω οἱ ἐπίθηται. 3 προμαθών οὖν καὶ τοῦτο ὁ Πομπήιος ἔς τε τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ προενέβαλε, πρὶν ίκανῶς τε αὐτὸν ετοιμάσασθαι καὶ τὴν ἐσβολὴν δυσχερεστάτην οὖσαν προκατασχείν, καὶ ἔφθη καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν την 'Ακρόπολιν ωνομασμένην προχωρήσας, 4 πρὶν καὶ αἰσθέσθαι τὸν ᾿Αρτώκην ὅτι παρείη. δε έπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς στενοίς, ἔνθεν μεν1 Καυκάσου παρατείνοντος, οῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆ φυλακῆ των ἐσβολων ωχύρωτο. ὅ τε οὖν έκπλαγείς οὐδένα καιρον ώστε συντάξασθαι ἔσχεν, άλλὰ διαβὰς τὸν ποταμὸν τὴν γέφυραν 5 κατέπρησε, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ τείχει πρός τε τὴν φυγην αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἄμα καὶ μάχη νικηθέντες, ἐνέδοσαν. κρατήσας οὖν τῶν διόδων ὁ Πομπήιος φρουράν τε ἐπ' αὐταῖς κατεστήσατο, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ὁρμώμενος πασαν την έντος του ποταμού κατεστρέψατο.

2 Μέλλοντος δ' αὖ καὶ τὸν Κύρνον διαβήσεσθαι, πέμπει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ ᾿Αρτώκης εἰρήνην τε αἰτῶν, καὶ γέφυραν τά τε ἐπιτήδεια ἐκών οἱ παρέξειν ² ὑπισχνούμενος. καὶ ἐποίησε μὲν ἑκάτερον ὡς καὶ συμβησόμενος, δείσας δέ, ἐπειδὴ εἶδεν αὐτὸν διαβεβηκότα, πρὸς τὸν Πέλωρον, ἐν τῆ ἀρχῆ καὶ

¹ Bk. supplied τοῦ Κύρνου παραρρέοντυς, ἔνθεν δὲ, adopted in the translation. $^2 φυγὴν \text{ Leunel., } φυλακὴν \text{ L.}$

Iberians. Now it was with the Iberians that he was B.C. 65 compelled to fight first and quite contrary to his purpose. They dwell on both sides of the Cyrnus. adjoining the Albanians on the one hand and the Armenians on the other; and Artoces, their king. fearing that Pompey would direct his course against him, too, sent envoys to him on a pretence of peace, but prepared to attack him at a time when he should be feeling secure and therefore be off his guard. Pompey, learning of this also in good season, invaded the territory of Artoces before the other had made sufficient preparations or had secured the pass on the frontier, which was well-nigh impregnable. In fact he had advanced as far as the city called Acropolis 1 before Artoces became aware that he was at hand. This fortress was right at the narrowest point, where [the Cyrnus flows on the one side and] the Caucasus extends [on the other], and had been built there in order to guard the pass. Thus Artoces, panic-stricken, had no chance to array his forces, but crossed the river, burning down the bridge; and those within the fortress, in view of his flight and also of a defeat they sustained in battle, surrendered. Pompey, after making himself master of the pass, left a garrison in charge of it, and advancing from that point, subjugated all the territory this side of the river.

But when he was on the point of crossing the Cyrnus also, Artoces sent to him requesting peace and promising to yield the bridge to him voluntarily and to furnish him with provisions. Both of these promises the king fulfilled as if he intended to come to terms, but becoming afraid when he saw his enemy already across, he fled away to the Pelorus,

¹ Armastica ("Citadel of Armaz") is meant.

έκείνον τη αὐτοῦ ρέοντα, ἀπέφυγεν ον γάρ έξην αὐτῷ κωλῦσαι διαβηναι, τοῦτον ἐπισπασάμενος 3 ἀπεδίδρασκεν. ἰδων οῦν τοῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπεδίωξέ τε αὐτὸν καὶ καταλαβών ἐνίκησε δρόμω γάρ, καὶ πρὶν τοὺς τοξότας αὐτοῦ τῆ σφετέρα τέχνη χρήσασθαι, δμόσε σφίσιν εχώρησε καὶ δί 4 έλαχίστου αὐτοὺς ἐτρέψατο. γενομένου δὲ τούτου Αρτώκης μεν τόν τε Πέλωρον διαβάς καὶ τὴν γέφυραν και την εκείνου καύσας έφυγε, των δ άλλων οι μεν εν χερσίν, οι δε και τον ποταμον 5 πεζή περαιούμενοι ἀπέθανον συχνοί δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ὕλας σκεδασθέντες ἡμέρας μέν τινας ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων υπερυψήλων όντων αποτοξεύοντες διεγένοντο, έπειτα δέ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑποτμηθέντων τῶν δένδρων έφθάρησαν. καὶ οῦτω καὶ ὁ ᾿Αρτώκης έπεκηρυκεύσατο μεν αθθις τῷ Πομπηίω καὶ δώρα 6 ἔπεμψεν· ἐκείνου δὲ δὴ ταῦτα μέν, ὅπως τὰς σπονδὰς ποιήσεσθαι¹ ἐλπίσας μὴ περαιτέρω ποι προχωρήση, λαβόντος, την δ' εἰρήνην οὐχ όμολογήσαντος δώσειν αν μη τους 2 παιδάς οι ομήρους 7 προαποστείλη, χρόνον τινὰ ἐπέσχε, μέχρις οὐ οί 'Ρωμαίοι καὶ τὸν Πέλωρον διαβατόν πη τοῦ θέρους γενόμενον οὐ χαλεπώς, άλλως τε καὶ μηδενός κωλύοντος, επεραιώθησαν. ούτω δὲ δὴ τούς τε παίδας αὐτῷ ἔπεμψε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ συνηλλάγη.

Κάκ τούτου μαθών ο Πομπήιος οὐ πόρρω τὸν Φᾶσιν ὄντα, καὶ νομίσας ἔς τε τὴν Κολχίδα παρ' αὐτὸν καταβήσεσθαι καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἐς τὸν Βόσπορον πορεύσεσθαι,3 προήει

 ¹ ποιήσεσθαι Turn., ποιήσασθαι LU^c.
 ² τοὺς Rk., τούς τε LU^c.
 ³ πορεύσεσθαι H. Steph., πορεύεσθαι L.

another river that flowed through his domain. Thus B.C. 65 he first drew on, and then ran away from, the enemy whom he might have hindered from crossing. Upon perceiving this Pompey pursued, overtook, and conquered him. By a charge he came to close quarters with the enemy's bowmen before they could show their skill, and very promptly routed them. Thereupon Artoces crossed the Pelorus and fled, burning the bridge over that stream too; of the rest some were killed in conflict, and some while fording the river. Many others scattered through the woods and survived for a few days, while they shot their arrows from the trees, which were exceedingly tall; but soon the trees were cut down under them and they also were slain. So Artoces again made overtures to Pompey, and sent gifts. These the other accepted, in order that the king in the hope of securing a truce might not proceed any farther; but he would not agree to grant peace till the petitioner should first send to him his children as hostages. Artoces, however, delayed for a time, until in the course of the summer the Pelorus became fordable in places, and the Romans crossed over without any difficulty, particularly since no one hindered them; then at last he sent his children to Pompey and concluded a treaty.

Pompey, learning now that the Phasis was not far distant, decided to descend along its course to Colchis and thence to march to Bosporus against Mithridates. He advanced as he intended, traversing

2 μεν ή διενοείτο, καὶ τούς τε Κόλχους καὶ τοὺς προσχώρους σφίσι, τὰ μεν πείθων, τὰ δὲ καὶ έκφοβων, διηλθε αισθόμενος δὲ ἐνταῦθα ὅτι η τε έπι της ηπείρου κομιδή διά πολλών και άγνώστων καὶ πολεμικῶν ἐθνῶν, καὶ ἡ διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης χαλεπωτέρα διά τε τὸ ἀλίμενον τῆς 3 χώρας καί δια τους ενοικούντας αυτήν είη, τω μέν Μιθριδάτη το ναυτικον εφορμείν εκέλευσεν , ὅστε ἐκεῖνόν τε τηρῆσαι 1 μηδαμόσε ἐκπλεῦσαι καὶ τὴν ἐπαγωγὴν 2 αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀφελέσθαι. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ᾿Αλβανοὺς οὐ τὴν συντομωτάτην, όπως σφάς και ύπο τούτου πρός ταίς σπονδαίς ἀνελπίστους καταλάβη, ἀλλ' 4 την 'Αρμενίαν επανελθών ετράπετο. καὶ τόν τε Κύρνον, ή πορεύσιμος ύπὸ τοῦ θέρους εγεγόνει, πεζη διέβη, την τε ίππον κατά τὸν ροῦν καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα έξης, είτα τοὺς πεζοὺς διιέναι κελεύσας, ίν' οι τε ιπποι τὸ σφοδρὸν αὐτοῦ τοῖς σώμασί σφων διαχέωσι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν σκευοφόρων εἴ πού τι καὶ ως περιτραπείη, ές τε τους έπὶ θάτερα παρακολουθούντας έμπίπτη καὶ μὴ περαιτέρω κατα-5 φέρηται· κάντεθθεν πρός τον Καμβύσην πορευόμενος ύπο μεν των πολεμίων ούδεν δεινον έπαθεν, ύπὸ δὲ δὴ τοῦ καύματος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ δίψους ἰσχυρῶς μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ, καίτοι νυκτὸς τὸ πολὺ τῆς όδοῦ διελθών, ἐταλαιπώρησεν οί γὰο ἀγωγοί σφων, ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὅντες, 6 οὐ τὴν ἐπιτηδειοτάτην αὐτοὺς ἡγαγον. οὐ μὴν ούδ' ο ποταμός εν δεοντί σφισιν εγένετο ψυχρό-

² ἐπαγωγὴν Reim., ἀπαγωγὴν L.

¹ τηρήσαι Rk., τηρείσθαι L.; perhaps Rk. should be followed further in reading μή μηδαμόσε έκπλεύσαι.

the territory of the Colchians and their neighbours, B.C. 65 using persuasion in some quarters and fear in others. But, perceiving at this point that the route on land led through many unknown and hostile tribes, and that the voyage by sea was still more difficult on account of the lack of harbours in the country and on account of the people inhabiting the region, he ordered the fleet to blockade Mithridates so as to see that he did not sail away anywhere and to prevent his importing provisions, while he himself directed his course against the Albanians. did not take the most direct route, but first turned back into Armenia, in order that by such a course, taken in connection with the truce, he might find them off their guard. He forded the Cyrnus at a point where the summer had made it passable, ordering the cavalry to cross down stream, with the baggage animals next, and then the infantry. object was that the horses should break the violence of the current with their bodies, and if even so any one of the pack-animals should be swept off its feet it might collide with the men crossing on the lower side and not be carried farther down. From there he marched to the Cambyses, without suffering any injury at the hands of the enemy; but as a result of the heat and consequent thirst both he and the whole army suffered severely, notwithstanding the greater part of the march was covered at night. For their guides, who were from among the captives, did not lead them by the most suitable route, nor indeed was the river of any advantage to them; for the water, of

τατόν τε γὰρ τὸ ὕδωρ ὄν, καὶ ἀθρόον ὑπ' αὐτῶν ποθέν, συχνοῖς ἐλυμήνατο. ὡς δ' οὖν οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα ἀντίπαλόν τι αὐτοῖς ὤφθη, πρὸς τὸν ᾿Αβαντα προσεχώρησαν, ὕδωρ μόνον ἐπιφερόμενοι· τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα παρ' ἐκόντων τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐλάμβανον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδ' ἐκακούργουν οὐδέν.

Καί σφισι διαβεβηκόσιν ήδη τον ποταμον ό 'Οροίσης προσιών ήγγελθη, δ οὖν Πομπήιος βουληθείς αὐτόν, πρίν τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πληθος γνωναι, ές 1 μάχην υπαγαγέσθαι, μη και αισθό-2 μενος αὐτοῦ ἀναχωρήση, τούς τε ἱππέας προέταξε. προειπών σφισιν α ποιήσουσι, και τους λοιπους όπισθεν αὐτῶν ἔς τε τὰ γόνατα κεκλιμένους καὶ ταίς ἀσπίσι συγκεκαλυμμένους ἔχων ἀτρεμείν έποίησεν, ώστε τὸν 'Οροίσην μη πρότερον μαθείν 3 αὐτοὺς παρόντας πρὶν ἐν χερσὶ γενέσθαι. κάκ τούτου εκείνός τε των ίππέων ως και μόνων όντων καταφρονήσας συνέμιξέ σφισι, καὶ δι' ὀλίγου τραπέντας έξεπίτηδες ανα κράτος επεδίωξε καὶ οί πεζοι αναστάντες εξαίφνης και διαστάντες τοις μέν σφετέροις άσφαλή την φυγήν δια μέσου σφων παρέσχον, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἀπερισκέπτως τή διώξει χρωμένους έσδεξάμενοι συχνούς έκυκλώ-4 σαντο, καὶ οὖτοί τε τοὺς ἔνδον ἔκοπτον, καὶ οί ίππης, οι μεν επί δεξιά, οι δε επί θάτερα αὐτῶν περιελθόντες, κατά νώτου τοῖς έξω τῆς κυκλώσεως προσέπεσον. καὶ ἐκεῖ τε πολλοὺς ἐφόνευσαν έκάτεροι, καὶ έτέρους ² ές τὰς ὕλας καταφυγόντας

¹ ès Bs., πρὸs L. 2 ἐτέρους Rk., ἐκατέρους L.

which they drank great quantities, was very cold and B.C. 65 proved injurious to many. When no resistance was offered to them at this place either, they marched on to the Abas, carrying supplies of water only; for they received everything else by the free gift of the natives, and for this reason they committed no depredations.

After they had already got across the river it was announced that Oroeses was coming up. Now Pompey was anxious to lead him into conflict before he should find out the number of the Romans, for fear that when he learned it he might retreat. Accordingly he marshalled his cavalry in front, giving them notice beforehand what they should do; and he kept the rest behind them in a kneeling position and covered with their shields, causing them to remain motionless, so that Oroeses should not ascertain their presence until he came to close quarters. Thereupon the barbarian, in contempt for the cavalry, whom he supposed to be alone, joined battle with them. and when after a little they purposely turned to flight, he pursued them at full speed. Then the foot-soldiers suddenly rose and by extending their front not only afforded their own men a safe means of escape through their ranks but also received within their lines the enemy, who were heedlessly bent on pursuit, and surrounded a number of them. So these troops cut down those caught inside the circle; and the cavalry, some of whom went around on the right and some on the other side of them, assailed from the rear those who were on the outside. Each force slaughtered many there, and burned to death others who had fled into the woods, crying out the while,

κατέπρησαν, "ὶω ¹ Κρόνια ²" πρὸς τὴν ἐπίθεσίν

σφων την τότε γενομένην ἐπιλέγοντες.3

Πράξας δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ τὴν χώραν έπιδραμων τοις τε 'Αλβανοις είρήνην έδωκε, καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ των παρὰ τον Καύκασον μέχρι τῆς Κασπίας θαλάσσης, ές ην ἀπὸ τοῦ Πόντου τὸ όρος ἀρξάμενον τελευτᾶ, κατοικούντων ἐπικηρυ-2 κευσαμένοις έσπείσατο. Φραάτης δὲ ἔπεμψε μὲν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνανεώσασθαι τὰς συνθήκας ἐθέλων· ώς γὰρ ἐκεῖνόν τε οὕτω φερόμενον ἑώρα, καὶ τῆς Αρμενίας τοῦ τε Πόντου τοῦ ταύτη οἱ ὑποστράτηγοι αὐτοῦ τὰ λοιπὰ προσκατεστρέφοντο, ὅ τε Γαβίνιος καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν Εὐφράτην μέχρι τοῦ Τίγριδος προεχώρησεν, έφοβήθη τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν σύμ-Βασιν βεβαιώσασθαι έπεθύμησεν ου μέντοι καὶ 3 διεπράξατό τι. ό γὰρ Πομπήιος πρός τε τὰ παρ-όντα καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐλπίδας κατεφρόνησεν αὐτού, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα ὑπερφρόνως τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ελάλησε, καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν Κορδουηνήν, ὑπὲρ ής πρὸς τὸν Τιγράνην διεφέρετο, 4 απήτησεν. ἐπειδή τε ἐκεῖνοι μηδέν, ἄτε μηδὲ έπεσταλμένοι τι περί αὐτης, ἀπεκρίναντο, ἔγραψε μέν τινα τῷ Φραάτη, οὐκ ἀνέμεινε δὲ ἀντιπεμφθηναί τι, άλλ' ἐς την χώραν τὸν ᾿Αφράνιον παραχρημα ἔστειλε, καὶ κατασχὼν αὐτην ἀμαχεὶ 5 τῷ Τιγράνη ἔδωκε. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἡφράνιος διὰ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ές την Συρίαν παρά τὰ συγκείμενα πρὸς τὸν Πάρθον κομιζόμενος ἐπλανήθη, καὶ πολλὰ ὑπό τε τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς σπάνεως τῶν τροφῶν ἐκακώθη· κἂν ἀπώλοντο, εἰ μὴ

ὶὰ Rk., ἄ L.
 ἐκιλέγοντες Xyl., ἐπιλέγοντας L.
 ἐπιλέγοντες Xyl., ἐπιλέγοντας L.
 τοῦ supplied by Reim.

"Aha, the Saturnalia!" with reference to the attack B.C. 65 made on that occasion by the Albanians.

After accomplishing this and overrunning the country, Pompey granted peace to the Albanians, and on the arrival of heralds concluded a truce with some of the other tribes that dwell along the Caucasus as far as the Caspian Sea, where the mountains, which begin at Pontus, come to an end. Phraates likewise sent to him, desiring to renew the treaty with him. For the sight of Pompey's success, and the fact that his lieutenants were also subjugating the rest of Armenia and that part of Pontus, and that Gabinius had even advanced across the Euphrates as far as the Tigris, filled him with fear of them, and he was anxious to have the truce confirmed. He accomplished nothing, however; for Pompey, in view of the present situation and the hopes which it inspired, held him in contempt and replied haughtily to the ambassadors, among other things demanding back the territory of Corduene, 1 concerning which Phraates was quarrelling with Tigranes. When the envoys made no answer, inasmuch as they had received no instructions on this point, he wrote a few words to Phraates, but instead of waiting for a reply sent Afranius into the territory at once, and having occupied it without a battle, gave it to Tigranes. Afranius, returning through Mesopotamia to Syria, contrary to the agreement made with the Parthian, wandered from the way and encountered many hardships by reason of the winter and the lack of supplies. Indeed, his troops would have perished, had not the Carrhaeans,

¹ Called Gordyene by most writers.

Καρραίοι, Μακεδόνων τε ἄποικοι ὄντες καὶ ἐνταῦθά που οἰκοῦντες, ὑπέλαβόν τε αὐτὸν καὶ παρέπεμψαν.

- Ταῦτά τε πρὸς τὸν Φραάτην ἀπὸ τῆς παρούσης οί δυνάμεως έπραξε, σαφέστατα τοίς πλεονεκτείν Βουλομένοις επιδείξας ότι πάντα εκ των όπλων ήρτηται, καὶ ὁ ἐν αὐτοῖς κρατῶν νομοθέτης ὧν Βούλεται ἀναγκαῖος γίγνεται, καὶ προσέτι καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐπίκλησιν αὐτοῦ ὕβρισεν, ἦπερ πρός τε τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ἡγάλλετο καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς 'Ρωμαίους, οὖτοί τε αὖ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀεί ποτε 2 ἐκέγρηντο. βασιλέως γὰρ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων καλουμένου, τό τε τῶν βασιλέων ὄνομα περιέκοψε καὶ βασιλεῖ αὐτῷ μόνον ἐπιστέλλων ἔγραψε, καίτοι τῷ Τιγράνη τῷ αἰχμαλώτῷ καὶ τοῦτο παρὰ τὸ νομιζόμενον αὐτὸς 1 δούς, ὅτε τὰ ἐπινίκια αὐτοῦ 3 έν τη 'Ρώμη ἔπεμψεν. ὁ οὖν Φραάτης καίπερ δεδιώς τε αὐτὸν καὶ θεραπεύων, ηγανάκτησεν ἐπὶ τούτω ώς και της βασιλείας έστερημένος, και πέμψας πρέσβεις πάντα τε οσα ηδίκητο έπεκάλει οί, καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἀπηγόρευε μὴ διαβαίνειν.
- 4 Ἐπειδή τε οὐδὲν μέτριον ἀπεκρίνατο, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Τιγράνην μετὰ τοῦ υίέος αὐτοῦ, ῷ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐδεδώκει, ἐστράτευσεν, ἐν τῷ ἢρι ἐν ῷ Λούκιός τε Καῖσαρ καὶ Γάιος Φίγουλος ὑπάτευον καὶ νικηθεὶς μάχη ἔπειθ' ὕστερον ἀντεπεκράτησε.

¹ αὐτὸς Bs., αὐτοῖς L.

Macedonian colonists who dwelt somewhere in that $_{\rm B.C.~65}$ vicinity, received him and helped him forward.

This was the treatment which Pompey in the fulness of his power accorded to Phraates, thereby indicating very clearly to those desiring to indulge their greed that everything depends on armed force, and that he who is victorious by its aid wins inevitably the right to lay down whatever laws he pleases. Furthermore, he showed contempt for the title of Phraates, in which that ruler delighted before all the world and before the Romans themselves, and by which the latter had always addressed him. whereas he was called "King of Kings," Pompey clipped off the phrase "of Kings" and addressed his demands merely "to the King" when writing; and vet he later, of his own accord and contrary to custom, gave this title to the captive Tigranes, when he celebrated his triumph over him in Rome. Phraates, consequently, although he feared and paid court to him, was vexed at this, feeling that he had actually been deprived of his kingdom; and he sent ambassadors, reproaching him with all the wrongs he had suffered, and forbidding him to cross the Euphrates.

When Pompey gave him no conciliatory reply, B.C. 64
Phraates immediately began a campaign in the
spring against Tigranes, being accompanied by the
latter's son, to whom he had given his daughter in
marriage. 1 This was in the consulship of Lucius

marriage. This was in the consulship of Lucius Caesar and Gaius Figulus. In the first battle Phraates was beaten, but later was victorious. And

¹ Dio here records as a fresh event what he has already described at length as one of the occurrences of the year 66 (Book XXXVI. 51). This was probably due to the use of a second authority; cf. Intr. to vol. i. p. xvi.

5 του τε Τιγράνου τὸν Πομπήιον ἐν Συρία ὄντα έπικαλεσαμένου, πρέσβεις τε αὐθις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέστειλε, καὶ πολλά μὲν ἐκείνου κατηγόρησε, πολλά δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑπεσήμηνεν, ὥστε τον Πομπήιον καὶ αἰσχυνθηναι καὶ καταπλα-7 γηναι. οὔκουν οὔτε τῷ Τιγράνη ἐπεκούρησεν οὔτε πρὸς τὸν Φραάτην πολέμιον τι ἔτ' ἔπραξε, πρόφασιν ποιησάμενος τὸ μήτε ἐκείνην οἱ τὴν στρατείαν προστετάχθαι καὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἐν οπλοις έτ' είναι. άρκεισθαί τε τοίς κατειργασμένοις ἔφασκε, καὶ οὐκ ἐβούλετο . . . , μὴ πλειόνων όρεγόμενος καὶ περὶ ἐκείνοις, ὥσπερ που καὶ 2 ὁ Λούκουλλος, πταίση. τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἐφιλοσόφει, καὶ τό τε πλεονεκτείν δεινον καὶ το των άλλοτρίων εφίεσθαι άδικον είναι τότε έλεγεν ὅτ' οὐκέτ' αὐτοῖς χρησθαι ἐδύνατο. τάς τε γὰρ τοῦ Πάρθου δυνάμεις δείσας, καὶ τὸ ἀστάθμητον τῶν πραγμάτων φοβηθείς, ούτε τον πόλεμον καίτοι πολλών εναγόντων άνείλετο, καὶ τὰ εγκλήματα 3 τοῦ βαρβάρου ἐφαύλισεν, ἀντειπών μὲν οὐδέν, φήσας δε ύπερ δρίων τινών την διαφοράν αὐτώ πρός του Τιγράνην είναι, περί ων δικάσειν σφίσιν άνδρας τρείς. ούς καὶ ἔπεμψεν καὶ αὐτούς ώς άληθως έκεινοι διαιτητάς έπιγραψάμενοι πάντα τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐγκλήματα διελύσαντο, ὀργιζόμενος μεν ο Τιγράνης ότι της επικουρίας ούκ 4 έτυχε, βουλόμενος δε ο Φραάτης περιείναι τον 'Αρμένιον, ὅπως καὶ συμμάχω ποτὲ αὐτώ, εἰ δεηθείη, κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων χρήσαιτο. καὶ γὰρ εὖ ἠπίσταντο ἀμφότεροι ὅτι, ὁπότερος ἃν αὐτῶν τοῦ ἐτέρου κρατήση, τῶν τε πραγμάτων τοῖς 1 κρατήση Bs., κρατήσειε L.

when Tigranes invoked the assistance of Pompey, who B.C. 64 was in Syria, Phraates again sent ambassadors to the Roman commander, bringing many charges against Tigranes, and making many insinuations against the Romans, so that Pompey was both ashamed and alarmed. As a result he lent no aid to Tigranes and no longer took any hostile measures against Phraates, offering the excuse that no such expedition had been assigned to him and that Mithridates was still in arms. He declared himself satisfied with what had been accomplished and did not wish [to undertake further risks], lest in striving for additional results he might impair the successes already won by some reverse, as Lucullus had done. Such was his philosophy, and he maintained that covetousness was a dangerous thing, and to aim at the possessions of others unjust,-now that he was no longer able to make use of them. For he feared the forces of the Parthian and dreaded the uncertain issue of events, and so did not undertake this war, although many urged him to do so. As for the barbarian's complaints, he made light of them, offering no answer, but asserting that the dispute which the prince had with Tigranes concerned some boundaries, and that three men should decide the case for them. he actually sent, and they were enrolled as bond tide arbitrators by the two kings, who then settled all their mutual complaints. For Tigranes was angry at not having obtained the desired aid, and Phraates wished the Armenian ruler to survive, so that in case of need he might some day have him as an ally against the Romans. For they both well understood that whichever of them should conquer the other would simply help along matters for the Romans

'Ρωμαίοις προκόψει 1 καὶ αὐτὸς εὐχειρωτότερός 2

σφισι νενήσεται.

Έκεῖνοι μὲν δὴ διὰ ταῦτα κατηλλάγησαν, Πομπήιος δὲ ἔν τε τῆ ᾿Ασπίδι καὶ τότε ἐχείμασε, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα τὰ ετ' ἀνθιστάμενα προσηγάγετο, καὶ Συμφόριον τείχος Στρατονίκης οἱ προδούσης έλαβεν. αυτη δε γυνή τε του Μιθριδάτου ουσα, καὶ ὀργὴν αὐτῷ ὅτι ἐγκατελείφθη ἔχουσα, τούς τε φρουρούς ές παρασκευην δη τροφης έξέπεμψε καί τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐδέξατο, καίτοι παιδὸς αὐτῆς παρά . . .

Xiphilinus

- 'Υποστρέψας δὲ ἐξ 'Αρμενίας, καὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι καὶ τοῖς δυνάσταις τοῖς προσιοῦσιν αὐτῶ διαιτήσας καὶ χρηματίσας, καὶ τοῖς μὲν τὰς βασίλείας βεβαιώσας, τοις δε τας δυναστείας επαυξήσας, των δὲ καὶ τὰς ὑπεροχὰς κολούσας 4 καὶ ταπεινώσας, τήν τε κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην ἄρτι τε 5 βασιλέων ἀπηλλαγμένας καὶ ύπό τε τῶν ᾿Αραβίων καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιγράνου κεκακωμένας συνεστήσατο. ἐτόλμησε μὲν γὰρ ὁ 'Αντίοχος ἀπαιτησαι αὐτάς, οὐκ ἀπέλαβε δέ, ἀλλ' ές τε άρχην μίαν συνετάχθησαν καὶ νόμους έλαβον ώστε τον των Ρωμαίων τρόπον πολιτεύεσθαι.-Xiphil. p. 6, 26-7, 5 Dind.
 - . . . τοῦτο μόνον ἐν τῆ ἀγορανομία ἐπηνέθη, ἀλλ' ότι καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαῖα καὶ τὰ Μεγαλήσια πολυτελέστατα ἐποίησεν, ἔτι δὲ 6 καὶ μονομάχων ἀγῶνας

2 εὐχειρωτότερός Leuncl., εὐχειρότερός L.

¹ προκόψει Rk., προσκόψει L.

 ³ τὰ added by Bk.
 ⁴ κολούσας Leunel., κωλύσας VC.
 ⁵ τε Dind., γε VC.
 ⁶ δὲ Dind., τε L.

and would himself become easier for them to subdue. B.C. 65 For these reasons, then, they were reconciled.

Pompey passed this winter likewise in Aspis,¹ winning over the districts that were still resisting, and taking also Symphorion,² a fort which Stratonice betrayed to him. She was the wife of Mithridates, and in her anger against him because she had been left there she sent out the garrison, ostensibly to collect supplies, and then let the Romans in, although her child was with . . .

Xiphilinus

Returning from Armenia [Pompey] arbitrated B.C. 64 disputes and managed other business for kings and potentates who came to him. He confirmed some in possession of their kingdoms, added to the principalities of others, and curtailed and humbled the excessive powers of a few. Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, which had lately rid themselves of their kings and had been ravaged by the Arabians and Tigranes, were united by him. Antiochus had dared to ask them back, but did not secure them; instead, they were combined into one province and received laws so that they were governed in the Roman fashion.

... [Not] for this alone did [Caesar] receive B.C. 65 praise during his aedileship, but also because he exhibited both the Ludi Romani and the Megalenses on the most expensive scale and furthermore arranged gladiatorial contests in his father's honour

¹ A place otherwise unknown; Fabricius suggested reading Anatis in place of Aspis.

² Properly called Smoria.

113

ı

ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ μεγαλοφρονέστατα διέθηκεν. ἐγένετο μὲν γὰρ τῶν δαπανηθέντων ἐς αὐτὰ τὰ μὲν κοινῆ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν συνάρχοντα Μᾶρκον Βί-2 βουλον, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἰδίᾳ· τοσοῦτον δὲ δὴ ἐν τούτοις ὑπερῆρεν ὥστε καὶ τὴν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις δόξαν σφετερίσασθαι καὶ δοκεῖν ἄπαντα αὐτὸς ἀνηλωκέναι. ὁ οὖν Βίβουλος αὐτὸς ἐπισκώπτων ἔλεγεν ὅτι τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ Πολυδεύκει πεπονθὼς εἴη· τοῦ γάρ τοι ναοῦ κοινοῦ οἱ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Κάστορα ὄντος, ἐπ' ἐκείνου μόνου ἡ ἐπωνυμία αὐτοῦ γίγνεται.

9 'Επί μεν οὖν τούτοις ἔχαιρον οἱ 'Ρωμαῖοι, τὰ δε δη τέρατα καὶ πάνυ αὐτοὺς ἐθορύβει. ἐν γὰρ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἀνδριάντες τε πολλοὶ ὑπὸ κεραυνῶν συνεχωνεύθησαν καὶ ἀγάλματα ἄλλα τε καὶ Διὸς ἐπὶ κίονος ἱδρυμένον, εἰκών τέ τις λυκαίνης σύν τε τῶ 'Ρωμφ καὶ σὺν τῷ 'Ρωμύλω ἱδρυμένη ἔπεσε, τά

Τῷ Ῥώμῷ καὶ σὺν τῷ Ῥωμύλῷ ίδρυμένη ἔπεσε, τά τε γράμματα τῶν στηλῶν ἐς ᾶς οἱ νόμοι ἐσεγράφοντο συνεχύθη καὶ ἀμυδρὰ ἐγένετο.¹ τά τε οὖν ἄλλα ἐξεθύοντο τοῖς μάντεσι πειθόμενοι, καὶ τῷ Διὶ ἄγαλμα μεῖζον, πρός τε τὰς ἀνατολὰς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀγορὰν βλέπον, ὅπως αἱ συνωμοσίαι ὑφ'ὧν ἐταράττοντο ἐκφανεῖεν, ἱδρυθῆναι ἐψηφίσαντο.

3 Ταῦτά τε ἐν ἐκείνω τῷ ἔτει συνέβη, καὶ οἱ τιμηταὶ περὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἡριδανὸν οἰκούντων διενεχθέντες (τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτοὺς ² ἐσάγειν ἐδόκει, τῷ δὲ οὔ) οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων 4 ἔπραξαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπεῖπον. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ διάδοχοι αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ὑστέρω ἔτει οὐδὲν ³ ἐποίησαν, ἐμποδισάντων σφᾶς τῶν

¹ έγένετο R. Steph., έγένοντο L. 2 αὐτοὺs H. Steph., αὐτοῦ L. 3 οὐδὲν supplied by R. Steph.

in the most magnificent manner. For, although the B.C. 64 cost of these entertainments was in part shared jointly with his colleague Marcus Bibulus, and only in part borne by him individually, yet he so far excelled in the funeral contests as to gain for himself the credit for the others too, and was thought to have borne the whole cost himself. Even Bibulus accordingly joked about it, saying that he had suffered the same fate as Pollux; for, although that hero possessed a temple in common with his brother Castor, it was named after the latter only. 1

Over these successes the Romans naturally rejoiced, but the portents that occurred thoroughly disquieted them. On the Capitol many statues and images were melted by thunderbolts, among others one of Jupiter, set upon a pillar; and a likeness of the she-wolf with Romulus and Remus, mounted on a pedestal, fell down; also the letters of the columns on which the laws were inscribed became blurred and indistinct. Accordingly, on the advice of the sooth-sayers they offered many expiatory sacrifices and voted that a larger statue of Jupiter should be set up, looking toward the east and the Forum, in order that the conspiracies by which they were disturbed might come to light.

Such were the occurrences of that year. The censors also became involved in a dispute about the people living beyond the Po, one believing it wise to admit them to citizenship, while the other did not; so they did not even perform any of their other duties, but resigned their office. And for the same reason their successors, too, did nothing in the following year, inasmuch as the tribunes hindered

Aedes Castoris (or Castorum) was the usual name; yet in Suet. Calig. 22 we read aede Castoris et Pollucis.

δημάρχων πρὸς τὸν τῆς βουλῆς κατάλογον, δέει τοῦ μὴ τῆς γερουσίας αὐτοὺς ἐκπεσεῖν. κἀν τούτω πάντες οἱ ἐν τῆ 'Ρώμη διατρίβοντες, πλὴν τῶν τὴν νῦν Ἰταλίαν οἰκούντων, ἐξέπεσον Γαΐου τινὸς Παπίου δημάρχου γνώμη, ἐπειδὴ ἐπεπόλαζον καὶ οἰκ ἐδόκουν ἐπιτήδειοἱ σφισιν εἶναι συνοικεῖν.

ούκ έδόκουν έπιτήδειοί σφισιν είναι συνοικειν.

Τῷ δὲ¹ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει, τοῦ τε Φιγούλου καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ Λουκίου ἀρχόντων, βραχέα μέν, μνήμης δ' οὖν ἄξια πρὸς τοὺς τῶν ἀνθρωπείων 2 πραγμάτων παραλόγους συνηνέχθη. ὅ τε γὰρ τὸν Λουκρήτιον ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Σύλλου προστάξεως ἀποκτείνας, καὶ ἔτερός τις συχνοὺς τῶν ἐπικηρυχθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φονεύσας, καὶ κατηγορήθησαν ἐπὶ ταῖς σφαγαῖς καὶ ἐκολάσθησαν, τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ Ἰουλίου τοῦθ' ὅτι μάλιστα παρα-3 σκευάσαντος. οὕτω καὶ τοὺς πάνυ ποτὲ δυνηθέντας ἀσθενεστάτους αἱ μεταβολαὶ τῶν πραγμάτων πολλάκις ποιοῦσι. τοῦτό τε οὖν παρὰδόξαν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐχώρησε, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ὁ

Κατιλίνας ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις αἰτίαν (πολλοὺς γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν ὁμοίων ἀπεκτόνει) λαβὼν ἀπελύθη. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκ τούτου χείρων τε πολὺ 4 ἐγένετο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀπώλετο τοῦ γὰρ δὴ Κικέρωνος τοῦ Μάρκου μετὰ Γαΐου ᾿Αντωνίου ὑπατεύσαντος, ὅτε Μιθριδάτης οὐδὲν ἔτι δεινὸν τοὺς Ὑρωμαίους εἰργάσατο ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν διέφθειρεν, ἐπεχείρησεν ἐκεῖνος τήν τε πολιτείαν νεωτερίζειν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆ συνιστὰς ἐς φόβον σφᾶς οὐ σμικροῦ πολέμου ἐνέβαλεν. ἐπράχθη δὲ ὧδε ἑκάτερον.

11 ΄Ο Μιθριδάτης αὐτὸς μὲν οὐχ ὑπεῖκε ταῖς

them in regard to the senatorial list, fearing that B.C. 65 they themselves might be expelled from that body. Meanwhile all those who were resident [aliens] in Rome, except inhabitants of what is now Italy, were banished on the motion of one Gaius Papius, a tribune, because they were coming to be too numerous and were not thought fit persons to dwell with the citizens.

In the following year, when Figulus and Lucius B.C. 64 Caesar were in office, the events were few, but worthy of remembrance in view of the contradictions in human affairs. For the man 1 who had slain Lucretius² at the instance of Sulla, and another³ who had slain many of the persons proscribed by him, were tried for the murders and punished, Julius Caesar being most instrumental in bringing this about. Thus changing circumstances often render very weak even those once exceedingly powerful. This matter, then, turned out contrary to most people's expectation, as did also the case of Catiline, who, although charged with the same crimes as the others (for he, too, had killed many of the proscribed), was acquitted. And from this very circumstance he became far worse and even lost his life as a result. For, when Marcus Cicero had become consul with B.C. 63 Gaius Antonius, and Mithridates no longer caused any injury to the Romans, but had destroyed himself, Catiline undertook to set up a new government, and by banding together the allies against the state threw the people into fear of a mighty conflict. Now these two events came about as follows.

Mithridates did not give way himself under his

1 L. Annius Bellienus. 2 Q. Lucretius Ofella. 3 L. Luscius

συμφοραίς, άλλὰ τη βουλήσει πλέον ή τη δυνάμει νέμων ένενόει, άλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδη ὁ Πομπήιος έν τη Συρία διέτριβε, πρός τε τὸν Ίστρον διὰ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἐλθεῖν, κἀντεῦθεν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν 2 ἐσβαλεῖν φύσει τε γὰρ μεγαλοπράγμων ὧν, καὶ πολλών μεν πταισμάτων, πολλών δε και εύτυνημάτων πεπειραμένος, οὐδεν ούτε ἀτόλμητον ούτε ανέλπιστόν οἱ εἶναι ἐνόμιζεν. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ σφαλείη, συναπολέσθαι τη βασιλεία μετά άκεραίου τοῦ φρονήματος μᾶλλον ἢ στερηθεὶς αὐτῆς έν τε ταπεινότητι καὶ ἐν ἀδοξία ζῆν ἤθελεν. 3 αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔρρωτο. ὅσω γὰρ τῆ τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενεία ἀπεμαραίνετο, τοσούτω τῆ τῆς γνώμης ῥώμη ἰσχυρίζετο, ὥστε καὶ τὴν εκείνου άρρωστίαν τοις ταύτης λογισμοίς άνα-4 λαμβάνειν οί δ' άλλοι οί συνόντες αὐτῶ, ὡς τά τε τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἰσχυρότερα καὶ τὰ τοῦ Μιθρι-δάτου ἀσθενέστερα ἀεὶ ἐγίγνετο (τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ὁ σεισμὸς μέγιστος δὴ τῶν πώποτε συνενεχθείς αὐτοῖς πολλάς τῶν πόλεων ἔφθειρεν), ηλλοιοθυτο, καὶ τά τε στρατιωτικά ἐκινεῖτο, κάὶ παίδάς τινας αὐτοῦ συναρπάσαντές τινες πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον ἐκόμισαν.

12 Ἐπ' οὖν τούτοις τοὺς μὲν ἐφώρα καὶ ἐκόλαζε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὑποψίας ὀργἢ προκατελάμβανε, καὶ ἢν πρὸς οὐδένα ἔτι πιστός, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τέκνων ὑποτοπήσας τινὰ ἀπέσφαξεν. ἰδῶν οὖν ταῦτα υἰός τις αὐτοῦ Φαρνάκης, καὶ ἐκεῖνόν τε ἄμα φοβηθεὶς καὶ παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὴν βασιλείαν (καὶ γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἤδη ἦν) λήψεσθαι 2 προσδοκήσας, ἐπεβούλευσεν αὐτῷ. φωραθεὶς δέ (πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ φανερῶς καὶ λάθρα πάντα τὰ

misfortunes, but relying more on his will than on his B.C. 63 power, he planned, especially as Pompey was now tarrying in Syria, to reach the Ister through Scythia, and from there to invade Italy. For, inasmuch as he was by nature given to great projects and had met with many successes as well as many failures, he felt there was nothing which might not be ventured or hoped for. And if he was to fail, he preferred to perish along with his kingdom, with pride undiminished, rather than live deprived of it in humility and disgrace. On this idea, then, he himself grew strong; for in proportion as he wasted away through weakness of body, the more steadfast did he grow in strength of mind, so that he even offset the infirmity of the former by the reasonings of the latter. his associates, on the other hand, became estranged, as the position of the Romans was ever growing more secure and that of Mithridates weaker. Among other things the greatest earthquake ever experienced destroyed many of their cities; the soldiery also mutinied, and some of Mithridates' sons were kidnapped and conveyed to Pompey.

Thereupon he detected and chastised some, while others he punished on mere suspicion, before they could accomplish anything; he no longer trusted anybody, but even put to death some of his remaining children who incurred his suspicion. Seeing this, one of his sons, Pharnaces, impelled at once by fear of the king and the expectation of receiving the kingdom from the Romans, as he had now reached manhood, plotted against him. He was detected, for many both openly and secretly were concerning themselves with all that he was doing; and if the body-

πραττόμενα ύπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπολυπραγμόνουν) εὐθὺς αν, είπερ τι καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον εὐνοίας οἱ δορυφόροι τῷ γέροντι εἶχον, ἐδικαιώθη νῦν δὲ καίτοι σοφώτατος ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐς πάντα τὰ βασιλικὰ γενόμενος, οὐκ ἔγνω ὅτι οὐδεν οὐδενὶ οὕτε τὰ όπλα οὖτε τὰ πλήθη τῶν ὑπηκόων ἄνευ τῆς παρ' αὐτῶν φιλίας ἰσχύει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσῷ τις ἃν πλείω, μὴ μέντοι καὶ πιστὰ αὐτὰ ἔχη, χαλε-3 πώτερα αὐτῷ γίγνεται. ὁ γοῦν Φαρνάκης μετά τε τῶν προπαρεσκευασμένων καὶ μετὰ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς τὴν σύλληψιν αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντων (ράστα γαρ αὐτοὺς ωκειώσατο) καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν άντικρυς τὸν πατέρα ἡπείχθη. πυθόμενος δὲ τοῦτο ο γέρων (ἦν δὲ ἐν Παντικαπαίφ) στρατιώτας τινὰς ἐπὶ τὸν υίον, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφεψόμενός σφισι, 4 προέπεμψε. καὶ τούτους τε ἐκεῖνος διὰ βραχέος, άτε μηδ' αὐτοὺς φιλοῦντας τὸν Μιθριδάτην, ἀπετρέψατο, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκουσίαν ἔλαβε, τόν τε πατέρα ές τὸ βασίλειον καταφυγόντα ἀπέκτεινεν.

13 Ἐπεχείρησε μὲν γὰρ ἐαυτὸν διαχρήσασθαι, καὶ τάς τε γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς λοιποὺς φαρμάκω προαπαλλάξας τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξέπιεν, οὐ μέντοι οὔτε ² δι ἐκείνου ³ οὔτε διὰ ξίφους αὐτο-2 χειρία ἀποφθαρῆναι ἠδυνήθη. τό τε γὰρ φάρμακον, καίτοι θανάσιμον ὄν, οὐ συνεῖλεν αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ πολλῆ καθ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν προφυλακῆ ἀλεξιφαρμάκων ἐκεκράτυντο· καὶ ἡ τοῦ ξίφους πληγὴ διά τε τὴν τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπό τε τῆς ἡλικίας καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν περιεστηκότων ἀσθένειαν

¹ ἀπετρέψατο Pflugk, ἐπετρέψατο L. 2 οὕτε Bk., οὐδὲ L. 3 δι' ἐκείνου R. Steph., δ' ἐκείνου L.

guard had had even the slightest good-will toward B.C. 63 their aged sovereign, the son would have been punished immediately. But as it was, Mithridates, who had proved himself most wise in all matters pertaining to his royal office, did not recognize the fact that neither arms nor a multitude of subjects is of any real strength to any one without their friendship; on the contrary, the more subjects a ruler has, the greater burden they are to him, unless he holds them faithful. At any rate, Pharnaces, followed both by the men he had made ready and by those whom his father had sent to arrest him,—for he won these over very easily,—hastened directly against his father himself. The king was in Panticapaeum when he learned this, and sent ahead some soldiers against his son intimating that he himself would soon follow them. These also Pharnaces quickly diverted from their . purpose, inasmuch as they too did not love Mithridates, and after receiving the voluntary submission of the city, he put to death his father, who had fled for refuge into the palace.

Mithridates had tried to make away with himself, and after first removing his wives and remaining children by poison, he had swallowed all that was left; yet neither by that means nor by the sword was he able to perish by his own hands. For the poison, although deadly, did not prevail over him, since he had inured his constitution to it, taking precautionary antidotes in large doses every day; and the force of the sword blow was lessened on account of the weakness of his hand, caused by his age and present misfortunes, and as a result of

καὶ διὰ τὴν φαρμάκου ὁποιουδηποτοῦν 1 λῆψιν

3 ἀπημβλύνθη. ώς οὖν οὖτε δι' ἐαυτοῦ ἀνηλίσκετο καὶ πέρα τοῦ καιροῦ χρονίζειν εδόκει, προσέπεσόν τε αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνοι οῦς ἐπὶ τὸν υίὸν ἐπεπόμφει, καὶ συνετάχυναν τοις ξίφεσι και ταις λόγχαις τον 4 όλεθρον. Μιθριδάτης μεν δη ποικιλωτάτη αεί καὶ μεγίστη τῆ τύχη χρησάμενος, οὐδὲ τὴν τέλευτην τοῦ βίου άπλην ἔσχεν ἐπεθύμησέ τε γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν μη βουλόμενος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀποκτείναι σπουδάσας οὐκ ήδυνήθη, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν φαρμάκω τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ξίφει αὐθέντης τε ἄμα 14 εγένετο καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν εχθρῶν ἀπεσφάγη. Φαρνάκης δὲ τό τε σῶμα αὐτοῦ τῷ Πομπηίω ταριχεύσας, έλεγχον τοῦ πεπραγμένου, ἔπεμψε, καὶ ἐαυτὸν τήν τε άρχην παρέδωκε. καὶ δς τῷ μὲν Μιθριδάτη οὐδὲν έλυμήνατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πατρώοις ηρίοις ταφηναι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε τὸ γὰρ πολέμιον αὐτοῦ συναποσβηκέναι τη ψυχή νομίζων οὐδὲν 2 έτι τῷ νεκρῷ μάτην ὡργίζετο τὴν μέντοι βασιλείαν του Βοσπόρου μισθον τώ Φαρνάκη της μιαιφονίας έχαρίσατο, καὶ ἔς γε τοὺς φίλους τούς τε συμμάχους αὐτὸν ἀνέγραψεν.

3 ΄Ως οὖν ἐκεῖνός τε ἀπωλώλει καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ πάντα πλὴν ὀλίγων κατέστραπτο (τείχη γάρ τινα φρουροὶ ἔξω τοῦ Βοσπόρου ἔτι καὶ τότε ἔχοντες οὐκ εὐθὺς ὡμολόγησαν, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἀνθίστασθαί οἱ διενοοῦντο, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ τὰ χρήματα, ὰ ἐφύλασσον, προδιαρπάσαντές τινες ἐκείνοις τὴν αἰτίαν προσθῶσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀνέμενον, αὐτῷ βουλόμενοι τῷ Πομπηίῳ πάντα 15 ἐπιδεῦξαι), ὡς οὖν τά τε ἐνταῦθα κατείργαστο καὶ

taking the poison, whatever it was. When, there- B.C. 63 fore, he failed to take his life through his own efforts and seemed to linger beyond the proper time, those whom he had sent against his son fell upon him and hastened his end with their swords and spears. Thus Mithridates, who had experienced the most varied and remarkable fortune, had not even an ordinary end to his life. For he desired to die, albeit unwillingly, and though eager to kill himself was unable to do so; but partly by poison and partly by the sword he was at once self-slain and murdered by his foes. Pharnaces embalmed his body and sent it to Pompey as a proof of what had been done, and surrendered himself and his dominions. The Roman showed Mithridates no indignity, but, on the contrary, commanded that he be buried among the tombs of his ancestors; for, feeling that his foe's enmity had been extinguished with his life, he now indulged in, no vain rage against his dead body. Nevertheless he granted the kingdom of Bosporus to Pharnaces as the wages of his bloody deed, and enrolled him as a friend and ally.

After the death of Mithridates all portions of his dominion except a few were subjugated. A few garrisons which at that time were still holding forts outside of Bosporus, did not immediately come to terms, not so much because they were minded to resist Pompey as because they were afraid that others might seize the money which they were guarding and lay the blame upon them; hence they waited, wishing to show everything to Pompey himself. When, then, the regions in that quarter had been subdued, and Phraates

ό Φραάτης ήσυχίαν ήγεν, ή τε Συρία καὶ ή Φοινίκη καθειστήκει, τρέπεται πρὸς 'Αρέταν. οὖτος δὲ 'Αραβίων μὲν τῶν νῦν τοῖς 'Ρωμαίοις δουλευόντων μέχρι τῆς 'Ερυθρᾶς θαλάσσης ἐβασίλευε, πλεῖστα δὲ δὴ τὴν Συρίαν πρότερον λυπήσας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μάχη πρὸς τῶν 'Ρωμαίων ἀμυνόντων αὐτῆ νικηθείς, ὅμως καὶ τότε ἔτ' 2 ἐπολέμει. ἐπ' οὖν τοῦτον τούς τε πλησιοχώρους αὐτῷ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐλάσας ἀκονιτί τε αὐτοὺς προσηγάγετο καὶ φρουρᾶ παρέδωκε.

Κάντεθθεν έπι την Συρίαν την Παλαιστίνην ώς καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην κακώσαντας, ὥρμησεν. ηρχον δὲ αὐτῶν Ὑρκανός τε καὶ ᾿Αριστόβουλος ἀδελφοί, καὶ ἐτύγχανον ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ σφετέρου θεοῦ, ὅστις ποτὲ οὖτός ἐστιν, ἱερωσύνης (οὕτω γὰρ την βασιλείαν σφών ωνόμαζον) αὐτοί τε δια-3 φερόμενοι καὶ τὰς πόλεις στασιάζοντες. ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος Υρκανον μεν ούδεμίαν άξιόχρεων ίσχυν έγοντα άμαχεὶ εὐθὺς προσέθετο, 'Αριστόβουλον δὲ ές χωρίον τι κατακλείσας όμολογησαί οἱ ηνάγκασε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μήτε τὰ χρήματα μήτε τὸ φρούριον παρεδίδου, ἔδησεν αὐτόν. κάκ τούτου τοὺς μὲν άλλους ράον προσεποιήσατο, τὰ δὲ Ἱεροσόλυμα 16 πολιορκῶν πράγματα ἔσχε. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλην πόλιν, ἐσδεξαμένων αὐτον τῶν τὰ τοῦ Ὑρκανοῦ Φρονούντων, ἀπραγμόνως ἔλαβεν, αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ίερὸν προκατασχόντων των έτέρων οὐκ ἀπόνως είλεν 2 ἐπί τε γὰρ μετεώρου ἢν καὶ περιβόλω ἰδίω ἀχύρωτο. καὶ εἴ γε ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἡμέραις ὁμοίως ημύνοντο, οὐκ αν αὐτὸ ἐχειρώσατο νῦν δὲ τὰς τοῦ Κρόνου δη ωνομασμένας διαλείποντες, καὶ

remained quiet, while Syria and Phoenicia had n.c. 63 become tranquil, Pompey turned against Aretas. The latter was king of the Arabians, now subjects of the Romans, as far as the Red Sea. Previously he had done the greatest injury to Syria and had on this account become involved in a battle with the Romans who were defending it; he was defeated by them, but nevertheless continued the war at that time. Pompey accordingly marched against him and his neighbours, and, overcoming them without effort, left them in charge of a garrison.

Thence he proceeded against Syria Palaestina, because its inhabitants had ravaged Phoenicia. Their rulers were two brothers, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who were quarrelling themselves, as it chanced, and were creating factions in the cities on account of the priesthood (for so they called their kingdom) of their god, whoever he is. Pompey immediately won over Hyrcanus without a battle, since the latter had no force worthy of note; and by shutting up Aristobulus in a certain place he compelled him to come to terms, and when he would surrender neither the money nor the garrison, he threw him into chains. After this he more easily overcame the rest, but had trouble in besieging Jerusa-Most of the city, to be sure, he took without any trouble, as he was received by the party of Hyrcanus; but the temple itself, which the other party had occupied, he captured only with difficulty. For it was on high ground and was fortified by a wall of its own, and if they had continued defending it on all days alike, he could not have got possession of it. As it was, they made an exception of what are called the days of Saturn, and by doing

οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἐν αὐταῖς δρῶντες, παρέδωκαν τοῖς 'Ρωμαίοις καιρὸν ἐν τῷ διακένῳ τούτῳ τὸ 3 τεῖχος διασεῖσαι. μαθόντες γὰρ τὴν πτόησιν ¹ αὐτῶν ταύτην τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον οὐδὲν σπουδῆ ἔπραττον, ταῖς δὲ δὴ ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ὁπότε ἐκ τῆς περιτροπῆς ἐπέλθοιεν, ἐντονώτατά 4 οἱ προσέβαλλον. καὶ οὕτως ἑάλωσάν τε ἐν τῆ τοῦ Κρόνου ἡμέρα μηδ' ἀμυνόμενοι, καὶ πάντα τὰ χρήματα διηρπάσθη. ἥ τε βασιλεία τῷ 'Υρκανῷ ἐδόθη, καὶ ὁ 'Αριστόβουλος ἀνηνέχθη.

εοουη, και ο Αριστοβουλος ανηνεχυη. 5 Ταῦτα μὲν τότε ἐν τῆ Παλαιστίνη ἐγένετο· οὕτω γὰρ τὸ σύμπαν ἔθνος, ὅσον ἀπὸ τῆς Φοι-

νίκης μέχρι τῆς Αἰγύπτου παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν την έσω παρήκει, από παλαιού κέκληται. έγουσι δὲ καὶ ἔτερον ὄνομα ἐπίκτητον ή τε γὰρ χώρα 17 'Ιουδαία καὶ αὐτοὶ 'Ιουδαῖοι ἀνομάδαται ἡ δὲ επίκλησις αυτη εκείνοις μεν ούκ οίδ σθεν ήρξατο γενέσθαι, φέρει δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους όσοι τὰ νόμιμα αὐτῶν, καίπερ ἀλλοεθνεῖς ὄντες, ζηλοῦσι. καὶ ἔστι καὶ παρά τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τὸ γένος τοῦτο, κολουσθεν μεν 2 πολλάκις, αὐξηθεν δὲ ἐπὶ πλείστον, ὥστε καὶ ἐς παρρησίαν τῆς 2 νομίσεως ἐκνικῆσαι. κεχωρίδαται δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔς τε τάλλα τὰ περὶ τὴν δίαιταν πάνθ' ώς είπειν, και μάλισθ' ὅτι τῶν μὲν άλλων θεών οὐδένα τιμώσιν, ένα δέ τινα ἰσχυρώς σέβουσιν. οὐδ' ἄγαλμα οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἐν αὐτοῖς ποτε τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἔσχον, ἄρρητον δὲ δὴ καὶ αειδή αὐτὸν νομίζοντες είναι περισσότατα αν-3 θρώπων θρησκεύουσι. καὶ αὐτῶ νεών τε μέγιστον

¹ πτόησιν Madvig, ἐμποίησιν L. ² μὲν supplied by R. Steph. ³ οὐδ' added by v. Herw.

no work at all on those days afforded the Romans an opportunity in this interval to batter down the wall. The latter, on learning of this superstitious awe of theirs, made no serious attempts the rest of the time, but on those days, when they came round in succession, assaulted most vigorously. Thus the defenders were captured on the day of Saturn, without making any defence, and all the wealth was plundered. The kingdom was given to Hyrcanus, and Aristobulus was carried away.

This was the course of events at that time in Palestine; for this is the name that has been given from of old to the whole country extending from Phoenicia to Egypt along the inner sea. They have also another name that they have acquired: the country has been named Judaea, and the people themselves Jews. I do not know how this title came to be given them, but it applies also to all the rest of mankind, although of alien race, who affect their customs. This class exists even among Romans, and though often repressed has increased to a very great extent and has won its way to the right of freedom in its observances. They are distinguished from the rest of mankind in practically every detail of life, and especially by the fact that they do not honour any of the usual gods, but show extreme reverence for one particular divinity. They never had any statue of him even in Jerusalem itself, but believing him to be unnamable and invisible, they worship him in the most extravagant fashion on earth. They built to him a temple

καὶ περικαλλέστατον, πλην καθ' ὅσον ἀχανής τε καὶ ἀνώροφος ἢν, ἐξεποίησαν, καὶ την ἡμέραν την τοῦ Κρόνου καλουμένην ἀνέθεσαν, καὶ ἄλλα τε ἐν αὐτῆ ἰδιαίτατα πολλὰ ¹ ποιοῦσι, καὶ ἔργου οὐδενὸς σπουδαίου προσάπτονται.

4 Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατ' ἐκείνον, τίς τε ἔστι καὶ ὅθεν οὕτως ἐτιμήθη, ὅπως τε περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπτόηνται, πολλοῖς τε εἴρηται καὶ οὐδὲν τῆδε τῆ ἱστορία 18 προσήκει τὸ δὲ δὴ ἐς τοὺς ἀστέρας τοὺς ἑπτὰ τοὺς πλάνητας ἀνομασμένους τὰς ἡμέρας ἀνακεῖσθαι κατέστη μὲν ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων, πάρεστι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους, οὐ πάλαι ποτὲ ὡς λόγψ εἰπεῖν ἀρξάμενον οἱ γοῦν ἀρχαῖοι Ελληνες 2 οὐδαμῆ αὐτό, ὅσα γε ἐμὲ εἰδέναι, ἠπίσταντο. ἀλλ ἐπειδὴ καὶ πάνυ νῦν τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἄπασι καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς 'Ρωμαίοις ἐπιχωριάζει, καὶ ἤδη καὶ τοῦτό

τοις τοις τωμαιοις επιχωριαζει, και ηση και τουτο σφισι πάτριον τρόπον τινά έστι, βραχύ τι περὶ αὐτοῦ διαλεχθηναι βούλομαι, πῶς τε καὶ τίνα τρόπον οὕτω τέτακται. ἤκουσα δὲ δύο λόγους, ἄλλως μὲν οὐ χαλεποὺς γνωσθηναι, θεωρίας δέ ² 3 τινος ἐχομένους. εἰ γάρ τις τὴν άρμονίαν τὴν διὰ τεσσάρων καλουμένην, ἤπερ που καὶ τὸ κῦρος

διά τεσσάρων καλουμένην, ηπέρ που και το κυρος της μουσικής συνέχειν πεπίστευται, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας τούτους, ὑφ' ὧν ὁ πᾶς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κόσμος διείληπται, κατὰ τὴν τάξιν καθ' ὴν ἔκαστος αὐτῶν περιπορεύεται ἐπαγάγοι, καὶ ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξω περιφορᾶς τῆς τῷ Κρόνω δεδομένης,

ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξω περιφορᾶς τῆς τῷ Κρόνῳ δεδομένης, 4 ἔπειτα διαλιπὼν δύο τὰς ἐχομένας τὸν τῆς τετάρτης δεσπότην ὀνομάσειε, καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν³ δύο αὖ ἑτέρας ὑπερβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν ἑβδόμην ἀφίκοιτο, κἀν

that was extremely large and beautiful, except in so B.C. 63 far as it was open and roofless, 1 and likewise dedicated to him the day called the day of Saturn, on which, among many other most peculiar observances, they undertake no serious occupation.

Now as for him, who he is and why he has been so honoured, and how they got their superstitious awe of him, accounts have been given by many, and moreover these matters have naught to do with this history. The custom, however, of referring the days to the seven stars called planets was instituted by the Egyptians, but is now found among all manknid. though its adoption has been comparatively recent; at any rate the ancient Greeks never understood it, so far as I am aware. But since it is now quite the fashion with mankind generally and even with the Romans themselves, and is to them already in a way an ancestral tradition, I wish to write briefly of it, telling how and in what way it has been so arranged. I have heard two explanations, which are not difficult of comprehension, it is true, though they involve certain theories. For if you apply the so-called "principle of the tetrachord" (which is believed to constitute the basis of music) to these stars, by which the whole universe of heaven is divided into regular intervals, in the order in which each of them revolves, and beginning at the outer orbit assigned to Saturn, then omitting the next two name the lord of the fourth, and after this passing over two others reach the seventh, and you then go back and repeat the process with the

129

¹ This statement would seem to rest upon a confusion of the court (or courts) with the temple itself.

τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ τρόπῳ αὐτάς τε ἐπανιὼν 1 καὶ τούς εφόρους σφών θεούς ανακυκλών επιλέγοι ταις ήμέραις, εύρήσει πάσας αὐτὰς μουσικώς πως 19 τη τοῦ οὐρανοῦ διακοσμήσει προσηκούσας. μέν δη οὖτος λέγεται λόγος, ἔτερος δὲ ὅδε. ώρας της ήμέρας καὶ της νυκτὸς ἀπὸ της πρώτης άρξάμενος άριθμείν, καὶ ἐκείνην μὲν τῶ Κρόνω διδούς, την δὲ ἔπειτα τῷ Διί, καὶ τρίτην "Αρει, τετάρτην ήλίω, πέμπτην 'Αφροδίτη, έκτην Έρμη, καὶ 2 έβδόμην σελήνη, κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τῶν κύκλων καθ' ην οί Αιγύπτιοι αὐτην νομίζουσι, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ αὖθις ποιήσας, πάσας τε 2 οὕτω τὰς τέσσαρας καὶ εἴκοσιν ὥρας περιελθών, εὑρήσεις τὴν πρώτην τῆς έπιούσης ήμέρας ώραν ές τον ήλιον άφικνουμένην. 3 καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνων τῶν τεσσάρων καὶ είκοσιν ώρων κατά τὸν αὐτὸν τοῖς πρόσθε λόγον πράξας, τη σελήνη την πρώτην της τρίτης ήμέρας ώραν ἀναθήσεις, κὰν ούτω καὶ διὰ τῶν λοιπῶν πορεύη, τὸν προσήκοντα ξαυτή θεὸν ξκάστη ήμέρα λήψεται.

20 Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω παραδέδοται· Πομπήιος δὲ ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνα κατέπραξεν, πρός τε τὸν Πόντον αὐθις ἢλθε, καὶ παραλαβὼν τὰ τείχη ἔς τε τὴν ᾿Ασίαν κἀντεῦθεν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τήν τε Ἰταλίαν
2 ἐκομίσθη. πολλὰς μὲν δὴ οὖν μάχας ἐνίκησε, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ δυνάστας καὶ βασιλέας τοὺς μὲν προσεπολεμώσατο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὁμολογία προσ-

 $^{^1}$ adtás te épavièr Leuncl., adtós te épairor L (corrected to épièr). 2 te Bs , $\gamma \hat{a} \rho$ L.

orbits and their presiding divinities in this same B.C. 69 manner, assigning them to the several days, you will find all the days to be in a kind of musical connection with the arrangement of the heavens. is one of the explanations given; the other is as follows. If you begin at the first hour to count the hours of the day and of the night, assigning the first to Saturn, the next to Jupiter, the third to Mars, the fourth to the Sun, the fifth to Venus, the sixth to Mercury, and the seventh to the Moon, according to the order of the cycles which the Egyptians observe, and if you repeat the process, covering thus the whole twenty-four hours, you will find that the first hour of the following day comes to the Sun. And if you carry on the operation throughout the next twenty-four hours in the same manner as with the others, you will dedicate the first hour of the third day to the Moon, and if you proceed similarly through the rest, each day will receive its appropriate god. This, then, is the tradition.

Pompey, when he had accomplished what has been related, proceeded again to Pontus and after taking over the forts returned to Asia and thence to Greece and Italy. Thus he had won many battles, had brought into subjection many potentates and kings, some by war and some by treaty, he had

¹ The order of the planets assumed in both these explanations is determined by their relative distances from the earth, according to the Ptolemaic system, viz.: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon. The custom of naming the days may then have arisen, Dio says, (1) by regarding the gods as originally presiding over separate days assigned by the principle of the tetrachord, so that we get this order: the day of Saturn, of the Sun, of the Moon, of Mars, of Mercury, of Jupiter, of Venus; or (2) by regarding the gods as properly gods of the hours, which are assigned

εποιήσατο, πόλεις τε οκτώ ἀπώκισε, καὶ χώρας προσόδους τε συχνάς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέδειξε, τά τε πλείω ἔθνη τῶν ἐν τῆ ᾿Ασία τῆ ἠπείρω τότε αὐτοῖς ὄντων νόμοις τε ίδίοις καὶ πολιτείαις κατεστήσατο καὶ διεκόσμησεν, ώστε καὶ δεῦρο αὐτοὺς 3 τοις υπ' ι εκείνου νομισθείσι χρησθαι. άλλά ταῦτα μέν, καίπερ μεγάλα τε όντα καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν πρόσθε 'Ρωμαίων πραχθέντα, καὶ τῆ τύχη καὶ τοῖς συστρατευσαμένοις οι ἀναθείη ἄν τις δ δὲ δὴ μάλιστα αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ Πομπηίου ἔργον ἐγένετο καὶ θαυμάσαι διὰ πάντων ἄξιόν ἐστι, τοῦτο 4 νῦν ἤδη φράσω. πλείστην μὲν γὰρ ἰσχὺν καὶ ἐν $\tau \hat{\eta}$ θαλάσση καὶ $\vec{\epsilon} \nu$ $\tau \hat{\eta}$ $\vec{\eta} \pi \epsilon \hat{\iota} \rho \omega^2$ $\vec{\epsilon} \chi \omega \nu$, $\pi \lambda \epsilon \hat{\iota} \sigma \tau a$ δέ χρήματα έκ των αιχμαλώτων πεπορισμένος, δυνάσταις τε καὶ βασιλεῦσι συχνοῖς ὡκειωμένος, τούς τε δήμους ὧν ἦρξε πάντας ὡς εἰπεῖν δί 5 εὐνοίας εὐεργεσίαις κεκτημένος, δυνηθείς τ' αν δι' αὐτῶν τήν τε Ἰταλίαν κατασχεῖν καὶ τὸ τῶν Ύρωμαίων κράτος πᾶν περιποιήσασθαι, τῶν μὲν πλείστων ἐθελουτὶ ἂν αὐτὸν δεξαμένων, εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀντέστησάν τινες, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀσθενείας γε πάντως αν δμολογησάντων, οὐκ ήβουλήθη τοῦτο 6 ποιησαι, άλλ' εὐθύς, ἐπειδη τάχιστα ἐς τὸ 4 Βρεντέσιον ἐπεραιώθη, τὰς δυνάμεις πάσας αὐτεπάγγελτος, μήτε της βουλης μήτε τοῦ δήμου ψηφισαμένου τι περί αὐτῶν, ἀφηκεν, οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τοῦ ἐς τὰ νικητήρια αὐταῖς χρήσασθαι φροντίσας. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ 5 τά τε τοῦ Μαρίου καὶ τὰ τοῦ Σύλλου εν μίσει τοις ανθρώποις ηπίστατο όντα, οὐκ ήθέλησε φόβον τινὰ αὐτοῖς οὐδ' ἐπ' ὀλίγας ¹ ὑπ' St., ἀπ' L. ² ηπείρφ R. Steph., ηπειρον L.

³ αὐτὸν H. St., αὐτῶν L. * τδ Bk., τε τδ L.

⁵ γàρ inserted by Rk.

colonized eight cities, had opened up many lands and B.C. 63 sources of revenue to the Romans, and had established and organized most of the nations in the continent of Asia then belonging to them with their own laws and constitutions, so that even to this day they use the laws that he laid down. Yet, great as these achievements were and unrivalled by those of any earlier Roman, one might ascribe them both to his good fortune and to his troops; but the act for which credit particularly attaches to Pompey himself-a deed forever worthy of admiration-I will now relate. He had enormous power both on sea and on land; he had supplied himself with vast wealth from the captives; he had made numerous potentates and kings his friends; and he had kept practically all the communities which he ruled well disposed through benefits conferred; and although by these means he might have occupied Italy and gained for himself the whole Roman power, since the majority would have accepted him voluntarily, and if any had resisted, they would certainly have capitulated through weakness, yet he did not choose to do this. Instead, as soon as he had crossed to Brundisium, he dismissed all his forces on his own initiative, without waiting for any vote to be passed in the matter by the senate or the people, and without concerning himself at all even about their use in the triumph. For since he understood that men held the careers of Marius and Sulla in abomination, he did not wish to cause them any fear even for a few days that they should undergo any similar

in order, beginning with Saturn, as in the list above, and allowing it to be understood that that god who is found by this system to preside over the first hour of each day shall also give his name to that day.

ήμέρας, ὅτι τι¹ τῶν ὁμοίων πείσονται, παρασχεῖν.
21 οὔκουν οὖδ' ὄνομα οὖδέν, καίτοι πολλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν κατειργασμένων λαβεῖν ἂν δυνηθείς, προσεκτήσατο.

Τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐπινίκια, λέγω δὴ τὰ μείζω νομιζόμενα, καίπερ οὐχ ὅσιον ον ἔκ γε τῶν πάνυ πατρίων άνευ των συννικησάντων τινὶ πεμφθήναι, 2 δμως ψηφισθέντα έδέξατο, καὶ αὐτὰ μὲν ἄπαξ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν πολέμων ἥγαγε, τρόπαια δὲ άλλα τε πολλά καὶ καλώς κεκοσμημένα καθ' έκαστον των έργων καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον έπεμψε, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐν μέγα, πολυτελώς τε κεκοσμημένον καὶ γραφην έχον ὅτι τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐστίν. 3 οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπωνυμίαν τινὰ προσεπέθετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ μόνη τη τοῦ Μάγνου, ήνπερ που καὶ πρὸ έκείνων των έργων εκέκτητο, ηρκέσθη, οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἄλλην τινὰ τιμὴν ὑπέρογκον λαβεῖν διεπράξατο, ή τοις γε ψηφισθείσιν απόντι οι πλήν 4 ἄπαξ ἐγρήσατο. ἢν δὲ ταῦτα δαφνηφορεῖν 2 τε αὐτὸν κατὰ πάσας ἀεὶ τὰς πανηγύρεις, καὶ τὴν στολήν την μεν άρχικην εν πάσαις αὐταῖς, την δὲ ἐπινίκιον ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἵππων ἀγῶσιν ἐνδύνειν. ταθτα γὰρ αὐτῷ, συμπράσσοντος ές 3 τὰ μάλιστα τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Κάτωνος τοῦ Μάρκου γνώμην, εδόθη.

22 Καὶ περὶ μὲν ἐκείνου, ὅστις τε ἢν καὶ ὅτι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐθεράπευε, τόν τε Πομπήιον ἄλλως μὲν καθήρει, δι' ὧν δὲ δὴ τῷ τε ὁμίλῳ χαριεῖσθαι καὶ

τι inserted by Turn.
 δαφνηφορείν Dind., δαφνοφορείν L.
 μεν Rk., τε L.

experiences. Consequently he did not so much as B.C. 68 assume any additional name from his exploits, although he might have taken many.

As for the triumph,—I refer to the one regarded as the great event, -although according to strict precedent it was not lawful for it to be held without the presence of those who aided in winning the victory, he nevertheless accepted it when voted to him. He celebrated the triumph in honour of all his wars at once, including in it many trophies beautifully decked out to represent each of his achievements, even the smallest; and after them all came one huge one, decked out in costly fashion and bearing an inscription stating that it was a trophy of the inhabited world. He did not, however, add any other title to his name, but was satisfied with that of Magnus alone, which, of course, he had gained even before these achievements. Nor did he contrive to receive any other extravagant honour, or even accept such as had been voted him in his absence, except on a single occasion. These consisted in the privilege of always wearing the laurel wreath at all public games, and arraying himself in the cloak of a general at all of them, as well as in the triumphal garb at the horse-races. They had been granted him chiefly through the cooperation of Caesar, and contrary to the advice of Marcus Cato.

As regards the former, I have already stated ² who he was, and how, while paying court to the populace, and while generally striving to destroy Pompey's power, he nevertheless made a friend of him in

¹ A singular expression, especially at this point, but due to the fact that Dio uses ἐπινίκια also for the ovation (in lix. 16, 11 and lix. 23, 2 τὰ ἐπινίκια τὰ σμικρότερα, "the lesser triumph").

² xxxvi. 43.

αὐτὸς ἰσχύσειν ἔμελλε προσεποιεῖτο, προείρηται: ό δὲ δὴ Κάτων οὖτος ἢν ἐκ τοῦ τῶν Πορκίων γένους καὶ τὸν Κάτωνα τὸν πάνυ ἐζήλου, πλην καθ' ὅσον παιδεία Ἑλληνική μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ 2 ἐκέχρητο. ἤσκει δὲ τὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἀκριβῶς, καί ενα μεν ανθρώπων οὐδένα ἐθαύμαζε, τὸ δὲ δη κοινον ύπερηγάπα, και παν μέν το ύπερ τοὺς ἄλλους πεφυκὸς ὑποψία δυναστείας ἐμίσει, πῶν δὲ τὸ δημοτικὸν ἐλέφ τῆς ἀσθενείας ἐφίλει. 3 καὶ δημεραστής τε ώς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἐγίγνετο,2 καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίου παρρησίαν καὶ μετὰ κινδύνων έποιεῖτο. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι πάντα οὔτε πρὸς ἰσχὺν οὕτε πρὸς δόξαν ἢ τιμήν τινα, ἀλλ' αὐτης ἔνεκα της τε αὐτονόμου καὶ της ἀτυραν-4 νεύτου διαίτης έπραττε. τοιοῦτος οὖν δή τις ὢν ές τε τὸ κοινὸν τότε πρώτον παρηλθε καὶ πρὸς τὰ ψηφιζόμενα, καίπερ μηδεμίαν τῷ Πομπηίω έγθραν έγων, άλλ' ότι γε έξω των πατρίων ήν, άντείπεν.

23 'Απόντι μεν δη οδυ αὐτῷ ταῦτ' ἔδοσαν, ἔλθόντι δε οὐδέν, πάντως ἄν που καὶ ἔτερα προσθέντες, εἴπερ ήθελήκει· ἄλλοις γοῦν τισιν ἐν ἐλάττονι αὐτοῦ κράτει γενομένοις πολλὰ καὶ ὑπέρογκα πολλάκις ἔνειμαν. καὶ ὅτι γε καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἄκοντες 2 ἔπραξαν, δῆλόν ἐστιν. ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι πάνθ' ὅσα ἐν ταῖς δυναστείαις τοῖς ἰσχύουσί τι παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν γίγνεται, τήν τε ὑπόνοιαν, κὰν τὰ μάλιστα ἐθελούσιοί τι ψηφίσωνται, ὡς καὶ κατὰ βίαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν κρατούντων παρασκευῆς διδόμενα ἔχει, καὶ δόξαν οὐδεμίαν τοῖς

¹ δημεραστής Naber, δήμου έραστής L.

cases where he would thereby please the populace B.C. 63 and gain strength himself. But this Cato belonged to the family of the Porcii and emulated the great Cato, except that he had enjoyed a better Greek education than the former. He diligently promoted the interests of the plebs, and admired no one man, but was thoroughly devoted to the common weal. picious of unlimited power, he hated any one who had grown above his fellows, but loved any one of the common people through pity for his weakness. was becoming the friend of the people such as no one else, and indulged in outspokenness in behalf of the right, even when it involved danger. Yet he did all this not with a view to power or glory or any honour, but solely for the sake of a life of independence, free from the dictation of tyrants. Such was the nature of the man who now for the first time came forward and opposed the measures under consideration, not out of any hostility to Pompey, but because they were contrary to precedent.

These honours, then, they granted Pompey in his absence, but none when he had come home, though they would certainly have added others, had he wished it. At any rate they had often bestowed many extravagant distinctions upon other men who had possessed less authority than he, but it is clear that they had done so unwillingly. Now Pompey knew well that all the gifts granted by the multitude to the powerful who are in positions of authority contain the suggestion, no matter how willingly they are voted, of being forcibly granted at the instigation of the strong; and that they bring no glory to those who receive them, because

λαβοῦσιν αὐτά, ὡς καὶ μὴ παρ' ἐκόντων ἀλλὰ ἀναγκασθέντων, μηδ' ἀπ' εὐνοίας ἀλλ' ἐκ κολακείας ὑπάρξαντά σφισι φέρει, οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν ἀρχὴν οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν ἐσηγήσασθαι. καὶ πολύ γε τοῦτο βέλτιον εἰναι ἔλεγεν ἢ ψηφισθέντα μὴ προσίεσθαι ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ μῖσός τε ἐπὶ τῆ δυναστεία ὑφ' ἡς ἐγιγνώσκετο, καὶ ὑπερηφανίαν καὶ ὕβριν τῷ μὴ δέχεσθαι τὰ διδόμενα παρὰ τῶν κρειττόνων δῆθεν ἢ πάντως γε τῶν ὁμοίων ἐνεῖναι, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ τὸ δημοτικὸν ὄντως καὶ ὄνομα καὶ ἔργον, οὐκ ἀπ' ἐνδείξεως ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀληθείας, ὑπάρχειν. τὰς γάρ τοι ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἔξω τῶν πατρίων ὀλίγου πάσας λαβών, τὰ γοῦν ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, ἐξ ὧν μήτε ὡφελῶν τινα μήτε ὡφελούμενος φθόνον ἄλλως καὶ μῖσος καὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν διδόντων αὐτὰ σχήσειν ἔμελλεν, οὐκ ἐδέχετο.

εμελλεν, ούκ έδέχετο. 24 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐγένετο, τότε δὲ

οί 'Ρωμαῖοι πολέμων ἀνάπαυσιν τον λοιπον τοῦ ἔτους χρόνον ἔσχον, ὅστε καὶ τὸ οἰώνισμα τὸ τῆς ὑγιείας ὼνομασμένον διὰ πάνυ πολλοῦ ποιῆσαι. τοῦτο δὲ δὴ μαντείας τις τρόπος ἐστί, πύστιỡ τινὰ ἔχων εἰ ἐπιτρέπει σφίσιν ὁ θεὸς ὑγίειαν τῷ δήμῳ αἰτῆσαι, ὡς οὐχ ὅσιον ὂν¹ οὐδὲ αἴτησιν αὐτῆς, πρὶν συγχωρηθῆναι, γενέσθαι. 2 καὶ ἐτελεῖτο κατ' ἔτος ἡμέρα, ἐν ἡ² μηδὲν στρατόπεδον μήτε ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἐξἡει μήτ' ἀντιπαρετάττετό τισι ³ μήτε ἐμάχετο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς συνεχέσι κινδύνοις, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις, οὐκ ἐποιεῖτο· ἄλλως τε γὰρ παγχά-

 $^{^1}$ du inserted by St. 2 ήμέρα ἐν ἢ Rk., ἡ ἡμέρα ἐν ἢ L. 3 τισι Rk., τις L.

it is believed that they have been obtained, not from B.C. 63 willing donors, but under compulsion, and not from good will, but as a result of flattery. Hence he did not permit any one to propose any measure what-This course he declared to be far better than to reject what has once been voted you: the one course arouses hatred for the high position that led to such measures being passed, and argues arrogance and insolence in not accepting what is granted you by those who think themselves your superiors or at any rate your equals; whereas by the other course you are truly democratic both in name and in fact. not merely by way of display, but in very truth. Thus Pompey, after having received practically all the offices and positions of command contrary to precedent, was now unwilling to accept any other such honours that were liable to bring him merely envy and hatred, even from the very givers, without enabling him to benefit any one or to be benefited.

All this took place in the course of time. Temporarily the Romans had a respite from war for the remainder of the year, so that they even held the so-called augurium salutis after a very long interval. This is a kind of augury, which is in the nature of an inquiry whether the god permits them to ask for prosperity for the people, as if it were unholy even to ask for it until permission is granted. It was observed on that day of each year on which no army was going out to war, or was preparing itself against any foes, or was fighting a battle. For this reason, amid the constant perils, especially those of civil strife, it was not observed. For it was very difficult

λεπόν σφισιν ἢν καθαρὰν ἀπὸ πάντων αὐτῶν 3 ἡμέραν ἀκριβῶς τηρῆσαι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἀτοπώτατον, κακα αὐτούς ἐν ταῖς δτάσεσιν ἐκουσίους άμύθητα άλλήλοις παρέχοντας, καὶ μέλλοντας, άν τε ήττηθωσιν άν τε και νικήσωσι, κακούσθαι, έπειτα σωτηρίαν παρά τοῦ θείου προσαιτείν. 25 αμέλει καὶ τότε ήδυνήθη μέν πως τὸ οἰώνισμα εκείνο ποιηθήναι, οὐ μέντοι καὶ καθαρὸν ἐγένετο. ἔξεδροι γάρ τινες ὄρνιθες ἐπέπταντο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἀνεμαντεύσαντο. καὶ ἄλλα τε 1 αὐτοῖς 2 σημεία οὖκ αἴσια συνηνέχθη· κεραυνοί τε γὰρ έν αἰθρία πολλοὶ ἔπεσον, καὶ ἡ γῆ ἰσχυρῶς ἐσείσθη, εἴδωλά τε πολλαχόθι ἀνθρώπων ἐφαντά-σθη, καὶ λαμπάδες ἀνεκὰς ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπὸ τῶν δυσμῶν ἀνέδραμον, ὥστε πάντα τινὰ καὶ ιδιώτην τὰ σημαινόμενα ἀπ' αὐτῶν προγνῶναι. 3 οί γὰρ δήμαρχοι τὸν ἀντώνιον τὸν ὕπατον όμοιο-τροπώτατόν σφισιν ὄντα προσλαβόντες, ὁ μέν τις τοὺς παίδας τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλου ἐκπεσόντων πρὸς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἢγεν, ὁ δὲ τῷ τε Παίτῳ τῷ Πουπλίω καὶ τῷ Σύλλα τῷ Κορνηλίω τῷ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀλόντι τό τε βουλεύειν καὶ τὸ ἄρχειν 4 έξειναι έδίδου. άλλος χρεών ἀποκοπάς, άλλος κληρουχίας καὶ ἐν τῆ Ἰταλία καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑπηκόφ γενέσθαι έσηγεῖτο.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν πρός τε τοῦ Κικέρωνος καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὁμογνωμονούντων οἱ προκαταληφθέντα, πρὶν ἔργον τι ἀπ' αὐτῶν συμβῆ-26 ναι, ἐπαύθη· Τίτος δὲ δὴ Λαβιῆνος Γάιον Ῥαβίριον ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Σατουρνίνου φόνω γραψάμενος πλεῖστόν σφισι τάραχον παρέσχεν. ὅ τε γὰρ

for them in any case to determine accurately upon a B.C. 63 day free from all such disturbances, and furthermore it would be most absurd, when they were voluntarily causing one another unspeakable woes through party strife and were destined to suffer ills whether they were defeated or victorious, that they should still ask Heaven for safety. Nevertheless, it was in some some way possible at that time for the divination to be held; but it did not prove to be regular, since some birds flew up from an unlucky quarter, and so it was repeated. Other unlucky omens, too, occurred. Many thunderbolts fell from a clear sky, the earth was mightily shaken, and human apparitions were visible in many places, and in the west flashes of fire darted up into heaven, so that any one, even a layman, was bound to know in advance what was signified by them. For the tribunes united with Antonius, the consul, who was very much like themselves in character, and one of them supported for office the sons of those exiled by Sulla, while a second wished to grant to Publius Paetus and to Cornelius Sulla. who had been convicted with him, the right to be members of the senate and to hold office; another made a motion for a cancelling of debts, and yet another for allotments of land to be made both in Italy and in the subject territory.

These motions were taken in hand betimes by Cicero and those who were of the same mind as he, and were suppressed before any action resulted from them. Titus Labienus, however, by indicting Gaius Rabirius for the murder of Saturninus caused the greatest disorder. Saturninus had been killed some

Σατουρνίνος πρὸ έξ που καὶ τριάκοντα έτῶν έτεθνήκει, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν οί υπατοι τότε παρά της βουλης προσετετάχατο, ώστε ή γερουσία ἄκυρος ἐκ τοῦ δικαστηρίου ἐκεί-2 νου τῶν ψηφισμάτων ἐγίγνετο. κἀκ τούτου πᾶς ο κόσμος της πολιτείας έταράττετο, ο μέν γάρ 'Ραβίριος οὐδ' ώμολόγει τὸν φόνον, ἀλλ' ἄπαρνος ην οί δε δήμαρχοι την τε ισχύν και την αξίωσιν της βουλης καταλύσαι παντελώς έσπούδαζον, και έξουσίαν έαυτοις του πάνθ' όσα βούλοιντο 3 ποιείν προπαρεσκεύαζον διὰ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ 1 τά τε τῷ συνεδρίω δόξαντα καὶ τὰ πρὸ τοσούτων έτων πραχθέντα εὐθύνεσθαι τοῖς τέ τι των δμοίων ἐπιγειροῦσι ἄδεια ἐδίδοτο καὶ αἱ τιμωρίαι αὐτῶν έκολούοντο. ή οθν γερουσία δεινον μέν καὶ ἄλλως ἐνόμιζεν είναι ἄνδρα 2 βουλευτὴν μήτ' ἀδικοῦντά τι καὶ ἐς γῆρας ἤδη προεληλυθότα ἀπολεῖσθαι, πολλῷ δὲ δὴ μᾶλλον ἦγανάκτει ὅτι τό τε πρόσχημα της πολιτείας διεβάλλετο καὶ τὰ πράγματα τοις φαυλοτάτοις έπετρέπετο. σπουδαί τε ουν ταραχώδεις καὶ φιλονεικίαι ἀφ' ἐκατέρων περί τε τοῦ δικαστηρίου, των μεν ὅπως μη συναχθή, των δε ίνα καθιζήση δικαιούντων, και επειδή τούτο διά τε τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ δι' ἄλλους τινὰς ενίκησε, περί γε 3 της κρίσεως αδθις συνέβησαν. 2 καὶ ἡν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ Λουκίου δικάζων (οὐ γὰρ άπλῶς, ἀλλὰ τὸ δή λεγόμενον περδουελλίωνος ὁ Ῥαβίριος ἐκρίθη), κατεψηφίσαντο αὐτοῦ, καίτοι μὴ πρὸς τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, ἀλλὰ πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατη-

¹ τοῦ Leuncl., τούτου L. ² ἄνδρα Bk., καὶ ἄνδρα L. ³ γε Bk., τε I.

thirty-six years earlier, and the fight waged against B.C. 63 him by the consuls of the period had been at the direction of the senate. Hence, as a result of the proposed trial, the senate would lose the authority to enforce its decrees. In consequence the whole order of the state was being disturbed; for Rabirius did not even admit the murder, but denied it. The tribunes, however, were eager to overthrow completely the power and the dignity of the senate and were first preparing for themselves authority to do whatever they pleased. For the investigation of acts which had received the approval of the senate and had been committed so many years before tended to give immunity to those who might attempt to imitate Saturninus' conduct, and to render ineffective the punishments for such deeds. Now the senate thought it outrageous in any case that a man of senatorial rank, guilty of no crime and now well advanced in years, should perish, and was all the more enraged because the dignity of the state was being attacked and control of affairs was being entrusted to the vilest men. Hence there arose turbulent factions and contentions about the court, the one party demanding that it should not be convened and the other that it should. When the latter party won, because of Caesar and some others, there was another clash regarding the character of the trial. Caesar himself was judge together with Lucius Caesar, for the charge against Rabirius was no ordinary one, but that of perduellio, as it was called; and they condemned him, although they had not been chosen according to precedent by the people, but by the practor himself, which was not

3 γοῦ οὐκ ἐξὸν αίρεθέντες. καὶ ἐφῆκε μὲν ὁ Ῥαβίριος, πάντως δ' ầν καὶ παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ ἑάλω, εὶ μὴ ὁ Μέτελλος ὁ Κέλερ οἰωνιστής τε ὢν καὶ στρατηγών ἐνεπόδισεν ἐπειδή γὰρ οὔτε άλλως ἐπείθοντό οί, οὔθ' ὅτι παρὰ τὰ νενομισμένα ή κρίσις έγεγόνει ένεθυμοῦντο, ανέδραμεν ές τὸ Ἰανίκουλον πρὶν καὶ ότιοῦν σφας ψηφίσασθαι, καὶ τὸ σημείον τὸ στρατιωτικὸν κατέσπασεν, ώστε μηδεν έτ' αὐτοῖς έξειναι διαγνώναι.

Τοῦτο δέ, τὸ κατὰ τὸ σημεῖον, τοιόνδε τί ἐστι. 28 πολλών τὸ ἀρχαῖον πολεμίων τῆ πόλει προσοικούντων, φοβούμενοι μή ποτε εκκλησιαζόντων σφων κατά τους λόχους ἐπίθωνταί τινες τῆ πόλει τό Ἰανίκουλον καταλαβόντες, ἐνόμισαν μὴ πάντες αμα ψηφίζεσθαι, άλλά τινας ἀεὶ ἐνόπλους τὸ 2 χωρίον ἐκεῖνο ἐκ διαδοχῆς φυλάττειν. καὶ αὐτό, έως μὲν ή ἐκκλησία ἦν, ἐφρούρουν, ὁπότε δὲ διαλυθήσεσθαι ἔμελλε, τό τε σημείον καθηρείτο καὶ οἱ φύλακες ἀπηλλάσσοντο οὐ γὰρ ἐξήν μὴ φρουρουμένου τοῦ χωρίου ἐκείνου οὐδὲν ἔτι χρη-3 ματισθήναι. τοῦτο δὲ ἐν μόναις ταῖς κατὰ τοὺς

λόχους άθροιζομέναις εκκλησίαις εγίγνετο, ὅτι τε έξω τοῦ τείχους, καὶ ὅτι πάντες οἱ τὰ ὅπλα έγοντες ανάγκην είχον ές αὐτὰς συνιέναι καὶ ἔτι 1 καὶ νῦν ὁσίας ἕνεκα ποιεῖται.

Ούτω μεν δη τότε η τε εκκλησία καθαιρεθέντος τοῦ σημείου διελύθη καὶ ὁ Ῥαβίριος ἐσώθη ἐξῆν μεν γάρ τω Λαβιήνω και αδθις δικάσασθαι, οδ

29 μέντοι καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτό· ὁ δὲ δὴ Κατιλίνας ὧδέ τε καὶ διὰ τάδε ἀπώλετο.

"Εδοξε τῆ βουλῆ, τήν τε ὑπατείαν καὶ τότε 1 έτι Bk., έτι τε L.

lawful. Rabirius appealed, and would certainly have 8.0 68 been convicted by the people also, had not Metellus Celer, who was an augur and praetor, prevented it. When nothing else would cause them to heed him and they were unconcerned by the fact that the trial had been held in a manner contrary to custom, he ran up to the Janiculum before they took any vote at all, and pulled down the military flag, so that it was no longer lawful for them to reach a decision.

Now this matter of the flag is as follows. ancient times there were many enemies dwelling near the city, and the Romans, fearing that while they were holding a centuriate assembly by centuries foes might occupy the Janiculum and attack the city, decided that not all should vote at once, but that some men under arms should by turns always guard that position. So they guarded it as long as the assembly lasted, but when this was about to be adjourned, the flag was pulled down and the guards departed; for no further business could be transacted when the post was not guarded. This practice was observed only in the case of the centuriate assemblies, for these were held outside the wall and all who bore arms were obliged to attend them. Even to this day it is done as a matter of form.

So on that occasion, when the signal was pulled down, the assembly was adjourned and Rabirius was saved. Labienus, indeed, had the right to bring suit again, but he did not do so.

As for Catiline, his ruin was brought about in the manner and for the reasons which I shall now narrate. When he was again seeking the consulship at this

αἰτήσαντος αὐτοῦ 1 καὶ πᾶν ότιδήποτε ἐνεδέχετο όπως ἀποδειχθη μηχανωμένου, δέκα ἐτῶν φυγήν, τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐνάγοντος, τοῖς έπιτιμίοις τοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ δεκασμῷ τεταγμένοις προσ-2 νομοθετήσαι. τοῦτ' οὖν καὶ ἐκεῖνος δι' ἑαυτόν, όπερ που καὶ άληθὲς ἦν, ἐγνῶσθαι νομίσας ἐπεχείρησε μέν, χειρά τινα παρασκευάσας, τὸν Κικέρωνα καὶ άλλους τινὰς τῶν πρώτων ἐν αὐταῖς ταίς ἀρχαιρεσίαις, ἵν' ὕπατος εὐθὺς χειροτονηθή, 3 φονεύσαι, οὐκ ήδυνήθη δέ. ὁ γὰρ Κικέρων προμαθών τὸ ἐπιβούλευμα τῆ τε γερουσία ἐμήνυσεν αύτο και κατηγορίαν αύτου πολλην εποιήσατο έπειδή τε οὐκ ἔπεισέ σφας ψηφίσασθαί τι ὧν ήξίου (ούτε γὰρ πιθανὰ έξηγγελκέναι καὶ διὰ την εαυτου έχθραν καταψεύδεσθαι των άνδρων ύπωπτεύθη), έφοβήθη ατε καὶ προσπαρωξυγκώς 4 του Κατιλίναν, καὶ οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν άπλῶς ἐς τὴν έκκλησίαν έσελθεῖν ὥσπερ εἰώθει, ἀλλὰ τούς τε έπιτηδείους συνεπηγάγετο παρεσκευασμένους άμθναί οἱ εἴ τι δεινὸν γένοιτο, καὶ θώρακα, τῆς τε έαυτου ἀσφαλείας και της ἐκείνων διαβολής ένεκα, ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν ἐσθῆτα, παραφαίνων δ' αὐτὸν 5 έξεπίτηδες, ένεδύσατο. έκ τε οὖν τούτου, καὶ ὅτι καὶ άλλως φήμη τις έγένετο ὅτι ἐπιβουλεύεται. ο τε δήμος δεινώς ήγανάκτησε και οι συνομωμοκότες τῷ Κατιλίνα φοβηθέντες αὐτὸν ἡσύχασαν.

30 Καὶ οὕτως ὕπατοί τε ἔτερσι ἡρέθησαν, καὶ ἐκεῖνος οὐκέτι λάθρα, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα τούς τε σὺν αὐτῷ μόνους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶν τὸ 2 κοινὸν τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν συνίστη. ἐκ γὰρ τῆς

¹ αὐτοῦ supplied by Bs. 2 γένοιτο Bk., γίγνοιτο L.

time and contriving in every way possible to be B.C. 63 elected, the senate decreed, chiefly at the instance of Cicero, that banishment for ten years should be added by law to the penalties established for bribery. Catiline, accordingly, believed that this decree had been passed on his account, as was indeed the case; and so, after collecting a small band, he attempted to slay Cicero and some others of the foremost men on the very day of the election, in order that he might immediately be chosen consul. But he was unable-to carry out his plot; for Cicero learned of it in season, and informed the senate of it, delivering a severe arraignment of Catiline. Being unsuccessful, however, in persuading them to vote any of the measures he asked, since his announcement was not regarded as credible and he was suspected of having uttered false charges against the men because of personal enmity, Cicero became frightened, now that he had given Catiline additional provocation. not venture to enter the assembly alone, as had been his custom, but took his friends along prepared to defend him if any danger threatened; and partly for his own safety and partly to arouse prejudice against his foes, he wore beneath his clothing a breastplate, which he was careful to allow people to see. For this reason and because in other ways, too, some report had spread of a plot against him, the people became very indignant and the fellowconspirators of Catiline in their fear of Cicero kept quiet.

In this way new consuls were chosen, and Catiline no longer directed his plot in secret or against Cicero and his adherents only, but against the whole commonwealth. He assembled from Rome itself

ñ

'Ρώμης αὐτης τούς τε κακίστους καὶ καινῶν ἀεί ποτε πραγμάτων ἐπιθυμητάς, κἀκ τῶν συμμάχων ώς ὅτι πλείστους, χρεῶν τε 1 ἀποκοπὰς καὶ γῆς άναδασμούς, άλλα τε έξ ων μάλιστα δελεάσειν αὐ-3 τους ήμελλεν, υπισχνούμενός σφισι συνήγε. τούς γε πρώτους αὐτῶν καὶ 2 δυνατωτάτους (ἦσαν δὲ ἄλλοι τε καὶ Αντώνιος ὁ ὕπατος) καὶ ἐς ἀθεμίτων όρκωμοσιῶν ἀνάγκην προήγαγε· 3΄ παιδα γάρ τινα καταθύσας, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σπλάγχνων αὐτοῦ τὰ όρκια ποιήσας, έπειτ' έσπλάγχνευσεν αὐτὰ μετὰ 4 των ἄλλων. συνέπραττον δέ αὐτῷ τὰ μάλιστα τὰ μὲν ἐν τῆ Ῥώμη ὅ τε ὕπατος καὶ ὁ Λέντουλος ό Πούπλιος ό μετά την υπατείαν έκ της γερουσίας έκπεσών (έστρατήγει γαρ όπως την βουλείαν $\dot{a}\nu a\lambda \dot{a}\beta \eta$), $\tau \dot{a}$ $\delta \dot{\epsilon}$ $\dot{\epsilon}\nu$ $\tau a\hat{\imath}s$ $\Phi a\imath \sigma o\acute{\nu}\lambda a\imath s$, $\dot{\epsilon}s^4$ $\hat{a}s$ of 5 στασιῶται αὐτοῦ συνελέγοντο, Γάιός τις Μάλλιος, τῶν τε πολεμικῶν ἐμπειρότατος (μετὰ γὰρ τῶν τοῦ Σύλλου λοχαγῶν ἐστράτευτο 5) καὶ πολυδαπανώτατος ών σύμπαντα γοῦν ὅσα τότε ἐκτήσατο, καίπερ πάμπολλα όντα, κακώς καταναλώσας ετέρων έργων ομοίων επεθύμει.

31 Παρασκευαζομένων οὖν ταῦτα αὖτῶν, μηνύεται τῷ Κικέρωνι πρότερα μὲν τὰ ἐν τῷ ἄστει γιγνόμενα διὰ γραμμάτων τινῶν, ἃ τὸν μὲν γράψαντα οὖκ ἐδήλου, τῷ δὲ δὴ Κράσσῳ καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ τῶν δυνατῶν ἐδόθη, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς δόγμα ἐκυρώθη, ταραχήν τε εἶναι καὶ ζήτησιν τῶν αἰτίων αὐτῆς γενέσθαι δεύτερα δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς Τυρσηνίδος, καὶ προσεψηφίσαντο τοῖς ὑπάτοις τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς

¹ τε Xyl., τε καl L. 2 καl added by Xyl.

προήγαγε Rk., προσήγαγεν L.
 ἐστράτευτο Turn., ἐστρατεύετο L.

the lowest characters and such as were always eager B.C. 63 for a revolution and as many as possible of the allies, by promising them the cancelling of debts. distribution of lands, and everything else by which he was most likely to tempt them. Upon the fore-most and most powerful of them, including Antonius the consul, he imposed the obligation of taking a monstrous oath. For he sacrificed a boy, and after administering the oath over his vitals, ate these in company with the others. Those who cooperated with him most closely were: in Rome, the consul and Publius Lentulus, who, after his consulship, had been expelled from the senate and was now serving as practor, in order to gain senatorial rank again; at Faesulae, where the men of his party were collecting, one Gaius Manlius, who was wellversed in warfare, having served among Sulla's centurions, and also the greatest possible spendthrift. Certain it was that he had run through all that he had gained at that epoch, although a vast sum, by his evil practices, and was now eager for other similar exploits.

While they were making these preparations information came to Cicero, first, of what was occurring in the city, through some letters which did not indicate the writer but were given to Crassus and certain others of the optimates; and upon their publication a decree was passed that a state of disorder existed and that a search should be made for those responsible for it. Next came the news from Etruria, whereupon they further voted to the consuls the custody of the

τε πόλεως καὶ τῶν ὅλων αὐτῆς πραγμάτων, καθάπερ εἰώθεσαν καὶ γὰρ τούτῳ τῷ δόγματι προσεγράφη τὸ διὰ φροντίδος αὐτοὺς σχεῖν ώστε 3 μηδεμίαν άποτριβην τῷ δημοσίω συμβήναι. γενομένου δὲ τούτου καὶ φρουρᾶς πολλαχόθι καταστάσης τὰ μὲν ἐν τῷ ἄστει οὐκέτ' ἐνεωτερίσθη, όστε καὶ ἐπὶ συκοφαντία τον Κικέρωνα διαβλη-θηναι, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν Τυρσηνῶν ἀγγελλόμενα τήν τε αἰτίαν ἐπιστώσατο καὶ βίας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς γραφὴν

τῶ Κατιλίνα παρεσκεύασε.

Καὶ δς τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καὶ πάνυ αὐτὴν έτοίμως, ώς καὶ ἀπὸ χρηστοῦ τοῦ συνειδότος, ἐδέξατο, καὶ πρός τε την δίκην δηθεν ητοιμάζετο, και τῷ Κικέρωνι αὐτῷ τηρεῖν ἐαυτόν, ὅπως δη μη φύγη που, -2 παρεδίδου. μη προσδεξαμένου δὲ ἐκείνου την φρουρὰν αὐτοῦ, παρὰ τῷ Μετέλλῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ τὴν δίαιταν ἐκούσιος ἐποιεῖτο, ἵν' ὡς ἤκιστα ὑποπτευθη νεωτερίζειν τι, μέχρις αν καὶ ἐκ τῶν 3 αὐτόθε συνωμοτῶν ἰσχυρόν τι προσλάβη. ὡς δ' οὐδέν οἱ προεχώρει (ὅ τε γὰρ ἀντώνιος φοβηθεὶς ύπεστέλλετο καὶ ὁ Λέντουλος ηκιστα δραστήριος ην), προείπεν αὐτοίς νυκτὸς ές οἰκίαν τινά συλλεγήναι, καὶ λαθών τὸν Μέτελλον ήλθέ τε πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπετίμησέ σφισιν ἐπί τε τῆ ἀτολμία 4 καὶ ἐπὶ τῆ μαλακία. κάκ τούτου διεξελθών ὅσα τε πείσοιντο φωραθέντες καὶ ὅσων τεύξοιντο κατορθώσαντες, οὕτως αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπέρρωσε καὶ παρώξυνεν ὥσθ' ὑποσχέσθαι δύο τινὰς ἔς τε τὴν τοῦ Κικέρωνος οἰκίαν ἄμα τῆ ἡμέρα ἐσάξειν 1

33 κάνταθθα αὐτὸν φονεύσειν. ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦτο προεμηνύθη (ὁ γὰρ Κικέρων πολὺ δυνάμενος, 1 eodfeir Dind., eohfeir L.

city and of all its interests, as was their custom; B.C. 68 for to this decree was added the command that they should take care that no harm came to the state. When this had been done and garrisons had been stationed at many points, there was no further sign of revolution in the city, insomuch that Cicero was even falsely charged with blackmail; but the messages from the Etruscans confirmed the accusation, and led to the indictment of Catiline for violence.

Catiline at first welcomed this heartily, as if supported by a good conscience, and pretended to make ready for the trial, even offering to surrender himself to Cicero, so that the latter, as he put it, could watch and see that he did not escape anywhere. As Cicero, however, refused to take charge of him, he voluntarily took up his residence at the house of Metellus the practor, in order that he might be as free as possible from the suspicion of promoting a revolution until he should gain some additional strength from the conspirators there in the city. But he made no headway at all, since Antonius shrank back through fear and Lentulus was anything but energetic. Accordingly, he gave them notice to assemble by night at a certain house, where he met them without Metellus' knowledge and upbraided them for their timidity and weakness. Next he set forth in detail the many penalties they would suffer if they were detected and the many advantages they would obtain if successful, and by this means encouraged and incited them to such a point that two men promised to rush into Cicero's house at daybreak and murder him there. This plot, too, was divulged, since Cicero, being a man of great influence,

συχνούς τε έκ τῶν συνηγορημάτων τοὺς μὲν οἰκειούμενος, τοὺς δὲ ἐκφοβῶν, πολλοὺς τοὺς διαγγέλλοντάς οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔσχε), μεταστῆναι ἡ

γερουσία τον Κατιλίναν έψηφίσατο.

Καὶ δς ἀσμένως τε ἐπὶ τῆ προφάσει ταύτη έξεγώρησε, καὶ πρὸς τὰς Φαισούλας έλθων τόν τε πόλεμον άντικους άνείλετο, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὴν σκευην των υπάτων λαβων και τους προσυνειλεγμένους ύπὸ τοῦ Μαλλίου συνεκρότει, κάν 1 τούτω καὶ ἄλλους τινάς, πρώτον μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἐλευθέρων, 3 έπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν δούλων, προσεποιεῖτο. ὅθενπερ καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τήν τε βίαν αὐτοῦ κατεψηφίσαντο, καὶ τὸν ἀντώνιον ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, άγνοοῦντές που την συνωμοσίαν σφών, ἔστειλαν. αὐτοί τε τὴν ἐσθῆτα μετέβαλον. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα 4 καὶ ὁ Κικέρων κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινεν εἰλήχει γὰρ της Μακεδονίας ἄρξαι, ούτε δὲ ἐς ἐκείνην (τῷ γὰρ συνάρχοντι αὐτης διὰ τὴν περὶ τὰς δίκας σπουδὴν έξέστη) ούτε ές την Γαλατίαν την πλησίον. ην ἀντέλαβε, διὰ τὰ παρόντα έξήλασεν, άλλ' αὐτὸς μεν την πόλιν δια φυλακής εποιήσατο, ες δε την Γαλατίαν τὸν Μέτελλον, ὅπως μὴ καὶ ὁ Κατιλίνας αὐτὴν σφετερίσηται, ἔπεμψε.

34 Καὶ ἐν καιρῷ γε ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις κατέμεινε. παρασκευαζομένου γὰρ τοῦ Λεντούλου καταπρῆσαί τέ τινας² καὶ σφαγὰς ἐργάσασθαι μετά τε τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συνομωμοκότων καὶ μετὰ ᾿Αλλοβρίγων, οῦς κατὰ πρεσβείαν παρόντας

1 κάν R. Steph., καὶ L.

² τινας is probably corrupt, though Rk. supplied συνοικίας ("blocks of houses"). Bk. suggested τὸ ἄστυ ("the city") in place of τινας.

and one who gained many followers through his B.C. 63 speeches, either by conciliation or by intimidation, had many men to report such occurrences to him; and the senate voted that Catiline should leave the city.

He gladly withdrew on this excuse, and went to Faesulae, where he took up the war openly. Assuming the name and dress of the consuls, he proceeded to organize the men previously collected by Manlius, meanwhile gaining accessions, first of freemen, and then even of slaves. The Romans accordingly convicted him of violence, and sent Antonius to the war, -being ignorant, of course, of his part in the conspiracy,-while they themselves changed their apparel.1 Cicero, too, remained on the spot because of this crisis. For although he had drawn the province of Macedonia, he neither set out for that countryretiring in favour of his colleague because of his interest in the prosecutions-nor yet for Hither Gaul, which he had obtained in its place, in view of the existing situation. Instead, he charged himself with the protection of the city, but sent Metellus to Gaul to prevent Catiline from securing it.

It was extremely opportune for the Romans that he remained. For Lentulus made preparations to burn down [the city?] and commit murder with the aid of his fellow-conspirators and of Allobroges, who while present on an embassy were persuaded to join

¹ The well-known practice on the occasion of a public calamity. Cf. ch. 40, 2; also xxxviii. 14, 7 and xl. 46, 1.

2 ἀνέπεισε συμφρονήσαί τε αὐτῷ . . . καὶ συλλαβὼν τούς έπ' αὐτὴν σταλέντας ές τε το βουλευτήριον μετά των γραμμάτων έσήγαγε, καὶ άδειαν αὐτοῖς δούς πασαν ούτω την συνωμοσίαν ήλεγξε. κάκ τούτου ο Λέντουλος ἀπειπεῖν τὴν στρατηγίαν ὑπὸ της γερουσίας άναγκασθείς εν φρουρά μετά των άλλων των συλληφθέντων έγένετο, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ 3 ἀνεζητοῦντο. καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ὁμοίως ἤρεσε, καὶ μάλιστ' ἐπειδή, τοῦ Κικέρωνος δημηγοροῦντός τι περί αὐτῶν, τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἔς τε τὸ Καπιτώλιον παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν τῆς έκκλησίας ανιδρύθη καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑφήγησιν τῶν μάντεων πρός τε τὰς ἀνατολὰς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀγο-4 ραν βλέπον ανετέθη. ἐπειδὴ γαρ ἐκεῖνοί τε συνωμοσίαν τινα έξελεγχθήσεσθαι έκ της τοῦ ἀγάλματος στάσεως 1 εἰρήκεσαν, καὶ ἡ ἀνάθεσις αὐτοῦ τοῖς φωραθεῖσι συνέβαινε, τό τε θεῖον έμεγάλυνον καὶ τοὺς τὴν αἰτίαν λαβόντας δι' όργης μάλλον ἐποιοῦντο.

5 Διήλθε μεν οὖν λόγος ὅτι καὶ ὁ Κράσσος ἐν αὐτοῖς εἴη, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τῶν συλληφθέντων τις ἐμήνυσεν, οὐ μέντοι πολλοὶ ἐπίστευσαν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχὴν οὐδ' ἠξίουν τοιοῦτό τι ἐς αὐτὸν ὑπ-2 οπτεύειν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαιτίων ὑπετόπουν αὐτό, ὅπως βοηθείας τινὸς διὰ τοῦτο παρ' αὐτοῦ, ὅτι πλεῖστον ἐδύνατο, τύχωσι, λογοποιεῖσθαι. εἰ δ' οὖν τισι καὶ πιστὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι, ἀλλ' οὔτι γε ἐδικαίουν ἄνδρα τε ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις σφῶν ὄντα ἀπολέσαι² καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐκταράξαι.

3 "Ωστε τοῦτο μὲν παντελῶς διέπεσε παρασκευαζομένων δὲ δὴ πολλῶν καὶ δούλων καὶ ¹ στάσεως Gros, πτώσεως L. ² ἀπολέσαι Rk., ἀπολέσθαι L.

him . . . [Cicero] arrested the men sent to carry it B.C. 63 out (?) and brought them with their letters into the senate-chamber, where, by granting them immunity, he showed up the whole conspiracy. As a consequence Lentulus was forced by the senate to resign the praetorship, and was kept under guard along with the others arrested while the other conspirators were being sought. These measures were equally pleasing to the people, especially so, because while Cicero was addressing them on the subject the statue of Jupiter was set up on the Capitol, at the very time of the assembly, and by instructions of the soothsayers was placed so as to face the east and the Forum. For these seers had decided that some conspiracy would be brought to light by the erection of the statue, and when its setting up coincided with the discovery of the conspirators, the people magnified the divine power and were the more angry at the accused.

Now a report spread that Crassus was also among them, and even one of the men arrested gave this information; nevertheless, few believed it. Some thought they had no right to suspect him of such a thing for a moment; others regarded it as a story trumped up by the accused, in order that they might thereby receive some aid from him, because he possessed the greatest influence. And if it did seem credible to some, at least they did not see fit to ruin one of their foremost men and to disquiet the city still further. Consequently this charge fell through utterly.

Now many slaves and freemen as well, some

έλευθέρων, των μεν ύπο δέους, των δε και οικτω του τε Λεντούλου και των άλλων, έξαρπάσαι πάντας αὐτους ὅπως μὴ ἀποθάνωσι, προπυθόμενος τουθ' ὁ Κικέρων τό τε Καπιτώλιον και τὴν ἀγο-4 ρὰν τῆς νυκτὸς φρουρὰ προκατέσχε, και τινα παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου χρηστὴν ἐλπίδα ἄμα τῆ ἔφ λαβών, ὅτι ἱερῶν ἐν τῆ οἰκία αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀειπαρθένων ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου ποιηθέντων τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ μακρότατον παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἤρθη, τὸν μὲν δῆμον τοῦς στρατηγοῦς ὁρκῶσαι ἐς τὸν κατάλογον, εἰ δή τις χρεία στρατιωτῶν γένοιτο, ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν τούτω τὴν βουλὴν ἤθροισε, και σφας συνταράξας τε και ἐκφοβήσας ἔπεισε θάνατον τῶν συνειλημμένων καταγνῶναι.

¹ διαδρά Dind., διαδράση L.

² μεταγνώναι Turn., καταγνώναι L.

1 7

through fear and others out of pity for Lentulus and B.C. 63 the rest, made preparations to deliver them all forcibly and rescue them from death. Cicero learned of this beforehand and occupied the Capitol and the Forum by night with a garrison. At dawn he received some divine inspiration to hope for the best; for in the course of sacrifices conducted in his house by the Vestals in behalf of the populace, the fire, contrary to custom, shot up to a very great height. Accordingly, he ordered the praetors to administer the oath of enlistment to the populace, in case there should be any need of soldiers; mean-

while he himself convened the senate, and by exciting and terrifying the members, he persuaded them to

condemn to death those who had been arrested. Now the senators had been at variance, and had come near setting them free. For while all before Caesar had voted that they should be put to death, he expressed the opinion that they should be imprisoned and placed in various cities after having their property confiscated, on the condition that there should never be any further deliberation concerning their pardon, and that if any one of them should escape, the city from which he fled should be considered in the light of an enemy. Then all who subsequently made known their views, until it came to Cato, voted this same way, so that some of the first also changed their minds. But the fact that Cato gave sentence of death against them caused all the rest to vote similarly. So the conspirators were punished by the decision of the majority, and a sacrifice and period of festival over

καὶ ἱερομηνία ἐψηφίσθη, ὁ μηπώποτε ἐπὶ τοιούτῷ τινὶ ἐγεγόνει· καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ μηνυθέντες ἐζητοῦντο, καί τινες καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μελλῆσαι συμ-4 φρονήσειν αὐτοῖς ὑποπτευθέντες εὐθύνοντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οἱ ὕπατοι διῷκουν, Αὐλον δὲ Φούλουιον ἄνδρα βουλευτὴν αὐτὸς ὁ πατὴρ ἀπέσφαξεν, οὕτι γε καὶ μόνος, ὥς γέ τισι δοκεῖ, τοῦτ' ἐν ἰδιωτείᾳ ποιήσας συχνοὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι, οὐχ ὅτι ὕπατοι ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰδιῶται, παῖδάς σφων ἀπέκτειναν.

37 Τότε μεν δη τόδε εγένετο, και τας αιρέσεις των ίερέων, γράψαντος μεν τοῦ Λαβιήνου, σπουδάσαντος δε τοῦ Καίσαρος, ες τον δημον αὐθις ό δμιλος παρὰ τὸν τοῦ Σύλλου νόμον ἐπανήγαγεν, άνανεωσάμενος τον τοῦ Δομιτίου. ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ τοῦ Μετέλλου τοῦ Εισεβοῦς τελευτήσαντος τῆς τε ίερωσύνης αὐτοῦ, καίτοι καὶ νέος καὶ μηδέπω 2 έστρατηγηκώς, έπεθύμησε, καὶ ἐν τῷ πλήθει την έλπίδα αὐτης, διά τε τἆλλα καὶ ὅτι τῷ τε Λαβιήνῳ κατὰ τοῦ Ἑββιρίου συνηγώνιστο ἐκαὶ τον Λέντουλον αποθανείν ουκ εψήφιστο, λαβών τοῦτό τε ἔπραξε, καὶ ἀρχιέρεως τῶν ποντιφίκων, καίπερ άλλων τε της τιμης πολλών και του Κατούλου μάλιστα άντιποιουμένων, ἀπεδείχθη. 3 καὶ γὰρ θεραπεῦσαι καὶ κολακεῦσαι πάντα τινὰ καὶ τῶν τυχόντων ετοιμότατος εγένετο, καὶ οὕτε λόγου οὔτε ἔργου οὐδενὸς ἐς τὸ κατατυχεῖν ὧν έσπούδαζεν 2 έξίστατο· οὐδὲ ἔμελέν οἱ τῆς αὐτίκα ταπεινότητος πρὸς τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἔπειτα ἰσγύν, ἀλλ'

¹ συνηγώνιστο Βk., συνηγωνίσατο L. 2 έσπούδαζεν R. Steph., έσπούδαζον L.

them was decreed—a thing that had never before B.C. 63 happened from any such cause. Others also against whom information was lodged were sought out, and some incurred suspicion and were called to account for merely intending to join the conspiracy. The consuls conducted most of the investigations, but Aulus Fulvius, a senator, was slain by his own father; and the latter was not the only private individual, as some think, who ever acted thus. There were many others, that is to say, not only consuls, but private individuals as well, who slew their sons. This was the course of affairs at that time.

The priestly elections, on motion of Labienus supported by Caesar, were again referred by the plebs to the people, contrary to the law of Sulla, but by a renewal of the law of Domitius. For Caesar at the death of Metellus Pius was eager for his priesthood, although he was young and had not yet served as praetor. Basing his hopes of it upon the multitude, therefore, especially because he had helped Labienus against Rabirius and had not voted for the death of Lentulus, he accomplished his purpose and was elected pontifex maximus, in spite of the fact that many others, and Catulus in particular, were his rivals for the honour. This was because he showed himself perfectly ready to serve and flatter everybody, even ordinary persons, and shrank from no speech or action in order to get possession of the objects for which he strove. He did not mind temporary grovelling when weighed against subsequent power, and he cringed as before superiors

ών ἐπεχείρει πρωτεῦσαι, τούτους ώς καὶ κρείτ-

τονας ύπήρχετο.

38 Τῷ μὲν οὖν Καίσαρι διὰ ταῦθ' οἱ πολλοὶ προσφιλεῖς ἦσαν, τὸν δὲ δὴ Κικέρωνα ἐν ὀργῷ ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν πολιτῶν θανάτῳ ποιούμενοι τά τε ἄλλα ἤχθαιρον, καὶ τέλος ἀπολογεῖσθαί τε καὶ καταλέξαι πάνθ' ὅσα ἐν τῷ ὑπατείᾳ ἐπεποιήκει τῷ 2 τελευταίᾳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡμέρᾳ ἐθελήσαντα (πάνυ γάρ που ἡδέως οὐχ ὅπως ὑφ' ἐτέρων ἐπῃνεῖτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐνεκωμίαζεν) ἐσίγασαν, οὐδὲ ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτῷ ἔξω τι τοῦ ὅρκου φθέγξασθαι, συναγωνιστῷ Μετέλλῳ Νέπωτι δημαρχοῦντι χρησάμενοι, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον ἀντιφιλονεικήσας προσεπώμοσεν ὅτι σεσωκὼς τὴν πόλιν εἴη.

39 Καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ ἐκ τούτου πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐμισήθη, Κατιλίνας δὲ ἐν ἀρχῆ εὐθὺς τοῦ ἔτους ἐν ῷ Ἰούνιός ¹ τε Σιλανὸς καὶ Λούκιος Λικίννιος ἤρξαν ἀπεφθάρη. τέως μὲν γὰρ καίπερ δύναμιν οἰκ ὀλίγην ἔχων ἐκαραδόκει τὰ τοῦ Λεντούλου καὶ διέμελλεν ἐλπίζων, ἃν φθάσωσιν ὅ τε Κικέρων καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ σφαγέντες, ῥαδίως τὰ λοιπὰ ² προσκατεργάσεσθαι ² ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνόν τε ἀπολωλότα ἐπύθετο καὶ τῶν συνόντων οἱ συχνοὺς μεθισταμένους διὰ τοῦτ' ἤσθετο, ὅ τε 'Αντώνιος καὶ ὁ Μέτελλος ὁ Κέλερ πρὸς ταῖς Φαισούλαις προσεδρεύοντες οὐδαμῆ προελθεῖν ³ αὐτῷ ἐπέτρεπον, ἀποκινδυνεῦσαι ἤναγκάσθη, καί (ἤσαν γὰρ δίχα ἐστρατοπεδευμένοι) πρὸς τὸν 'Αντώνιον ἐτράπετο,

^{1 &#}x27;Ιούνιός ΧγΙ., ἰούλιός L.

² προσκατεργάσεσθαι Dind.. προσκατεργάσασθαι L.

³ προελθείν Leunel., προσελθείν L.

to the very men whom he was endeavouring to B.C. 63 dominate.

Toward Caesar, accordingly, the masses were well disposed, for the reasons given, but they were angry at Cicero for the death of the citizens, and displayed their enmity in many ways. Finally, when on the last day of his office he desired to present his account and defence of all that he had done in his consulship,—for he certainly did take great pleasure not only in being praised by others but also in extolling himself,-they made him keep silent and did not allow him to atter a word outside of his oath: in this they had Metellus Nepos, the tribune. to aid them. Nevertheless, Cicero, doing his best to resist them, added to his oath the statement that he had saved the city; and for this he incurred much greater hatred.

Catiline perished at the very opening of the year in B.C. 62 which Junius Silanus and Lucius Licinius held office. For a while, although he had no small force, he had watched the movements of Lentulus and delayed, in the hope that if Cicero and his adherents should be slain in time he could easily carry out his remaining plans. But when he ascertained that Lentulus had perished and that many of his followers had deserted for that reason, he was compelled to risk all on a battle, especially since Antonius and Metellus Celer, who were besieging Faesulae, did not allow him to advance anywhere. As the two were encamped separately, he proceeded against Antonius,

καίπερ τῷ ἀξιώματι προέχοντα τοῦ Μετέλλου 3 καὶ δύναμιν πλείω περιβεβλημένον. αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι ἐλπίδα αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ συνώμοτον ἐθελοκακήσειν ἔσχεν. ὑποπτεύσας οὖν τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνος, καὶ μήτε δι' εὐνοίας ἔτ' αὐτῷ ἄτε ἀσθενεῖ ὄντι ὤν (πρός τε γάρ τὰς δυνάμεις τινῶν καὶ πρὸς τὰ ξαυτῶν συμφέροντα καὶ τὰς ἔχθρας τάς τε φιλίας 4 οί πολλοί ποιούνται), καὶ προσκαταδείσας μή πως προθύμως σφας αγωνιζομένους ίδων έξονειδίση τι καὶ προενέγκη οἱ τῶν ἀπορρήτων, αὐτὸς μεν νοσείν προεφασίσατο, Μάρκω δε Πετρείω την 40 μάχην ἐπέτρεψε. συμβαλών οὖν οὖτός σφισι τὸν Κατιλίναν καὶ ἄλλους τρισχιλίους προθυμότατα άγωνιζομένους οὐκ άναιμωτὶ κατέκοψεν. οὔτε γὰρ ἔφυγεν αὐτῶν οὐδείς, καὶ ἐν χώρα πάντες ἔπεσον, ὥστε καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς κρατήσαντας πολὺ των κοινων δδύρασθαι, ὅτι καὶ τοιούτους καὶ τοσούτους, εἰ καὶ δικαίως, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολίτας 2 τε καὶ συμμάχους ἀπωλωλέκεσαν. ὁ δ' οὖν 'Αντώνιος τήν τε κεφαλήν αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, όπως πιστεύσαντες αὐτὸν τετελευτηκέναι μηδέν έτι δεδίωσιν, έπεμψε, καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπὶ τῆ νίκη, καίτοι τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν 1 πεφονευμένων έλάττονος παρα το νενομισμένον όντος, επεκλήθη. βουθυτηθηναί τε έψηφίσθη, καὶ την έσθητα ώς καὶ πάντων τῶν δεινῶν ἀπηλλαγμένοι μετέβαλον.

41 Οὐ μὴν οἵ γε σύμμαχοι οἱ μετασχόντες τῷ Κατιλίνα τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τότε ἔτι περιόντες ἡσύχαζον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δέει τῆς τιμωρίας ἐταράττοντο.

¹ τῶν Gros, τῶν τε L.

² μετέβαλον R. Steph., μετέβαλλον L.

in spite of the fact that this leader was superior to B.C. 62 Metellus in rank and was accompanied by a larger force. He did this because he had hopes that Antonius would let himself be beaten in view of his part in the conspiracy. The latter, who suspected this, no longer felt kindly toward Catiline, because he was weak; for most men form both friendships and enmities with reference to others' influence and their own advantage. Furthermore, being afraid that Catiline, when he saw them fighting with a will, might utter some reproach and reveal some of their secrets, he pretended to be ill, and entrusted the conduct of the battle to Marcus Petreius. This commander joined battle with the rebels and in a very bloody contest cut down Catiline and three thousand others as they fought most bravely; for not one of them fled, but every man fell at his post. Even the victors mourned the common loss, inasmuch as they had destroyed, however justly, so many and such brave men, who were citizens and allies in spite of all. Antonius sent Catiline's head to the city in order that the people might be assured of his death and have no further fear. He himself was acclaimed imperator for the victory, although the slain fell below the required number.1 Sacrifices were also decreed, and the people changed their raiment to signify their deliverance from all dangers.2

Nevertheless, the allies who had shared in the undertaking with Catiline and still survived did not remain quiet, but through fear of punishment proceeded to stir up rebellion. Against each division

¹ Appian (B.C. ii. 44) gives the number as 10,000; Diodorus (quoted by Photuus Bibl. 638 H) as 6,000. ² See chapter 33, 3 above.

καὶ ἐκείνους μὲν στρατηγοὶ καθ' ἐκάστους πεμφθέντες προκατέλαβον τρόπον τινὰ ἐσκεδασμένους 2 καὶ ἐτιμωρήσαντο· ἔτεροι δὲ τῶν λανθανόντων μηνύσει Λουκίου Οὐεττίου ἀνδρὸς ἱππέως, συγκοινωνήσαντος μέν σφισι της συνωμοσίας, τότε δὲ ἐπ' άδεία αὐτοὺς ἐκφαίνοντος, ἐλεγγόμενοι ἐδικαιοῦντο, μέχρις οδ ἐσαγγείλας τινὰς τά τε ὀνόματα αὐτῶν ἐς δελτίον ἐγγράψας 1 ὕστερον καὶ ἄλλους 3 συγνούς προσεγγράψαι ήθέλησεν. ύποπτεύσαντες γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ βουλευταὶ μηδὲν ὑγιὲς πράττειν, τὸ μὲν γραμματεῖον οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ ² ἔδωκαν, μὴ καὶ ἀπαλείψη τινάς, εἰπεῖν δὲ ἀπὸ γλώσσης ἐκέλευσαν όσους παραλελοιπέναι έφασκε. ούτως αίδεσθείς και φοβηθείς οὐκέτι πολλούς 4 ἐνέδειξε. Θορύβου δ' οὖν καὶ δος ἔν τε τῆ πόλει καὶ παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις ἀγνοία τῶν ωνομασμένων όντος, καὶ τῶν μὲν περὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς μάτην θορυβουμένων, τῶν δὲ καὶ ἐς ἐτέρους ουκ ορθώς υποπτευόντων, έδοξε τη γερουσία τα ονόματα αὐτῶν ἐκτεθῆναι. κἀκ τούτου οί τε αναίτιοι κατέστησαν καὶ τοῖς ὑπευθύνοις δίκαι έγένοντο, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν παρόντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ έρήμην ὧφλον.

42 Κατιλίνας μὲν ταῦτ' ἐποίησε καὶ οὕτω κατελύθη, καὶ ἐπὶ πλείόν γε ¹ τῆς τῶν πραχθέντων ἀξίας ὄνομα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Κικέρωνος δόξαν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους τοὺς κατ' αὐτοῦ λεχθέντας ἔσχε· Κικέρων δὲ ὀλίγου μὲν καὶ παραχρῆμα ἐπὶ τῆ τοῦ Λεντούλου τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν δεθέντων 2 σφαγῆ ἐκρίθη. τὸ δὲ ἔγκλημα τοῦτο λόγω μὲν ἐκείνω ἐπεφέρετο, ἔργω δὲ ἐπὶ τῆ βουλῆ κατε-

 $^{^1}$ éggráfus Bs., suggráfus L. 2 adtê R. Steph., adtêr L. 3 kal inserted by Bk. 4 ge St., te L.

of them praetors were sent, who overcame them 8.0.62 promptly, while they were still more or less scattered, and punished them. Others who had been avoiding observation were convicted and condemned on information furnished by Lucius Vettius, a knight, who had taken part in the conspiracy but now on promise of immunity revealed the participants. This went on until, after having accused some men and written their names on a tablet, he desired the privilege of adding various others. The senators suspected that he was up to some mischief and would not give him the document again for fear he should erase some of the names, but bade him mention orally all he claimed to have omitted. Then in shame and fear he named only a few others. Since even then there was excitement in the city and among the allies through ignorance of the persons named, and some were needlessly troubled about themselves, while some incorrectly suspected others, the senate decreed that the names should be published. As a result the innocent regained their composure and the accused were brought to trial; the latter were condemned, some being present and others letting their cases go by default.

Such was the career of Catiline and such his downfall: but he gained a greater name than his deeds deserved, owing to the reputation of Cicero and the speeches he delivered against him. Cicero, on his side, came near being tried then and there for the killing of Lentulus and the other prisoners. charge, though technically brought against him, was

σκευάζετο ώς γὰρ οὐκ έξον σφισιν ἄνευ τοῦ δήμου θάνατον πολίτου τινὸς καταψηφίσασθαι, πολλην καταβοην έν τῷ ομίλω πρὸς τοῦ Μετέλ-3 λου τοῦ Νέπωτος ὅτι μάλιστα εἰχον. οὐ μὴν καὶ ώφλε τότε οὐδέν τῆς γὰρ γερουσίας ἄδειαν πᾶσι τοις διαχειρίσασι τὰ τότε πραχθέντα δούσης, καὶ προσέτι και προειπούσης ' ότι, καν αὐθίς τις εὐθῦναί τινα αὐτῶν τολμήση, ἔν τε ἐχθροῦ καὶ έν πολεμίου μοίρα έσται, έφοβήθη τε δ Νέπως καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτ' ἐκίνησεν.

43 "Εν τε οὖν τούτω ή βουλὴ ἐπεκράτησε, καὶ ἐν έκείνω ² ὅτι τὸν Πομπήιον τοῦ Νέπωτος μεταπεμφθ ηναι σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι (ἐν γὰρ τῆ ᾿Λσίᾳ ἔτ' ην) προφάσει μὲν τοῦ τὰ παρόντα κατασταθηναί, έλπίδι δὲ τοῦ δι' αὐτοῦ, ἄτε τὰ τοῦ πλήθους φρονοῦντος, ἰσχύσειν ἐν οἶς ἐτάρασσεν, έσηγησαμένου, διεκώλυσαν αὐτὸ κυρωθηναι. 2 τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτα ὅ τε Κάτων καὶ Κύιντος Μινούκιος δημαρχούντες άντέλεγον τοίς γραφείσι, καὶ τόν τε 3 γραμματέα τὸν ἀναγιγνώσκοντα τὴν γνώμην ἐπέσχον, καὶ τοῦ Νέπωτος τὸ γραμματείον, ὅπως αὐτὸς ἀναλέξη, λαβόντος ἐξήρπασαν, έπειδή τε καὶ ως ἀπὸ γλώσσης τινὰ εἰπεῖν 3 ἐπεχείρησε, τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ἐπέλαβον. μάχης δὲ ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐκείνων καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν έκατέροις βοηθησάντων ξύλοις καὶ λίθοις, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ξίφεσι γενομένης, οἱ βουλευταὶ συνήλθον αὐθημερον ές το συνέδριον, και τά τε ιμάτια ηλλάξαντο καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς

¹ προειπούσης Rk., προσειπούσης L. 2 εν εκείνω Rk., επ' εκείνω L.

³ τε placed after τον by Rk., after την by L.

really directed against the senate. For its members were violently denounced before the populace, especially by Metellus Nepos, on the ground that they had no right to condemn any citizen to death without the consent of the people. Nevertheless, Cicero escaped on this occasion. For the senate granted immunity to all those who had administered affairs during that period, and further proclaimed that if any one should dare to call one of them to account later, he should be regarded as a personal and public enemy; so that Nepos was afraid and made no further trouble.

This was not the senate's only victory. Nepos had moved that Pompey, who was still in Asia, be summoned with his army, ostensibly for the purpose of bringing order out of the existing confusion, but really in the hope that he himself might through him gain power amid the disturbances he was causing, because Pompey favoured the multitude; but the senators prevented this motion from being adopted. In the first place, Cato and Quintus Minucius, the tribunes, vetoed the proposition and stopped the clerk who was reading the motion. Then when Nepos took the document to read it himself, they took it away, and when even then he undertook to speak extempore, they stopped his mouth. The result was that a battle waged with clubs and stones and even swords took place between them, in which some others joined, assisting one side or the other. Therefore the senators met in the senate-house that very day, changed their raiment and gave the consuls charge of the

πόλεως, ώστε μηδεν ἀπ' αὐτης ἀποτριβηναι, 4 ἐπέτρεψαν. Φοβηθεὶς οὖν καὶ τότε ὁ Νέπως ἔκ τε τοῦ μέσου εὐθὺς έξεχώρησε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο γραφήν τινα κατά της βουλης έκθεις πρός τὸν Πομπήιον ἀφώρμησε, καίτοι μηδεμίαν

νύκτα ἀπαυλισθηναι 1 ἐκ της πόλεως ἐξόν.

44 Γενομένου δὲ τούτου οὐδ' ὁ Καῖσαρ (ἐστρατήγει δέ) οὐδὲν ἔτ' ἐνεωτέρισεν. ἔπραττε μὲν γὰρ ὅπως τὸ μὲν τοῦ Κατούλου ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ἀφαιρεθείη (κλοπῆς τε γὰρ αὐτὸν ηὔθυνε, καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν τῶν ἀνηλωμένων χρημάτων ἀπήτει), τῷ δὲ δὴ Πομπηίω τὰ λοιπὰ 2 προσεξεργάσασθαι ἐπιτραπείη. ἢν γάρ τινα, ώς ἐν τηλικούτῳ καὶ τοιούτῳ ἔργῳ, ἡμιτέλεστα ή εκεινός γε επλάττετο είναι, ὅπως ὁ Πομπήιος τήν τε δόξαν της έκποιήσεως αὐτοῦ λάβη καὶ τὸ αύτοῦ ὄνομα ἀντεπιγράψη. οὐ μὴν οὕτω γε χαρίζεσθαι αὐτῷ ἤθελεν ὥστε καὶ ἐφ' ἐαυτῷ διὰ τοῦτο ψηφισθηναί τι τοιοῦτον, οἱον ἐπὶ τῶ Νέπωτι εδέδοκτο, υπομείναι. οὐδε γάρ οὐδε έκείνου ένεκα ταῦτ' ἐποίει, ἀλλ' ίνα αὐτὸς καὶ διὰ 3 τούτων τὸ πληθος σφετερίσηται καίπερ οὕτω πάντες τὸν Πομπήιον ἐδέδισαν 4 (οὐδέπω γὰρ τὰ στρατεύματα ἀφήσων δήλος ήν) ώστε, ἐπειδή Μάρκον Πίσωνα ύποστράτηγον πρὸς αἴτησιν ύπατείας προύπεμψε, τάς τε άρχαιρεσίας, ὅπως άπαντήση ες αὐτάς, ἀναβαλέσθαι, καὶ παρόντα αὐτὸν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀποδείξαι. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνος ούχ ὅτι τοῖς φίλοις ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς συνέστησεν αὐτόν.

ἀπαυλισθήναι Jacoby, ἀπολιπήναι L.
 ἐτι R. Steph., ἔτι L.
 ἐδέδοκτο Bs., δέδοκται L.
 ἐδέδισαν St., ἐδεδείεσαν L.

city, that it might suffer no harm. Then Nepos B.C. 62 once more became afraid and immediately retired from their midst; subsequently, after publishing some piece of writing against the senate, he set out to join Pompey, although he had no right to be absent from the city for a single night.

After this occurrence not even Caesar, who was now practor, ventured any further innovation. He had been endeavouring to secure the removal of the name of Catulus from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, charging him with embezzlement and demanding an account of the expenditures he had made, and to have Pompey entrusted with the construction of the remainder of the edifice; for many parts, considering the size and character of the work, were but half finished, or at any rate Caesar pretended this was the case, in order that Pompey might gain the glory for its completion and inscribe his own name instead. Caesar was not so anxious, however, to do him a favour that he would run the risk of having passed against himself any such decree as that concerning Nepos. For it was not really for Pompey's sake that he was doing this, but in order that he himself might win over the populace even by this means. And vet all stood in such fear of Pompey, seeing that it was not yet clear whether he would give up his legions, that when he sent ahead Marcus Piso, his lieutenant, to seek the consulship, they postponed the elections so that he might attend them; and on his arrival they elected him unanimously. For Pompey had recommended the man not only to his friends, but also to his enemies.

45 Κάν τούτω ὁ Καΐσαρ, τοῦ Κλωδίου τοῦ Πουπλίου ¹ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἔν τε τἢ οἰκία καὶ παρὰ τὴν ποίησιν τῶν ἱερῶν, ἄπερ αἱ ἀειπαρθένοι παρά τε τοῖς ὑπάτοις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἄγνωστα ἐκ τῶν πατρίων ἐς πᾶν τὸ ἄρρεν ἐπετέλουν, αἰσχύναντος, ἐκείνω μὲν οὐδὲν ἐνεκάλεσεν (καὶ γὰρ εὖ ἠπίστατο ὅτι οὐχ ἀλώσεται διὰ τὴν ² ἐταιρείαν), τὴν δὲ δὴ γυναῖκα ἀπεπέμψατο, εἰπὼν ἄλλως μὲν μὴ πιστεύειν τῷ λεγομένω, μὴ μέντοι καὶ συνοικῆσαι ² ἔτ' αὐτῆ δύνασθαι, διότι καὶ ὑπωπτεύθη ἀρχὴν μεμοιχεῦσθαι· τὴν γὰρ σώφρονα χρῆναι μὴ μόνον μηδὲν ἀμαρτάνειν, ἀλλὰ μηδ' ἐς ὑποψίαν αἰσχρὰν ἀφικνεῖσθαι.

3 Τότε μὲν ταῦτά τε ἐγένετο, καὶ ἡ γέφυρα ἡ λιθίνη ἡ³ ἐς τὸ νησίδιον τὸ ¹ ἐν τῷ Τιβέριδι ὂν φέ
46 ρουσα κατεσκευάσθη, Φαβρικία κληθεῖσα· τῷ δὲ ἐξῆς ἔτει ⁵ ἐπί τε Πίσωνος καὶ ἐπὶ Μάρκου Μεσσάλου ὑπάτων μισοῦντές τε ἄλλως οἱ δυνατοὶ τὸν Κλώδιον, καὶ ἄμα καὶ τὸ μίασμα αὐτοῦ ἀποδιοπομπούμενοι, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ποντίφικες ἀνατυθῆναι τὰ ἱερὰ ὡς οὐχ ὁσίως διὰ τοῦτο τελεσθέντα 2 ἔγνωσαν, δικαστηρίῳ αὐτὸν παρέδωκαν, καὶ κατηγορήθη μὲν τῆς τε μοιχείας, καίπερ τοῦ Καίσαρος σιωπῶντος, καὶ τῆς μεταστάσεως τῆς περὶ Νίσιβιν, ⁶ καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὅτι τῆ ἀδελφῆ συγγίγνοιτο, ἀφείθη δέ, καίτοι τῶν δικαστῶν φρουρὰν παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς, ὅπως μηδὲν κακὸν ὑπ'

αὐτοῦ πάθωσι, καὶ αἰτησάντων καὶ λαβόντων. 3 ἐφ' ὧπερ καὶ ὁ Κάτουλος ἐπισκώπτων ἔλεγεν

¹ Πουπλίου R. Steph., πομπηίου L.

² συνοικήσαι Bs., συνοικήσειν L.

 ³ ἡ inserted by St.
 4 τὸ Leunel., τότε L.
 5 ἔτει supplied by Bk.
 6 Νίσιβιν R. Steph., νίσιβι L.

It was at this time that Publius Clodius debauched, B.C. 62 Caesar's wife in Caesar's own house and during the performance of the rites which according to ancestral custom the Vestals carried out at the residences of consuls and praetors out of sight of the whole male population. Caesar brought no charge against him, understanding well that on account of his associates he would not be convicted; but he divorced his wife, telling her that he did not really believe the story, but that he could no longer live with her inasmuch as she had once been suspected of committing adultery; for a chaste wife not only must not err, but must not even incur any evil suspicion.

Following these events the stone bridge, called the Fabrician, leading to the little island in the Tiber, was constructed. The next year, in the consulship B.C. 61 of Piso and Marcus Messalla, the optimates showed their hatred of Clodius and at the same time made expiation for his crime by bringing him to trial, since the pontifices had decided that in view of his act the rites had not been duly performed and should be repeated. He was accused of adultery, in spite of Caesar's silence, and of mutiny at Nisibis, and furthermore of holding guilty relations with his sister; yet he was acquitted, although the jurymen had requested and obtained of the senate a guard to prevent their suffering any harm at his hands. With reference to this Catulus jestingly remarked

δτι την φυλακην ήτησ**α**ν ούχ ίνα ἀσφαλώς τοῦ Κλωδίου καταψηφίσωνται, άλλ' ἵνα αὐτοὶ τὰ γρήματα α έδεδωροδοκήκεσαν διασώσωνται. καὶ δ μεν διαφανέστατα τῶν πώποτε τὸ δημόσιον ἀεὶ πρὸ παντὸς προτιμήσας ἐτελεύτησεν οὐ πολλῶ 4 ύστερον εν δε δή τω έτει εκείνω οι τε τιμηταί πάντας τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς γενομένους ἐς τὸ βουλευτικον και ύπερ τον αριθμον εσέγραψαν, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀπαυστὶ μέχρι τότε τὰς ὁπλομαχίας θεώμενος έξανέστη τε μεταξύ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ ἄριστον είλετο. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκείθεν ἀρξάμενον καὶ νῦν, δσάκις ἂν δ τὸ κράτος ἔχων ἀγωνοθετῆ, γίγνεται.

47

Έν μὲν οὖν τῆ πόλει ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐπράχθη, τῶν δὲ ᾿Αλλοβρίγων τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν περὶ Νάρβωνα πορθούντων Γάιος Πομπτίνος ο άρχων αὐτης τοὺς μὲν ὑποστρατήγους ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν ἐπιτηδείω ίδρυθεὶς έπετήρει τὰ γιγνόμενα, ὅπως κατὰ καιρὸν πρὸς τὸ ἀεὶ χρήσιμον καὶ γνώμην σφίσι διδόναι καὶ 2 έπαμύνειν δύνηται. καὶ Μάλλιος μεν Λεντίνος έπὶ Οὐαλεντίαν 1 πόλιν στρατεύσας οὕτως αὐτοὺς κατέπληξεν ε ώστε τους πλείους εκδράναι καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης πρεσβεύσασθαι. κάν τούτω συμβοηθησάντων τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ὄντων καὶ προσπεσόντων αἰφνιδίως τοῦ μὲν τείχους ἀπεώσθη, την δε δη χώραν ἀδεῶς ελεηλάτει, 3 μέχρις οὖ ὅ τε Κατούγνατος ⁴ ὁ τοῦ παντὸς αὐτῶν έθνους στρατηγός καί τινες καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν παρὰ

¹ Οὐαλεντίαν Heller, Οὐεντίαν L.

² κατέπληξεν Rk., κατέπτηξεν L.

³ ἀπεώσθη St., ἀπώσθη L.

⁴ Κατούγνατος R. Steph., και τοῦ γνατος L.

that they had asked for the guard, not in order to B.C. 61 condemn Clodius with safety, but in order to save for themselves the money which they had received in bribes. Now Catulus died shortly afterward; he was a man who always, more conspicuously than any one who ever lived, preferred the common weal to everything else. That year the censors enrolled in the senatorial body all who had attained office, even beyond the legal number. At this time, too, the populace, which hitherto had watched the gladiatorial contests without any intermission, went out for lunch in the course of the entertainment. This practice, which began at that time, is continued even now, whenever the person in charge exhibits games. This was the course of affairs in the city.

The Allobroges were devastating Gallia Narbonensis, and Gaius Pomptinus, the governor, sent his lieutenants against the enemy, while he himself took up his quarters at a convenient spot for keeping watch of what occurred, so that he might be able to give them opportune advice and assistance, as their advantage might from time to time dictate. Manlius Lentinus made a campaign against the city of Valentia and so terrified the inhabitants that the majority ran away and the rest sent ambassadors regarding peace. Just then the country population coming to their aid suddenly fell upon him; and he was repulsed from the wall, but ravaged the land with impunity until Catugnatus, the leader of their whole tribe, with some of those dwelling along the

τὸν Ἰσαρα οἰκούντων ἐπεκούρησάν σφισι. τότε γαρ οὐκ ἐτόλμησε μὲν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν πλοίων περαιωθήναι κωλῦσαι, μὴ καὶ συστραφωσιν ίδόντες σφάς άντιπαρατεταγμένους, 4 ύλώδους δὲ τοῦ χωρίου μετὰ τὸν ποταμὸν εὐθὺς όντος, ενέδρας εν αὐτῷ ἐποιήσατο, καὶ τοὺς ἀεὶ διαβαίνοντας υπολαμβάνων έφθειρε. φεύγουσί τέ τισιν ἐπισπόμενος περιέπεσεν αὐτῷ Κατουγνάτω καν πασσυδί διώλετο, εί μη χειμων σφοδρός έξαίφνης έπιγενόμενος έπέσχε τους βαρ-48 βάρους της διώξεως. και ό μεν μετα τοῦτο, τοῦ Κατουγνάτου πόρρω ποι ἀφορμήσαντος, τήν τε χώραν αὐθις κατέδραμε καὶ τὸ τεῖχος παρ' ὧ έδυστύχησεν έξειλε Λούκιος δὲ δὴ Μάριος καὶ Σέρουιος Γάλβας τόν τε 'Ροδανον ἐπεραιώθησαν, καὶ τὰ τῶν ᾿Αλλοβρίγων λυμηνάμενοι τέλος πρὸς 2 Σολώνιον πόλιν ἢλθον, καὶ χωρίον μέν τι 1 ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἰσχυρὸν κατέλαβον, μάχη τε τοὺς ἀντίστάντας σφίσιν ἐνίκησαν, καί τινα καὶ τοῦ πολίσματος ξυλίνου πη ὄντος ἐνέπρησαν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ είλον αὐτό ὁ γὰρ Κατούγνατος . ἐπελθὼν ἐκώλυσε. μαθὼν οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Πομπτῖνος επεστράτευσε τε επ' αὐτὸ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ πολιορκήσας σφας έχειρώσατο πλην τοῦ Κατουγνάτου.

49 Καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ράον ἐκ τούτου προσκατεστρέψατο, Πομπήιος δὲ ἢλθε μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐν τῷ χρόνῷ τούτῷ, καὶ τόν τε ᾿Αφράνιον τὸν Λούκιον καὶ τὸν Μέτελλον τὸν Κέλερα ὑπάτους ἀποδειχθῆναι ἐποίησεν, ἐλπίσας δι᾽ αὐτῶν
 2 μάτην πάνθ᾽ ὅσα ἐβούλετο καταπράξειν. ἤθελε

Isara came to their aid. For the time being he did not B.C. 61 dare to hinder them from crossing, by reason of the number of their boats, for fear they might gather in a body on seeing the Romans arrayed against them. As the country was wooded, however, right down to the river bank, he planted ambuscades there, and captured and destroyed the men as fast as they crossed. While following up some fugitives he fell in with Catugnatus himself, and would have perished with all his force, had not a violent storm suddenly come up and prevented the barbarians from pursuing. Later, when Catugnatus had retired to some distant point, Lentinus overran the country again and destroyed the town before which he had met with his reverse. Lucius Marius and Servius Galba crossed the Rhone and after ravaging the possessions of the Allobroges finally reached the city of Solonium and occupied a strong position commanding it. They conquered their opponents in battle and also set fire to portions of the town, which was partly constructed of wood; they did not capture it, however, being prevented by the arrival of Catugnatus. Pomptinus, on learning of this, proceeded against the place with his entire army, besieged it, and got possession of the defenders, with the exception of Catugnatus. After that he more easily subjugated the remaining districts.

At this time Pompey entered Italy and had Lucius a.c. 60 Afranius and Metellus Celer appointed consuls, vainly hoping that through them he could effect whatever he desired. He wished in particular to have some

μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τε καὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα χώραν τέ τινα τοίς συνεστρατευμένοις οι δοθήναι και τὰ πεπραγμένα αὐτῷ πάντ' ἐπικυρωθῆναι, διήμαρτε δέ σφων τότε. οί τε γὰρ δυνατοί, μηδὲ ι έκ τοῦ πρίν αὐτῷ ἀρεσκόμενοι, διεκώλυσαν αὐτὰ ψηφι-3 σθ ηναι καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ὑπάτων ᾿Αφράνιος μέν (ὀρχεῖσθαι γὰρ βέλτιον ή τι διαπράσσειν ήπίστατο) πρὸς οὐδὲν αὐτῷ συνήρατο, Μέτελλος δὲ όργη, ὅτι τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ, καίτοι παῖδας ἐξ αὐτης ἔχων, ἀπεπέπεμπτο,² καὶ πάνυ πρὸς πάντα 4 ἀντέπραξεν. ὅ τε Λούκουλλος ὁ Λούκιος, ὧ ποτε έν τη Γαλατία ο Πομπήιος έντυχων ύπερφρόνως έκέχρητο, πολύς τε αὐτῶ ἐνέκειτο, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ιδία και καθ' εκαστον ων επραξεν επεξελθείν καὶ μὴ πᾶσιν αμα αὐτοίς τὴν κύρωσιν 5 αἰτεῖν. ἄλλως τε γὰρ δίκαιον εἶναι ἔλεγε μὴ πάντα άπλως όσα επεποιήκει, καὶ α μηδείς σφων ηπίστατο όποια ήν,3 βεβαιωθήναι ώσπερ ύπὸ δεσπότου τινὸς γεγενημένα καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῶν έαυτοῦ ἔργων κατελελύκει τινά, ήξίου ἐξετασμὸν έκατέρων έν τη βουλή γενέσθαι, ίν οπότερ αν 4 50 αὐτοῖς ἀρέση κυρώσωσι. καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Κάτων ό τε Μέτελλος οί τε άλλοι οι τὰ αὐτά σφισι βουλόμενοι ισχυρώς συνεμάχουν. τοῦ γοῦν δημάρχου, τοῦ τὴν γῆν τοῖς τῷ Πομπηίω συνεξητασμένοις κατανείμαι έσηγουμένου, προσγράψαντος τη γνώμη το καὶ πασι τοῦς πολίταις, ὅπως τοῦτό τε αὐτὸ ράον ψηφίσωνται καὶ τὰ πραχθέντα αὐτῶ βεβαιώσωσι, κλήρους τινὰς δοθηναι, ἐπὶ παν ο Μέτελλος ανθιστάμενος επεξηλθεν, ώστε

μηδὲ Rk., μήτε L.
 ἀπεπέπεμπτο Melber, ἀπεπέμπετο L.
 ἤν v. Herw., εἶναι L.
 ὁπότερὶ ἀν Pflugk, ὁπότερα L.

land given to his soldiers and to have all his acts B.C. 60 approved; but he failed of these objects at that time. For, in the first place, the optimates, who even before this had not been pleased with him, prevented the questions from being brought to vote. And as for the consuls themselves, Afranius, who understood how to dance better than to transact any business, did not assist him at all, and Metellus, in anger that Pompey had divorced his sister in spite of having had children by her, vigorously opposed him in everything. Moreover, Lucius Lucullus. whom Pompey had once treated with contempt when he met him in Galatia, was very bitter against him, demanding that he render an account individually and separately of everything that he had done instead of asking for the approval of all his acts He maintained that it was only fair, in any case, that Pompey's acts, as to the character of which no one knew anything, should not all be confirmed by a single vote, as if they were the acts of a master. And since Pompey had furthermore set aside some of Lucullus' own arrangements, he demanded that an investigation of the acts of each should be made in the senate, in order that they might ratify whichever suited them. He was strongly supported by Cato and Metellus and the rest, who were of the same mind with them. Accordingly, when the tribune who moved that land be assigned to the followers of Pompey added to the measure a provision that grants should be made to all the citizens likewise, in order that they might more readily accept this particular feature and also ratify Pompey's acts, Metellus contested every point

177

καὶ ἐς τὸ οἴκημα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐμβληθῆναι καὶ τὴν 2 γερουσίαν ένταῦθα ἀθροῖσαι ἐθελῆσαι. ἐπεί τε έκείνος (Λούκιος δὲ δὴ Φλάουιος ὼνομάζετο) τό τε βάθρον τὸ δημαρχικὸν ἐν αὐτῆ τῆ ἐσόδφ αὐτοῦ έθηκε, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ καθεζόμενος ἐμποδὼν ὥστε μηδένα ἐσιέναι ἐγίγνετο, τόν τε τοῖχον τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου διακοπήναι ἐκέλευσεν ὅπως δι' αὐτοῦ ή βουλη ἐσέλθη, καὶ ὡς νυκτερεύσων κατὰ χώραν 3 παρεσκευάζετο. μαθών οὖν τοῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος, καὶ αἰσχυνθείς τε άμα καὶ δείσας μη καὶ ὁ δήμος άγανακτήση, προσέταξε τῷ Φλαουίω ἀπαναστῆναι. ἔλεγε μὲν γὰρ ώς τοῦ Μετέλλου τοῦτ' ἀξιώσαντος, οὐ μὴν ἐπιστεύετο· τὸ γὰρ φρόνημα 4 αὐτοῦ κατάδηλον πᾶσιν ἦν. ἀμέλει τῶν ἄλλων δημάρχων έξελέσθαι αὐτὸν βουληθέντων οὐκ ήθέλησεν. οὔκουν οὖδ' αὖθις ἀπειλήσαντι τῷ Φλαουίω μηδε ές το έθνος ο επεκεκλήρωτο επιτρέψειν αὐτῶ, εἰ μὴ συγχωρήσειέν οι διανομοθετήσαι, έξελθείν, ὑπείξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ ἄσμενος ἐν τῆ πόλει κατέμεινεν.

5 'Ο οὖν Πομπήιος ἐπειδὶ) μηδὲν διά τε τὸν Μέτελλον καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἄλλους διεπράξατο, ἔφη μὲν φθονεῖσθαί τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῷ πλήθει τοῦτο δηλώσειν, φοβηθεὶς δὲ μὴ καὶ ἐκείνου διαμαρτῶν μείζω αἰσχύνην ὄφλη, κατέβαλε τὴν ἀξίωσιν. 6 καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω γνοὺς ὅτι μηδὲν ὄντως τός τος ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ὄνομα καὶ τὸν φθόνον ἐφ' τος ἀπωνήθη ποτὲ εἰχεν, ἔργῳ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀπώνητο, μετεμέλετο ὅτι τά τε στρατόπεδα προαφῆκε 51 καὶ ἑαυτὸν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐξέδωκε· Κλώδιος δὲ ἐπε-

 $^{^1}$ ὕφλη Dind., ὀφλήση L. 2 ὅντως Rk., οὕτως L. 3 ἐφ' Pflugk, ἐν L.

with him and attacked him so persistently that the B.C. 60 latter had him put in prison. Then Metellus wished to assemble the senate there. When the other, whose name was Lucius Flavius, set the tribune's bench at the very entrance of the cell, and sitting upon it, offered an obstacle to any one's entrance, Metellus ordered the wall of the prison to be cut through so that the senate might gain entrance through it, and made preparations to pass the night on the spot. When Pompey learned of this, he was ashamed as well as afraid that the people might take offence, and so directed Flavius to withdraw. He spoke as if this were a request from Metellus, but was not believed; for the latter's pride was well known to all. Indeed, Metellus would not give his consent when the other tribunes wished to set him free. Nor would he yield even when Flavius later threatened that he would not allow him to go out to the province which he had drawn unless he would permit the law to be passed; on the contrary, he was very glad to remain in the city.

Pompey, therefore, when he could accomplish nothing because of Metellus and the rest, declared that they were jealous of him and that he would make this clear to the plebs. Fearing, however, that he might fail of their support also, and so incur still greater shame, he abandoned his demands. Thus he learned that he did not possess any real power, but merely the name and envy resulting from his former authority, while in point of fact he received no benefit from it; and he repented of having let his legions go so soon and of having put himself in the power of his enemies.

179

θύμησε μὲν διὰ . . . τοὺς δυνατοὺς ἐπὶ τῆ δίκη δημαρχήσαι, καί τινας τῶν δημαρχούντων προκαθηκεν ἐσηγήσασθαι τὸ ¹ καὶ τοῖς εὐπατρίδαις τῆς ἀρχῆς μεταδίδοσθαι, ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπεισε, τήν τε εὐγένειαν ἐξωμόσατο καὶ πρὸς τὰ τοῦ πλήθους δικαιώματα, ἐς αὐτόν σφων τὸν σύλλογον ἐσελ-2 θών, μετέστη. καὶ ἤτησε μὲν εὐθὺς τὴν δημαρχίαν, οὐκ ἀπεδείχθη δὲ ἐναντιωθέντος οἱ τοῦ Μετέλλου ἐν γένει τε γὰρ αὐτῷ ἦν, καὶ τοῖς πραττομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἤρέσκετο. πρόφασιν δὲ ἐποιήσατο ὅτι μὴ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἡ ἐκποίησις αὐτοῦ ἐγεγόνει ἐν γὰρ τῆ ἐσφορὰ τοῦ φρατριατικοῦ νόμου μόνως ἐξῆν τοῦτο γίγνεσθαι.

3 Ταῦτά τε οὖν οὖτως ἐπράχθη, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὰ τέλη δεινῶς τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν ἐλύπει, ὁ μὲν νόμος ὁ καταλύσας αὐτὰ πᾶσιν ἀρεστὸς ἐγένετο, τῷ δὲ στρατηγῷ τῷ ἐσενεγκόντι αὐτὸν ἀχθόμενοι οἱ βουλευταί (ὁ γὰρ Μέτελλος ὁ Νέπως ἦν) ἦθέλησαν τό τε ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἀπαλεῦψαι ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ ἔτερον ἀντεγγράψαι. 4 καὶ οὐκ ἐπράχθη μὲν τοῦτο, καταφανὲς μέντοι πᾶσιν ἐγένετο ὅτι μηδὲ τὰς εὐεργεσίας παρὰ τῶν φαύλων ἀνδρῶν ἡδέως ἐδέχοντο. κὰν τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῷ χρόνῷ Φαῦστος ὁ τοῦ Σύλλου παῖς ἀγῶνά τε μονομαχίας ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ ἐποίησε, καὶ τὸν δῆμον λαμπρῶς εἰστίασε, τά τε λουτρὰ καὶ τὸ² ἔλαιον προῦκα αὐτοῖς παρέσχεν.

52 'Εν μεν δη τη πόλει ταῦτ' εγίγνετο, ὁ δε δη Καισαρ της τε Αυσιτανίας μετὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ηρξε, καὶ δυνηθεὶς ἂν τὰ ληστικά, ἄπερ που ἀεὶ παρ' αὐτοις ην, ἄνευ μεγάλου τινὸς πόνου

Clodius' [hatred] of the optimates led him after bloc 60 the trial to desire to be tribune, and he induced some of those who held that office to move that the patricians also be given a share in it. As he could not bring this about, he abjured his patrician rank and assumed instead the status of the plebs, and even entered their assembly. He immediately sought the tribuneship, but was not elected, owing to the opposition of Metellus, who was related to him and did not like his actions. The excuse that Metellus gave was that the transfer of Clodius had not been in accordance with tradition; for this change might be made only after the introduction of a lex curiata. Thus ended this episode.

Since the taxes were proving oppressive to the city and the rest of Italy, the law that abolished them was acceptable to all. The senators, however, were angry at the praetor who proposed it (Metellus Nepos) and wished to erase his name from the law, entering another one instead. And although this plan was not carried out, it was still made clear to all that they received not even benefits gladly from base men. About this same time Faustus, the son of Sulla, gave a gladiatorial contest in memory of his father and entertained the people brilliantly, furnishing them with baths and oil gratis.

* While these things were happening in the city, Caesar had obtained the government of Lusitania after his praetorship; and though he might without any great labour have cleared the land of brigandage, which probably always existed there, and then

¹ Compare Cicero's words (ad Att. ii. 16, 1) in 59 B.C.: portoriis (duties on exports and imports) Italiae sublatis.

καθήρας ¹ ήσυχίαν ἔχειν, οὐκ ἠθέλησε· δόξης τε γὰρ ἐπιθυμῶν, καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον τούς τε ἄλλους τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ μέγα ποτὲ δυνηθέντας ² ζηλῶν, οὐδὲν ὀλίγον ἐφρόνει, ἀλλ' ἤλπιζεν, ἄν τι τότε κατεργάσηται, ὕπατός τε εὐθὺς αίρεθήσεσθαι καὶ ὑπερφυᾶ ἔργα ἀποδείξεσθαι, διά τε τἄλλα καὶ ὅτι ἐν τοῦς Γαδείροις, ὅτε ἐταμίευε, τῆ μητρὶ συγγίγνεσθαι ὄναρ ἔδοξε, καὶ παρὰ τῶν μάντεων ἔμαθεν ὅτι ἐν μεγάλη δυνάμει ἔσται. ὅθενπερ καὶ εἰκόνα ᾿Αλεξάνδρου ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλέους ἀνακειμένην ἰδῶν ἀνεστέναξε, καὶ κατωδύρατο ὅτι μηδέν πω μέγα ἔργον ἐπεποιήκει.

Απ' οὖν τούτων, έξὸν αὐτῷ εἰρηνεῖν, ὥσπερ είπου, πρὸς τὸ όρος τὸ Ερμίνιον ετράπετο καὶ εκέλευσε τους οικήτορας αυτού ές τὰ πεδινὰ μεταστηναι, πρόφασιν μεν όπως μη από τῶν ἐρυμνῶν ορμώμενοι ληστεύωσιν, έργω δε εὐ είδως ὅτι οὐκ άν ποτε αὐτὸ ποιήσειαν, κάκ τούτου πολέμου τινὰ 4 άφορμην λήψεται. δ καὶ εγένετο. τούτους τε οὖν ἐς ὅπλα ἐλθόντας ὑπηγάγετο καὶ ἐπειδὴ τῶν πλησιοχώρων τινές, δείσαντες μη καὶ ἐπὶ σφας όρμήση, τούς τε παίδας και τας γυναίκας τά τε άλλα τὰ τιμιώτατα ύπὲρ τὸν Δώριον ύπεξέθεντο, τὰς πόλεις σφῶν ἐν ις τοῦτ' ἔπραττον προκατέσχε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐκείνοις προσ-5 έμιξε. προβαλλομένων τε τὰς ἀγέλας αὐτῶν, όπως σκεδασθείσι τοίς Ρωμαίοις πρὸς τὴν τῶν βοσκημάτων άρπαγὴν ἐπίθωνται, τὰ τετράποδα? 53 παρήκε καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπολαβων ἐνίκησε, κάν τούτω

 $^{^{1}}$ καθήρας Rk., καθῆιραι L.

² τὰ τετράποδα Rk., τά τε στρατόπεδα L.

have kept quiet, he was unwilling to do so. He was eager for glory, emulating Pompey and his other predecessors who at one time or another had had great power, and his aspirations were anything but small; in fact, he hoped, if he should at this time accomplish something, to be chosen consul immediately and to display mighty achievements. He was especially encouraged in this hope by the fact that while at Gades, when quaestor, he had dreamed of intercourse with his mother, and had learned from the seers that he should enjoy great power. Hence, on beholding there a likeness of Alexander dedicated in the temple of Hercules, he had groaned aloud, lamenting that he had performed no great deed as vet.

Accordingly, though he might have been at peace, as I have said, he proceeded to the Herminian Mountains and ordered the inhabitants to move into the plain, in order, as he claimed, that they might not use their fastnesses as a base for marauding expeditions, but really because he well knew that they would never do what he asked, and that as a result he should have some ground for war. was exactly what happened. After these men, then, had taken up arms, he overcame them. When some of their neighbours, fearing that he would march against them too, carried off their children and wives and most valuable possessions out of the way across the Durius, he first occupied their cities, while they were thus engaged, and next joined battle with the men themselves. They put their herds in front of them, with the intention of attacking the Romans when the latter should scatter to seize the cattle; but Caesar, neglecting the animals, attacked the men and conquered them. Meanwhile he learned

μαθών τούς τὸ Ερμίνιον οἰκοῦντας ἀφεστηκέναι , τε καὶ ἐπανιόντα αὐτὸν ἐνεδρεύειν μέλλειν, τότε μεν ετέραν ανεγώρησεν, αδθις δε επεστράτευσέ σφισιν, καὶ κρατήσας πρὸς τὸν ὡκεανὸν Φεύγοντας 2 αὐτοὺς κατεδίωξεν. ἐπειδή τε τὴν ἤπειρον ἐκλιπόντες ες νησόν τινα επεραιώθησαν, αὐτὸς μεν (οὐ ¹ γάρ που πλοίων εὐπόρει) κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινε, σχεδίας δὲ συμπήξας μέρος τι τοῦ στρατοῦ δι' αὐτῶν ἔπεμψε, καὶ συχνοὺς ἀπέβαλε. γάρ τινι πρὸς τῆ νήσφ ούση προσσχων δ τὴν ηγεμονίαν σφων έχων, και ως και πεζη διαβαδίσοντας αὐτοὺς ἐκβιβάσας, ἔπειτα αὐτός τε ὑπὸ 5 της αναρροίας εκβιασθείς εξανήχθη και εκείνους 3 έγκατέλιπε, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι γενναίως άμυνόμενοι έπεσον, Πούπλιος δὲ δὴ Σκαίουιος μόνος τε περιλειφθείς και της ασπίδος στερηθείς . πολλά τε τραυματισθεὶς ἔς τε τὸ ὕδωρ ἐσεπήδησε 4 καὶ διενήξατο. τότε μεν δη ταῦτ' ἐγένετο ὕστερον δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ πλοῖα ἀπὸ Γαδείρων μεταπεμψάμενος ές την νήσον παντί τῶ στρατῶ ἐπεραιώθη, καὶ ἀκονιτὶ αὐτούς, κακῶς ὑπὸ σιτοδείας ἔχοντας, παρεστήσατο. κάντεθθεν ές Βριγάντιον πόλιν Καλλαικίας παραπλεύσας τῷ τε ροθίω σφᾶς τοῦ πρόσπλου, οὐπώποτε ναυτικον έορακότας, έξεφόβησε καὶ κατεστρέψατο.

54 Πράξας δὲ ταῦτα καὶ νομίσας ἰκανὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπιβασίαν πρὸς τὴν ὑπατείαν εἰληφέναι σπουδῆ πρὸς τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας, καὶ πρὶν τὸν διάδοχον ἐλθεῖν, ὅρμησε, καὶ ἠξίου καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πέμψαι τὰ

oὐ inserted by Bs.
 προσσχὼν Bk., προσχὼν L.
 ¼ ως Rk., ἄτε ως L.

 ⁵ ὑπὸ St., ἀπὸ L.
 ⁶ ῥοθίῳ Turn., ὀρθίῳ L.
 ⁷ ἐπιβασίαν St., ἐπὶ βασιλείαν L.

that the inhabitants of the Herminian Mountains had B.C. 60 withdrawn and were intending to ambush him as he So for the time being he withdrew by returned. another road, but later marched against them and. being victorious, pursued them in flight to the ocean. When, however, they abandoned the mainland and crossed over to an island, he stayed where he was. for his supply of boats was not large; but he put together some rafts, by means of which he sent on a part of his army, and lost a number of men. the man in command of them landed at a breakwater near the island and disembarked the troops, thinking they could cross over on foot, when he was forced off by the returning tide and put out to sea, leaving them in the lurch. All but one of them died bravely defending themselves; Publius Scaevius, the only one to survive, after losing his shield and receiving many wounds, leaped into the water and escaped by swimming. Such was the result of that attempt; later, Caesar sent for boats from Gades, crossed over to the island with his whole army, and reduced the people there without a blow, as they were hard pressed for want of food. Thence sailing along to Brigantium, a city of Callaecia, he alarmed the people, who had never before seen a fleet, by the breakers which his approach to land caused, and subjugated them.

On accomplishing this he thought he had gained thereby a sufficient stepping-stone to the consulship and set out hastily for the elections even before his successor arrived. He decided to seek the office even before holding his triumph, since

έπινίκια, ἐπειδὴ μὴ οἶά τε προδιεορτασθῆναι ἦν, 2 αἰτῆσαι αὐτήν. μὴ τυχὼν δέ, τοῦ Κάτωνος ὅτι μάλιστα εναντιωθέντος, έκεινα μεν είασε και γάρ ήλπιζε πολύ πλείω καὶ μείζω ΰπατος ἀποδειγθείς καὶ ἔργα πράξειν καὶ ἐπινίκια πέμψειν. γάρ τοις είρημένοις, έφ' οις μέγα αεί ποτε έφρονει, ίππος τις αὐτῷ διαφυὰς ἐν ταῖς τῶν προσθίων ποδῶν ὁπλαῖς ἱ ἔχων ἐγεννήθη, καὶ ἐκεῖνον μὲν γαυρούμενος ἔφερεν, ἄλλον δὲ ἀναβάτην οὐδένα 3 ἀνεδέχετο. ώστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου μικρὸν οὐδὲν προσδοκών τὰ μὲν νικητήρια έκὼν ἀφήκεν, ἐς δὲ την πόλιν έσελθων και έπαγγειλάμενος την άρχην ούτω τούς τε άλλους καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον τον τε Κράσσον έξεθεράπευσεν, ώστε δι' έχθρας άλλήλοις ἔτι καὶ τότε αὐτοὺς ὄντας καὶ τὰς ἐταιρείας έγοντας, καὶ πρὸς πάνθ' ὅσα ὁ ἔτερος τὸν ἕτερον έθέλοντα αἴσθοιτο ἀντιστασιάζοντας, προσποιήσασθαι, καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων αὐτῶν ὁμοθυμαδὸν 4 ἀποδειχθηναι. καίτοι τοῦτο την σοφίαν ές τὰ μάλιστα αὐτοῦ τεκμηριοῖ, ὅτι τόν τε καιρὸν καὶ τὸ μέτρον τῆς θεραπείας αὐτῶν καὶ ἔγνω καὶ διέθετο ούτως ώστ' άμφοτέρους άμα καίπερ? άντιπράττοντάς σφισι προσθέσθαι.

55 Καί οὐδὲ τοῦτ' αὐτῷ ἀπέχρησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους συνήλλαξεν, οὐχ ὅτι συνενεχθ ῆναί σφας ἤθελεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι δυνατωτάτους τε ἑώρα ὄντας, καὶ εὖ ἤπίστατο ὅτι οὔτε χωρὶς τῆς παρ' ἐκείνων ἀμφοτέρων ἢ καὶ θατέρου βοηθείας μέγα τι ἰσχύσει,³ κἂν τὸν ἕτερον ὑποτερονοῦν αὐτῶν προσεταιρίσηται, ἀνταγωνιστήν τε διὰ τοῦτο τὸν

 $^{^1}$ όπλαῖs R. Steph., όπλὰs L. 2 καίπερ Reim., καθάπερ L. 3 ἰσχύσει Bk., ἰσχύσειε L.

it was not possible to celebrate this beforehand. B.C. 60 But being refused a triumph, since Cato opposed him with might and main, he let that pass, hoping to perform many more and greater exploits and celebrate corresponding triumphs, if elected consul. For besides the omens previously related, which always gave him great confidence, was the fact that a horse of his had been born with clefts in the hoofs of its fore feet, and carried him proudly, whereas it would not endure any other rider. Consequently his expectations were of no slight magnitude, so that he willingly gave up the triumph and entered the city to canvass for office. Here he courted Pompey and Crassus and the rest so skilfully that though they were still at enmity with each other, and had their political clubs, and though each opposed everything that he saw the other wished, he won them over and was unanimously elected by them all. And yet this argues the greatest shrewdness on his part that he should have known and arranged the occasions and the amount of his services to them so well as to attach them both to himself when they were working against each other.

He was not even content with this, but actually reconciled the men themselves, not because he was desirous that they should agree, but because he saw that they were most powerful. He understood well that without the aid of both, or at least of one, he could never come to any great power; and if he made a friend of either one of them alone, he would by that very fact have the other as his opponent and

ετερον εξει καὶ πλέον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σφαλήσεται ἢ 2 ὑπὸ τοῦ συναιρομένου οἱ κατεργάσεται. τοῦτο μεν γαρ προθυμότερον εδόκουν αυτώ πάντες άνθρωποι τοις έχθροις άντιπράττειν ή συναγωνίζεσθαι τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις, οὐ κατ' ἐκεῖνο μόνον ὅτι ή τε όργη καὶ τὸ μίσος σφοδροτέρας τὰς σπουδάς πάσης φιλίας ποιεί, άλλα και ότι ο μεν υπέρ έαυτοῦ ὁ δὲ ὑπὲρ ἐτέρου πράττων τήν τε ἡδονὴν κατορθώσας καὶ τὴν λύπην σφαλεὶς οὐχ ὁμοίας 3 έχουσιν τοῦτο δὲ προχειρότερον ἐμποδίζειν τέ τίνας καὶ κωλύειν μηδεμίαν αὔξησιν λαβεῖν ἡ ἐπὶ μέγα προάγειν εθέλειν, διά τε τάλλα καὶ μάλισθ' ότι ο μέν οὐκ έῶν τινα αὐξηθήναι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις άμα καὶ έαυτῷ χαρίζεται, ὁ δὲ ἐξαίρων τινὰ έπαγθη αὐτὸν ἀμφοτέροις σφίσι ποιεί.

Τούτων δη οὖν ἕνεκα καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τότε τε1 56 αὐτοὺς ὑπῆλθε καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀλλήλοις κατήλλαξεν. οὔτε γὰρ δίχα τούτων δυνήσεσθαί τι ἀεὶ καὶ οὐκ ἂν θατέρφ ποτὲ αὐτῶν προσκροῦσαι ἐνόμιζεν, οὔτ' αὖ έφοβήθη μὴ καὶ συμφρονήσαντες κρείττους αυτου ή γενωνται πάνυ γαρ εθ ήπίστατο ότι των μεν άλλων εὐθὺς διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων φιλίας, αὐτῶν δ΄ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον δι' ἀλλήλων κρατήσοι. 2 καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως. 3 καὶ γὰρ ὁ Πομπήιος ὅ τε Κράσσος ώς ἀπ' οἰκείας καὶ αὐτοὶ αἰτίας πρός τε άλλήλους, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ὥρμησαν, κατελύσαντο καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐς τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν πραγμάτων 3 προσέλαβον. Πομπήιος 4 μεν γάρ οὔτ' αὐτὸς

> ² αύτοῦ Bs., αὐτοῦ L. ¹ $\tau \epsilon$ added by Rk.

³ There follows in L, τούτων μεν οθν ένεκα καλ συνεβίβασεν αὐτοὺς καὶ προσεποιήσατο, rejected by Bk. as due to a copyist. 4 Πομπήιος Bk., δ πομπήιος L.

would meet with more failures through him than B.C. 60 successes through the support of the other. For, on the one hand, it seemed to him that all men work more zealously against their enemies than they cooperate with their friends, not merely on the principle that anger and hatred impel more earnest endeavours than any friendship, but also because, when one man is working for himself, and a second for another, success does not involve the same degree of pleasure, or failure of pain, in the two cases. On the other hand, he reflected that it was easier to stand in people's way and prevent their reaching any prominence than to be willing to lead them to great power, owing to the circumstance that he who keeps another from becoming great pleases others as well as himself, whereas he who exalts another renders him burdensome to both sides.

These considerations led Caesar at that time to court their favour and later to reconcile them with each other. For he did not believe that without them he could ever gain any power or fail to offend one of them some time, nor did he have any fear, on the other hand, of their harmonizing their plans and so becoming stronger than he. For he understood perfectly that he would master others at once through their friendship, and a little later master them through each other. And so it came about.¹ Pompey and Crassus, the moment they really set about it, made peace with each other, for reasons of their own, and they took Caesar into partnership in their plans. For Pompey, on his side, was not

¹ There follows in the Ms. the sentence, "For these reasons, then, he both united them and won them over," probably the addition of some copyist.

οσον 1 ήλπισεν ἰσχύων, καὶ τὸν Κράσσον ἐν δυνάμει όντα τόν τε Καίσαρα αὐξανόμενον όρων, καὶ έδεισε μη παντάπασιν υπ' αὐτῶν καταλυθή, καὶ ἐπήλπισε, προσκοινωνήσας σφίσι τῶν παρόντων, την άρχαίαν δι' αὐτῶν έξουσίαν ἀναλή-4 ψεσθαι: Κράσσος δὲ ηξίου τε πάντων ἀπό τε τοῦ γένους καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πλούτου περιείναι, καὶ έπειδή τοῦ τε Πομπηίου παρὰ πολὺ ήλαττοῦτο καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπὶ μέγα ἀρθήσεσθαι ἐνόμιζεν, ές ἀντίπαλον αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις καταστήσαι ἡθέλησεν, όπως μηδέτερος 2 σφων ύπέρσχη, προσδοκήσας έκείνους τε άνταγωνιστάς ισοκρατείς έσεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τούτφ τήν τε ἐκατέρου φιλίαν έκκαρπώσεσθαι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρους τιμηθήσε-5 σθαι. ἀκριβώς μὲν γὰρ οὔτε τὰ τοῦ πλήθους ούτε τὰ της βουλης ἐπολίτευεν, της δὲ ίδίας αὐτοῦ δυναστείας ἔνεκα πάντ' ἔπραττε, καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' ὑπήρχετό τε ἀμφοτέρους σφας όμοίως καὶ την προς έκατέρους έχθραν έξέκλινεν, έπι τοσοῦτον εν τῷ μέρει κεχαρισμένα ἀμφοῖν σπουδάζων έφ' ὅσον ἤμελλε τοῦ μὲν καταθυμίου παντὸς έκατέροις αἰτιαθήσεσθαι, τῶν δὲ δυσχερεστέρων 3 μη μεταλήψεσθαι.

57 Οὕτω μέν δὴ καὶ διὰ ταῦτα οἱ τρεῖς τήν τε φιλίαν συνέθεντο, καὶ ὅρκοις αὐτὴν πιστωσάμενοι τά τε κοινὰ δι' ἑαυτῶν ἐποιήσαντο, κἀκ τούτου καὶ ἀντεδίδοσάν σφισι καὶ ἀντελάμβανον παρ' ἀλλήλων ὅσα ἔν τε ἐπιθυμία εἶχον καὶ πρὸς τὰ 2 παρόντα ἥρμοττεν αὐτοῖς πράττεσθαι.

συμ-

 $^{^1}$ αὐτὸς δσον Bk., αὖ τοσοῦτον L. 2 μηδέτερός Bk., μηδὲ ἔτερος L.

³ δυσχερεστέρων Rk., δυστυχεστέρων L.

so strong as he had hoped to be, and seeing that B.C. 60 Crassus was in power and that Caesar's influence was growing, feared that he should be utterly overthrown by them; and he hoped that if he made them sharers in present advantages, he should win back his old authority through them. Crassus thought he ought to surpass all by reason of his family as well as his wealth; and since he was far inferior to Pompey, and thought that Caesar was going to rise to great heights, he desired to set them in opposition to each other, in order that neither of them should get the upper hand. He expected that they would be well-matched antagonists, and that in this event he would get the benefit of the friendship of both and gain honours beyond either of them. For without supporting in all respects either the cause of the populace or that of the senate he did everything to advance his own power. cordingly he paid court to both alike and avoided enmity with either, promoting in turn whatever measures pleased either one to such an extent as was likely to give him the credit for everything that went to the liking of one or the other, without any share in more unpleasant issues.

Thus the three for these reasons formed their friendship and ratified it with oaths, and then managed public affairs among themselves. Next they gave to each other and received in turn one from another, whatever they set their hearts on and whatever it suited them to do in view of the circumstances.

φρονησάντων δὲ ἐκείνων καὶ τὰ ἑταιρικά σφων ώμολόγησαν, καὶ ἐποίουν καὶ οὖτοι μετὰ ἀδείας ὅσα ἤθελον, ἡγεμόσι πρὸς πάντα αὐτοῖς χρώμενοι, ὅστε τὸ σωφρονοῦν ὀλίγον ἔν τε τῷ Κάτωνι, καὶ εἰ δή τις ἄλλος τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτῷ φρονεῖν δοκεῖν 3 ἐβούλετο,¹ καταλειφθῆναι. καθαρῶς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄνευ τινὸς ἰδίας πλεονεξίας οὐδεὶς τῶν τότε τὰ κοινὰ πλὴν τοῦ Κάτωνος ἔπραττεν· αἰσχυνόμενοι δέ τινες τοῖς δρωμένοις, καὶ ἔτεροι καὶ ζηλοῦν αὐτὸν ἐφιέμενοι, προσήπτοντο μέν πῃ τῶν πραγμάτων καί τι τῶν ὁμοίων οἱ διεδείκνυντο, οὐ μὴν καὶ διαρκεῖς,² ἄτε ἐξ ἐπιτηδεύσεως ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς ἐμφύτου ὁρμώμενοι, ἦσαν.

'Ες τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τότε τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πράγματα 58 οί άνδρες έκεινοι προήγαγον, έπὶ πλειστον όσον την συνωμοσίαν σφών αποκρυψάμενοι, εποίουν μέν γαρ όσα εδέδοκτό σφισιν, εσχηματίζοντο δέ καὶ προεβάλλοντο τὰ ἐναντιώτατα, ὅπως ἔτ' ἐπὶ μακρότατον διαλάθωσι, μέχρις αν ίκανως παρα-2 σκευάσωνται. Οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον τὰ πραττόμενα ύπ' αὐτῶν ἢγνόει, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ τοῖς τι συνείναι των τοιούτων δυναμένοις εύθύς τότε πάντα τὰ ἔπειτα ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐσόμενα ἐξέφηνε. γειμών τε γάρ τοιοῦτος έξαίφνης τήν τε πόλιν 3 όλην καὶ τὴν χώραν ἄπασαν κατέσχεν ώστε πάμπολλα μεν δένδρα πρόρριζα ἀνατραπηναι, πολλάς δὲ οἰκίας καταρραγήναι, τά τε πλοία τὰ ἐν τῶ Τιβέριδι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ 3 καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐκβολὰς αὐτοῦ ναυλοχοῦντα βαπτισθήναι, καὶ τὴν γέφυραν

¹ εβούλετο Rk., εβουλεύετο L.

διαρκεῖs R. Steph., ἀδιαρκεῖs L.
 τὸ ἄστυ R. Steph., τῶι ἄστει L.

Their harmony caused an agreement also on the part of their followers; these, too, did with impunity whatever they wished, following the leadership of their chiefs in everything, so that very little moderation was longer in evidence, and that only in Cato and a few others who desired to seem to hold the same opinions as he did. For no man of that day took part in public life from pure motives and free from any desire of personal gain except Cato. Some, to be sure, were ashamed of the things done, and others who strove to imitate him took a hand in affairs now and then, and displayed some deeds similar to his; but they did not persevere, since their efforts sprang from cultivation of an attitude and not from inpute virtue.

This was the condition into which these men brought the affairs of Rome at that time, after concealing their alliance as long as possible. For they did whatever they had decided on, while feigning and putting forward utterly opposite motives, in order that they might still remain undiscovered for a long period, until they should have made sufficient preparations. Yet Heaven was not ignorant of their doings, but then and there revealed very plainly to those who could understand any such signs all that was to result later because of them. For of a sudden such a storm descended upon the whole city and all the country that quantities of trees were torn up by the roots, many houses were shattered, the boats moored in the Tiber both near the city and at its mouth were sunk, and the wooden bridge destroyed.

193

o

VOL. III.

4 την ξυλίνην διαφθαρηναι, καί τι καὶ θέατρον πρὸς πανήγυρίν τινα ἐκ θυρῶν ¹ ຜκοδομημένον ἀνετράπη, καὶ ἄνθρωποι παρὰ πάντα ταῦτα παμπληθεῖς ἀπώλοντο. ἐκεῖνα μὲν δὴ οὖν καθάπερ εἰκὼν τῶν μελλόντων σφίσι καὶ ἐν τῆ γῆ καὶ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι συμβήσεσθαι προεδείχθη.

1 θυρῶν Jacoby, σύρων L.

and a theatre built of timbers for some festival 8.0.60 collapsed, and in the midst of all this great numbers of human beings perished. These signs were revealed in advance, as an image of what should befall the people both on land and on water.

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τριακοστῷ ὀγδόφ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

- α. 'Ως ἐστασίασαν Καῖσαρ καὶ Βίβουλος.
- β. Ως Κικέρων ξφυγεν.
- γ. 'Ως Κικέρωνα έπὶ τῆ φυγῆ Φιλίσκος παρεμυθήσατο.
- δ. 'Ως Καΐσαρ 'Ελουητίοις και 'Αριουυίστω έπολέμησεν.

Χρόνου πλήθος ξτη δύο, εν οίς άρχοντες οι άριθμούμενοι οίδε εγένοντο

Γ. Ἰούλιος Γ. υί. Καΐσαρ Μ. Καλπούρνιος Γ. υί. 1 Βίβουλος 2 ὑπ. Λ. Καλπούρνιος 2 Λ. υί. Πίσων ὑπ. Αὖλ, Γαβίνιος Αὔλ. υί.

Τῷ δὲ έξῆς ἔτει ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸ σύμπαν θεραπεῦσαι πλῆθος ἡθέλησεν, ὅπως σφᾶς ἔτι καὶ
μᾶλλον σφετερίσηται. βουληθεὶς δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν
δυνατῶν δοκεῖν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ δι' ἀπεχθείας αὐτῷ
ὧσι, πράττειν, εἶπέ σφισι πολλάκις ὅτι οὔτε
2 γράψοι τι ὁ μὴ καὶ ἐκείνοις συνοίσει· καὶ δὴ
γνώμην τινὰ περὶ τῆς χώρας, ἡν παντὶ τῷ ὁμίλῳ
κατένειμεν, οὕτω συνέγραψεν ὥστε μηδὲ μικρόν
τι αὐτῆς αἰτιαθῆναι· καὶ οὐδὲ ταύτην μέντοι
ἐσοίσειν, εἰ μὴ βουλομένοις σφίσιν εἴη, ἐπλάττετο. τοῦ μὲν δὴ οὖν νόμου ἕνεκα οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ
οὐδὲν ἐπικαλέσαι ἐδύνατο· τό τε γὰρ πλῆθος τῶν
3 πολιτῶν ὑπέρογκον ὄν, ἀφ' οὖπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα

¹ Γ. vi supplied by Bs.

² Βίβουλος and Λ. Καλπούρνιος supplied by Palm.

The following is contained in the Thirty-eighth of Dio's Rome:—

1. How Caesar and Bibulus quarrelled (chaps. 1-8).

2. How Cicero was exiled (chaps. 9-17).

- How Philiscus consoled Cicero in the matter of his exile (chaps. 18-30).
- How Caesar fought the Helvetii and Ariovistus (chaps. 31-50).

Duration of time. two years, in which there were the magistrates (consuls) here enumerated:—

59 C. Iulius C. F. Caesar, M. Calpurnius C. F. Bibulus.

58 L. Calpurnius L. F. Piso, A. Gabinius A. F.

THE following year Caesar wished to gain the B.C. 59 favour of the whole multitude, that he might make them his own to an even greater degree. But since he was anxious to seem to be advancing the interests also of the optimates, in order to avoid incurring their enmity, he often told them that he would propose no measure which should not also be to And, indeed, he so framed a their advantage. certain measure concerning the land, which he wished to assign to the whole populace, as not to incur the least censure for it; vet he pretended he would not introduce even this measure, unless it should be according to their wishes. So far as this law went, therefore, no one could find any fault with him. The swollen population of the city, which was chiefly responsible for the frequent rioting, would

έστασίαζον, πρός τε τὰ ἔργα καὶ πρὸς γεωργίας έτρέπετο, καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῆς Ἰταλίας ἡρημωμένα αδθις συνωκίζετο, ώστε μη μόνον τους έν ταίς στρατείαις τεταλαιπωρημένους άλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἄπαντας διαρκή τὴν τροφὴν ἔχειν μήτε της πόλεως οἰκοθέν τι δαπανωμένης μήτε των δυνατών ζημιουμένων, άλλα και τιμην και 4 ἀρχὴν πολλῶν προσλαμβανόντων. τὴν δὲ γώραν τήν τε κοινην απασαν πλην της Καμπανίδος ένεμε (ταύτην γὰρ ἐν τῶ δημοσίω ἐξαίρετον διὰ την αρετην συνεβούλευσεν είναι), και την λοιπην ούτε παρὰ ἄκοντός τινος ούτ' αὐ όσου ὰν οί γεωνόμοι βουληθώσιν, άλλα πρώτον μέν παρ' έκόντων, έπειτα δὲ τοσούτου ὅσου ἐν ταῖς ἀπο-5 γραφαίς ετετίμητο, άγορασθήναι εκέλευσε. ματά τε γὰρ πολλὰ ἀπό τε τῆς λείας ἡν Πομπήιος είλήφει καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν φόρων τε τελών τών προσκαταστάντων περιείναί σφισιν έλεγε, καὶ χρηναι αὐτά, ἄτε καὶ τοῖς των πολιτών κινδύνοις πεπορισμένα, ές αὐτοὺς 6 εκείνους αναλωθήναι, καὶ μέντοι καὶ τοὺς γεωνόμους ουτ' 2 ολίγους, ώστε και δυναστεία τινί ἐοικέναι, οὖτ' ἐξ ὑπευθύνων, ὥστε τινὰ δυσχε-ρᾶναι, καθίστη, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ συχνοὺς της τιμης μετασχείν είκοσιν, επειτα δε τους 7 ἐπιτηδειοτάτους, πλην ἑαυτοῦ. πάνυ τοῦτο προδιωμολογήσατο, ὅπως μὴ δι' ἐαυτόν τι 4 γράφειν νομισθείη αὐτὸς μεν γὰρ τῆ τε ευρήσει

 ¹ ἐτρέπετο Cobet, ἐτράπετο L.
 ² οὕτ' Βk., μητ' L.
 ³ τοῦ συχνοὺς τῆς τιμῆς μετασχεῖν εἴκοσιν Reim., τοῦ συχνοῦ της τιμης εξκοσιν μετασχείν L. 4 τι Bk. , τοι L.

thus be turned toward labour and agriculture: and B.C 59 the greater part of Italy, now desolate, would be colonized afresh, so that not only those who had toiled in the campaigns, but all the rest as well, would have ample subsistence. And this would be accomplished without any expense on the part of the city itself or any loss to the optimates; on the contrary, many of them would gain both rank and office. He not only wished to distribute all the public land except Campania (which he advised them to keep distinct as the property of the state, because of its excellence), but he also bade them purchase the remainder from no one who was unwilling to sell nor vet for whatever price the land commissioners might wish, but, in the first place, from people who were willing to sell, and secondly, for the same price at which it had been assessed in the tax-lists. they had a great deal of surplus money, he asserted, as a result of the booty which Pompey had captured, as well as from the new tributes and taxes just established, and they ought, inasmuch as it had been provided by the dangers that citizens had incurred, to expend it upon those same persons. Furthermore, he proposed that the land commission should not consist of a few members only, so as to seem like an oligarchy, or of men who were under indictment, lest somebody might be displeased, but that there should be, in the first place, twenty of them, so that many might share the honour, and secondly, that they should be the most suitable men. excepted himself from consideration, a point on which he strenuously insisted at the outset, in order that he might not be thought to be proposing a measure in his own interest. As for himself, he

καὶ τῆ ἐσηγήσει τοῦ πράγματος ἠρκεῖτο, ὥς γε ἔλεγε, τῷ δὲ δὴ Πομπηίφ καὶ τῷ Κράσσφ τοῖς

τε άλλοις φανερώς έχαρίζετο.

"Ενεκα μεν οθν των γραφέντων αναίτιος ην, ώστε μηδε 1 διάραι το στόμα ύπεναντίον οι μηδένα τολμήσαι καὶ γὰρ προανέγνω αὐτὰ ἐν τῆ βουλῆ, καὶ ονομαστὶ ενα εκαστον αὐτῶν ἀνακαλῶν ἐπηρώτησε μή τί τις αἰτιᾶται, μεταγράψειν ἡ καὶ παντελώς ἀπαλείψειν, εἴ γέ τω μη ἀρέσειέ τι, 2 ύποσχόμενος. τὸ δὲ δὴ σύμπαν καὶ πάνυ πάντες οί δυνατοί οί γε έξω της συνωμοσίας όντες έδυσχέραινον. καὶ αὐτό γε τοῦτο αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα έλύπει, ὅτι τοιαῦτα συγγεγραφὼς ἡν ώστε μήτε τινὰ 2 αἰτίαν δύνασθαι λαβεῖν καὶ 3 πάντας σφας βαρύνειν υπώπτευον γαρ αυτόν, έφ' ώπέρ που καὶ ἐγίγνετο, τό τε πλήθος ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀναρτήσεσθαι καὶ ὄνομα καὶ ἰσχὺν καὶ έπὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους έξειν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, εἰ καὶ μηδείς οἱ ἀντέλεγεν, ἀλλ' οὕτι γε καὶ 3 συνεπήνουν. τοις μεν δη οθν άλλοις εξήρκει τοθτο. καὶ ἐπηγγέλλοντο 4 μὲν ἀεὶ αὐτῶ προβουλεύσειν. έποίουν δὲ οὐδέν, άλλὰ διατριβαὶ καὶ ἀναβολαὶ τὴν 3 ἄλλως ἐγίγνοντο· ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάτων ὁ Μᾶρκος 5 (ἦν δὲ άλλως μέν ἐπιεικὴς καὶ οὐδενὶ νεοχμῷ ἀρεσκόμενος, ου μην και ρώμην τινα ούτε έκ φύσεως ούτε έκ παιδείας έχων) τοις μέν γεγραμμένοις οὐδεν οὐδ αὐτὸς ἐπεκάλει, τὸ δ' ὅλον ηξίου τῆ τε παρούση σφας καταστάσει χρησθαι καὶ μηδέν έξω αὐτης 2 ποιείν. καὶ ἐμέλλησε μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Καίσαρ

¹ μηδέ v. Herw., μη L. 2 μήτε τινά Βk., μηδένα L.

³ ούτι γε καί Dind., ούτοι καί L.

⁴ έπηγγέλλοντο Η. Steph., έπηγγέλλετο L.

⁵ Μάρκος Reim., Μάρκος δ υπατος L.

was satisfied with originating and proposing the B.C. 59 matter; at least he said so, but clearly he was doing a favour to Pompey and Crassus and the rest.

So far as his measure went, then, he could not be censured, and, indeed, no one ventured to open his mouth in opposition; for he had read it beforehand in the senate, and calling upon each one of the senators by name, had inquired whether he had any criticism to offer; and he promised to alter or even to strike out entirely any clause which might displease anybody. Nevertheless, practically all the optimates who were outside the league were greatly irritated; and they were grieved especially by the very fact that Caesar had drawn up such a measure as would admit of no censure, even while it embarrassed them all. For they suspected that by this measure he would attach the multitude to him and gain fame and power over all men; and this was, in fact, his very purpose. For this reason, even though no one spoke against him, no one expressed approval either. This sufficed for the majority, and while they kept promising him that they would pass the decree, they did nothing; on the contrary, fruitless delays and postponements kept arising. Marcus Cato, however, even though he had no fault to find with the measure, nevertheless urged them on general principles to abide by the existing system and to take no steps beyond it. He was a thoroughly upright man and disapproved of any innovation; yet he had no influence either as the result of natural gift or training. At this Caesar was

ές τὸ δεσμωτήριον τὸν Κάτωνα ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐξελκύσας ἐμβαλεῖν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνός τε ἐτοιμότατα ἑαυτὸν ἀπάγεσθαι ¹ ἐπέδωκε, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ ὀλίγοι οἱ ἐφέσποντο, καί τις αὐτῶν Μᾶρκος Πετρέιος ἐπιτιμηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὅτι μηδέπω διαφειμένης τῆς βουλῆς ἀπαλλάττοιτο, ἔφη ὅτι μετὰ Κάτωνος ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι μᾶλλον ἡ μετὰ σοῦ ἐνταῦθα εἶναι βούλομαι, κατηδέσθη, καὶ τόν τε Κάτωνα ἀφῆκε καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν ἀπήλλαξε, τοσοῦτον μόνον ὑπειπὼν ὅτι ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς καὶ δικαστὰς τοῦ νόμου καὶ κυρίους ἐποιησάμην, ὅπως, εἴ τι μὴ ἀρέσειεν ὑμᾶς, μηδ' ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐσενεχθείη· ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐθέλετε προβουλεῦσαι, ἐκεῖνος αὐτὸς αἰρήσεται.

4 Κάκ τούτου οὐδ' ἄλλο τι τῆ γερουσία ἐν τῆ ἀρχῆ ταύτη ἐπεκοινώνησεν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν δῆμον 2 ἄντικρυς πάνθ' ὅσα ἐβούλετο ἐσέφερεν. ἐθελήσας δ' οὖν καὶ ὡς ὁμογνώμονας τῶν πρώτων τινὰς ἐν τῆ ἐκκλησία λαβεῖν (καὶ γὰρ ἤλπιζε μετεγνωκέναι τε αὐτοὺς καί πῃ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος φοβηθήσεσθαι) ἤρξατο ἀπὸ τοῦ συνάρχοντος, καὶ ἐπύθετο αὐτοῦ 3 εἰ τὰ τοῦ νόμου μέμφοιτο. ἐπεί τ' ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο πλὴν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἀνάσχοιτο ἐν τῆ ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῆ νεωτερισθῆναί τι, αὐτός τε πρὸς ἱκετείαν αὐτοῦ ἐτράπετο καὶ τὸν ὅμιλον συνδεηθῆναί οἱ ἔπεισεν, εἰπων ὅτι ἔξετε τὸν νόμον ἂν οὖτος ἐθελήση. ὁ οὖν Βίβουλος μέγα ἀναβοήσας "οὐχ ἔξετε," ἔφη, "τὸν νόμον τοῦτον ἐν τῷ ἔτει τούτω, οὐδ' ἂν πάντες ἐθελήσητε."

4 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπῶν ἀπηλλάγη· ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὄντων
1 ἀπάγεσθαι Reim. and Xiph., ἐπάγεσθαι L.

on the point of dragging Cato out of the very senatehouse and casting him into prison. But the other offered himself with the greatest readiness to be led away, and not a few of the rest followed him; and one of them, Marcus Petreius, upon being rebuked by Caesar because he was taking his departure before the senate was yet dismissed, replied: "I prefer to be with Cato in prison rather than here with you." Abashed at this reply, Caesar let Cato go and adjourned the senate, merely remarking: "I have made you judges and masters of this law, so that if anything did not suit you, it should not be brought before the people; but since you are not willing to pass a preliminary decree, they shall decide for themselves."

After that he communicated nothing further to the senate during his year of office, but brought directly before the people whatever he desired. as he wished even under these circumstances to secure some of the foremost men as supporters in the assembly, hoping that they had now changed their minds and would have some fear of the plebs, he made a beginning with his colleague and asked him if he disapproved of the provisions of the law. When the other gave him no answer beyond saving that he would tolerate no innovations during his year of office, Caesar proceeded to entreat him and persuaded the multitude to join him in his request, saying: "You shall have the law, if only he wishes it." Bibulus in a loud voice replied: "You shall not have this law this year, not even if you all wish And having spoken thus he took his departure.

Caesar did not address his inquiries to any other magistrates, fearing that some one of them also

οὐδένα ἔτι διήρετο, δείσας μὴ καὶ ἐκείνων τις ἐναντιωθἢ οἱ, τὸν δὲ δὴ Πομπήιον τόν τε Κράσσον καίπερ ἰδιωτεύοντας παραγαγὼν ἐκέλευσε γνώμην 5 περὶ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἀποφήνασθαι, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἠπίστατο τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν (σύμπαντα γὰρ κοινἢ ἔπραττον) ἀλλ' ἵνα αὐτοῖς τε ἐκείνοις τιμήν, ὅτι καίτοι μηδεμίαν ἀρχὴν ἔχουσιν συμβούλοις περὶ τοῦ νόμου χρῷτο, προσθείη, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσκαταπλήξῃ, ὁμογνώμονας τοὺς πρώτους τε ὁμολογουμένως ἐν τἢ πόλει τότε ὄντας καὶ μέγιστον παρὰ πάντας δυναμένους δλαβών, τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο χαρίσαιτο, τεκμηριῶν ὅτι μήτ' ἀτόπου μήτ' ἀδίκου τινὸς ὀρέγοιντο, ἀλλ' ὧν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ δοκιμασταὶ καὶ ἐπαινέται γίγνοιντο.

5 "Ο τε οὖν Πομπήιος μάλα ἀσμένως "οὐκ ἐγώ," ἔφη, "μόνος, ὧ Κυιρῖται, τὰ γεγραμμένα δοκιμάζω, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη βουλὴ πᾶσα, δι ὧν οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς μετ' ἐμοῦ ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς μετὰ τοῦ Μετέλλου συστρατευσαμένοις ποτὲ γῆν δοθῆναι ἐψη-2 φίσατο. τότε μὲν οὖν (οὐ γὰρ ηὐπόρει τὸ δημόσιον) εἰκότως ἡ δόσις αὐτῆς ἀνεβλήθη ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ παρόντι (παμπλούσιον γὰρ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γέγονε) προσήκει καὶ ἐκείνοις τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὴν ἐπικαρπίαν τῶν κοινῶν πόνων ἀποδο-3 θῆναι." ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπεξῆλθέ τε καθ' ἔκαστον

ο θηναι." ταῦτ' εἰπων ἐπεξηλθέ τε καθ' ἔκαστον τῶν γεγραμμένων, καὶ πάντα αὐτὰ ἐπήνεσεν, ὥστε τὸν ὅμιλον ἰσχυρῶς ἡσθηναι. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ ἰδῶν τοῦτο ἐκεῖνόν τε ἐπήρετο εἰ βοηθήσοι οἱ προθύμως ἐπὶ τοὺς τἀναντία σφίσι πράττοντας, καὶ τῷ πλήθει παρήνεσε προσδεηθηναι πρὸς τοῦτο αἰσοῦς κενομένου δὲς τοῦτος ἐπαρθὸς ὁ Πουσ

might oppose him; but he brought forward Pompey B.C. 59 and Crassus, though they were private citizens, and bade them express their views concerning the This was not because he was not acquainted with their view, for all their undertakings were in common; but he purposed both to honour these men, by calling them in as advisers about the law although they were holding no office, and also to frighten the others by securing the adherence of men who were admittedly the foremost in the city at that time and had the greatest influence with By this very move, also, he would please the populace, by giving proof that they were not striving for any unnatural or unjust end, but for objects which those leaders were willing both to approve and to praise.

Pompey, accordingly, very gladly addressed them as follows: "It is not I alone, Quirites, who approve this measure, but the whole senate as well, inasmuch as it has voted for land to be given not only to my soldiers but to those also who once fought with Metellus. On the former occasion, to be sure, since the treasury had no great means, the granting of the land was naturally postponed; but at present, since it has become exceedingly rich through my efforts, it is but right that the promise made to the soldiers be fulfilled and that the rest also reap the fruit of the common toils." After this preamble he went over in detail every feature of the measure and approved them all, so that the crowd was mightily pleased. Seeing this, Caesar asked him if he would willingly assist him against those who were working in opposition, and he also urged the populace to join in asking his aid for this purpose. When they had done so, Pompey felt

πήιος, ὅτι τῆς παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐπικουρίας, καίπερ μηδεμίαν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντος, καὶ ὁ ὕπατος καὶ ὁ ὅμιλος ἔχρηζεν, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἀνατιμῶν τε καὶ ἀποσεμνύνων ἑαυτὸν διελέξατο, καὶ τέλος εἶπεν ὅτι, ἄν τις τολμήση ξίφος ἀνελέσθαι, 5 καὶ ἐγὼ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀναλήψομαι. ταῦθ' οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου λεχθέντα καὶ Κράσσος ἐπήνεσεν. ὥστ' εἰ καί τισι τῶν ἄλλων μὴ ἤρεσκεν, . . . οι ἄλλως τε ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ νομιζόμενοι καὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐχθρῶς, ὥς γε καὶ ἐδόκουν σφίσιν, ἔχοντες (οὐ γάρ πω ἡ καταλλαγὴ αὐτῶν ἔκδηλος ἦν) συνήνουν οἷς ἐγεγράφει, πρόθυμοι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ νόμου κύρωσιν ἐγένοντο.

6 Οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὁ Βίβουλος ἐνεδίδου, ἀλλὰ τρεῖς δημάρχους συναγωνιστὰς προσθέμενος ἐκώλυσε τὸ νομοθέτημα, καὶ τέλος, ἐπειδὴ μηκέτ' αὐτῷ μηδεμία ἄλλη σκῆψις ἀναβολῆς ὑπελείπετο, ἱερομηνίαν ἐς πάσας ὁμοίως τὰς λοιπὰς τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρας, ἐν αἶς οὐδ' ἐς ἐκκλησίαν ὁ δῆμος ἐκ τῶν ² νόμων συνελθεῖν ἐδύνατο, προηγόρευσε. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὅ τε Καῖσαρ βραχὺ αὐτοῦ φροντίσας ἡητήν τινα ἡμέραν προεῖπεν ἵν' ἐν αὐτῆ νομοθετήση, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος νυκτὸς τὴν ἀγορὰν προκατέλαβεν, ἐπῆλθε μετὰ τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὸ Διοσκόρειον, ἀφ' οὖπερ ἐκεῖνος ἐδημηγόρει, διέπεσεν, τὰ μὲν αἰδοῖ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπεικόντων 3 οἱ, τὰ δὲ καὶ νομιζόντων αὐτὸν μὴ καὶ ἐναντιωθήσεσθαί σφισιν, ὡς δὲ ἄνω τε ἐγένετο καὶ ἀντιλέγειν ἐπειρᾶτο, αὐτός τε κατὰ τῶν ἀναβασμῶν

elated over the fact that both the consul and the multitude had desired his help, although he was holding no position of command, and so, with an added opinion of his own worth, and assuming much dignity, he spoke at some length, finally declaring: "If any one dares to raise a sword, I also will snatch up my shield." These words of Pompey were approved by Crassus too. Consequently, even if some of the rest were not pleased, they nevertheless favoured the passage of the law [when these men,] who were not only accounted good citizens in general but were also, as they supposed, hostile to Caesar, (for their reconciliation was not yet manifest,) joined in

approving his measure.

Bibulus, however, would not yield, but having gained the support of three tribunes, hindered the enactment of the law. Finally, when no other excuse for delay was any longer left him, he proclaimed a sacred period for all the remaining days of the year alike, during which the people could not legally even meet in their assembly. Caesar paid but slight attention to him and appointed a fixed day for the passage of the law. And when the populace had already occupied the Forum by night, Bibulus came up with the following he had got together and succeeded in forcing his way through to the temple of Castor,1 from which Caesar was delivering his speech. The men fell back before him, partly out of respect and partly because they thought he would not actually oppose them. But when he appeared above and attempted to speak in opposition to Caesar he was thrust down

¹ Literally, the temple of the Dioscuri. Officially it was called aedes Castoria; ef. xxxvii. 8, 2.

έωσθη καὶ αί 1 ράβδοι αὐτοῦ συνετρίβησαν, πληγάς τε καὶ τραύματα ἄλλοι τε καὶ οἱ δήμαργοι *έ*λαβον.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν νόμος οὕτως ἐκυρώθη, Βίβουλος δὲ τότε μὲν ἀγαπητῶς ἐσώθη, τῆ δ' ὑστεραία ἐπείρασε μεν εν τώ συνεδρίω αὐτὸν λῦσαι, επέρανε δ' οὐδέν τη γαρ τοῦ πλήθους σπουδή δεδουλω-5 μένοι πάντες ήσύχαζον. ἀνεχώρησέ τε οὖν οἴκαδε, καὶ οὐκέτι τὸ παράπαν ἐς τὸ κοινὸν μέχρι τῆς τελευταίας τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρας παρῆλθεν, άλλ' ἐν τη οικία καταμένων ἀεὶ τω Καίσαρι, οσάκις γε ενεωτερίζε τι, ενετελλετο δια των υπηρετών στι ίερομηνία τε είη καὶ οὐδὲν όσίως ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἐν 6 αὐτη δύναιτο δρασθαι. ἐπεχείρησε μὲν γὰρ αὐτον ἐπὶ τούτοις Πούπλιός τις Οὐατίνιος 2 δήμαρχος ές τὸ οἴκημα καταθέσθαι, τῶν δὲ συναρχόντων οἱ ἐναντιωθέντων οὐκ ἐνέβαλεν, ἀλλ' έκεινός τε ούτω των πολιτικών έξέστη και οί δήμαρχοι οἱ συνεξετασθέντες αὐτῷ οὐκέτ' οὐδὲν δημόσιον έπραξαν.

Ο δ' οὖν Μέτελλος ὁ Κέλερ ὅ τε Κάτων, καὶ Μάρκός τις δι' αὐτὸν Φαουώνιος, ζηλωτής ές τὰ μάλιστα αὐτοῦ ὤν, τέως μὲν οὔτ' ὤμοσαν 3 περί του νόμου (τουτο γάρ άρξάμενόν ποτε, ώσπερ είπου, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀτόπων έγίγνετο) καὶ ἀπισχυρίζοντο, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὁ Μέτελλος ές του Νουμιδικου αναφέρων, μηδέποτε 2 αὐτὸν συνεπαινέσειν ώς μέντοι . . ἡμέρα ἡ καὶ ἔμελλον τὰ τεταγμένα ἐπιτίμια ὀΦλήσειν,

aí supplied by Rk.
 δμοσαν Rk., δμοσάν τι L.
 τὰ added by St.

the steps, his fasces were broken to pieces, and the B.C. 59 tribunes as well as others received blows and wounds.

Thus the law was passed. Bibulus was for the moment satisfied to escape with his life, but on the next day tried in the senate to annul the act; nevertheless, he accomplished nothing, since all were under the spell of the multitude's enthusiasm and would do nothing. Accordingly he retired to his home and did not appear in public again at all up to the last day of the year. Instead, he remained in his house, and whenever Caesar proposed any innovation, he sent formal notice to him through his attendants that it was a sacred period and that by the laws he could rightfully take no action during it. Publius Vatinius, a tribune, undertook to place Bibulus in prison for this, but was prevented from doing so by the opposition of his colleagues. Bibulus, however, held aloof from all business of state in the manner related, and the tribunes belonging to his party likewise no longer performed any public dutv.

Now Metellus Celer and Cato, and through him one Marcus Favonius, who imitated him in everything, for a time did not take the oath of obedience to the law (a custom which began, as I have stated, on an earlier occasion, and was then continued in the case of other preposterous measures) and stoutly refused to approve it, Metellus, for instance, referring to Numidicus as an example. When, however, the day [came] on which they were to incur the

200

Apparently a reference to the year B.C. 100, and to the refusal of Metellus Numidicus to swear to the lex Apuleia.

ἄμοσαν, ήτοι κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον, ὑφ' οὖ πολλοὶ ύπισχνοῦνταί τέ τι καὶ ἀπειλοῦσι ῥάον ἡ καὶ τῷ ἔργω ἐπεξίασιν, ἡ καὶ ὅτι μάτην ζημιωθήσεσθαι έμελλον, μηδεν έκ της ισχυρογνωμοσύνης 3 σφων τὸ κοινὸν ἀφελήσαντες. ὅ τε οὖν νόμος ούτως έκυρώθη, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ή τῶν Καμπανῶν γη τοις τρία τε πλείω τε έτι τέκνα έχουσιν έδόθη. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἄποικος τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡ

Καπύη τότε πρῶτον ἐνομίσθη.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν πληθος ἐκ τούτων ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀνηρτήσατο, τοὺς δ' ίππέας τὸ τριτημόριον 2 σφισι των τελων α εμεμίσθωντο αφείς πασαί τε γαρ αί 4 τελωνίαι δι' αὐτῶν ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ πολλάκις της βουλης δεηθέντες όπως έκδικίας τινός τύγωσιν ούν εύροντο, άλλων τε καὶ τοῦ Κάτωνος 5 ἀντιπραξάντων. ώς δ' οὖν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος μηδ' άντειπόντος τινὸς φκειώσατο, πρώτον μεν τὰ ποαγθέντα 5 ύπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου πάντα, μήτε τοῦ Λουκούλλου μήτ' άλλου τινος άντιστάντος. έβε-Βαίωσεν, έπειτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ διενομοθέ-6 τησε μηδενός έναντιουμένου. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ό Κάτων ἀντεῖπέ τι, καίπερ ἐν τῆ στρατηγία, ἣν μετὰ ταῦτα οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἔσχε, μηδαμοῦ νόμων αὐτοῦ προσηγορίας, ώς Ἰουλίων ἐπικαλουμένων, ἐπιμνησθείς· τὰ δικαστήρια κατ' αὐτοὺς ἀποκληρῶν 6 τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῶν γελοιότατα ἀπεκρύπτετο.

Τούτους μέν οὖν, ὅτι πάμπολλοί τέ εἰσι καὶ

¹ ώφελήσαντες Bk., ώφεληθήσεσθαι L.

² τριτημόριόν R. Steph., τριτημέριον L. 3 έμεμίσθωντο Leuncl., έμεμίσθωτο L. 4 al Bk., al L.

⁵ πραχθέντα Xyl., προσταχθέντα L. 6 ἀποκληρών Βκ., ἀπεκλήρουν L.

established penalties, they took the oath, perhaps B.C. 59 because it is but human nature for many persons to utter promises and threats more easily than they actually carry them out, or else because they were going to be punished to no purpose, without helping the state at all by their obstinacy. So the law was passed, and in addition the land of Campania was given to those having three or more children. For this reason Capua was then for the first time considered a Roman colony.

By this means Caesar attached the plebs to his cause; and he won over the knights by releasing them from a third part of the taxes for which they had contracted.1 For all collecting of taxes was done by them, and though they had often asked the senate for some satisfaction, they had not obtained it, because Cato, among others, had opposed it. When, then, he had conciliated this class also without any one's protest, he first ratified all the acts of Pompey, meeting with no opposition either from Lucullus or any one else, and later he put through many other measures without encountering any resistance. Even Cato did not object, although during his praetorship a little later, he would never mention the title of the other's laws, since they were called Julian laws; for although he followed their provisions in allotting the courts, he most absurdly suppressed their name.

As these laws, now, are very numerous and con-

¹ Compare the similar statement in Appian B.C. ii, 13.

οὐδ' ότιοῦν τῆδε τῆ συγγραφῆ συμβάλλονται, 8 παραλείψω· Κύιντος δὲ δὴ Φούφιος Καλῆνος ἀναμὶξ πάντων τὰς ψήφους ἔν γε¹ ταῖς φιλονεικίαις (τά τε κρείττω πρὸς σφᾶς ὡς ἑκάστου τῶν γενῶν ἄγοντος καὶ τὰ ἀτοπώτερα² ἐς ἑτέρους ἀπωθοῦντος) οὕσας εὐρών, ἐνομοθέτησε στρατηγῶν χωρὶς αὐτοὺς ὡς ἑκάστους ψηφίζεσθαι, ἵν' εἰ μὴ καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα, τῷ κρύφα σφᾶς τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ τά γε ἔθνη³ αὐτῶν ἔκδηλα ὅπως

φρονοίη γίγνοιτο.4

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ἐσηγεῖτο καὶ συνεβούλευε καὶ διέταττε πάντα καθάπαξ τάν τῆ πόλει, ώς καὶ μόνος αὐτῆς ἄρχων· ὅθενπερ χαριεντιζόμενοί τινες το μεν τοῦ Βιβούλου όνομα παντάπασιν ἀπεσιώπων, τὸν δὲ δὴ Καίσαρα δὶς 5 καὶ ἀνόμαζον καὶ ἔγραφον, Γάιόν τε Καίσαρα 3 καὶ Ἰούλιον Καίσαρα ὑπατεύειν λέγοντες τὰ δε δη καθ' εαυτον δι' ετερων διηγε. τοῦτο γάρ δη και πάνυ ισχυρώς εφυλάξατο, μηδεν αὐτὸς έαυτώ δούναι καί διά τούτο καί ράον πάνθ' όσων έπεθύμει κατειργάσατο. αὐτὸς μεν γὰρ οὐδενὸς προσδείσθαι έλεγεν, άλλα και σφόδρα τοις παρ-4 ουσιν άρκεισθαι έσκήπτετο έτεροι δέ, ώς και άναγκαίου καὶ χρησίμου τοῖς πράγμασιν αὐτοῦ ουτος, καὶ ἐσηγήσαντο ὅσα ἡθέλησε καὶ κυρωθηναι ἐποίησαν, οὐκ ἐν τῷ πλήθει μόνον ἀλλὰ 5 καὶ ἐν αὐτῆ τῆ γερουσία. ὅ τε γὰρ ὅμιλος τοῦ τε Ἰλλυρικοῦ καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας τῆς ἐντὸς τῶν Αλπεων ἄρξαι αὐτῷ μετὰ τριῶν στρατοπέδων

5 δls Rk., δύο L.

γε Rk., τε L.
 ² ἀτοπώτερα R. Steph., ἀπώτερα L.
 ³ ἔθνη Leunel., ἤθη L.
 ⁴ γίγνοιτο St., γίγνοιντο L.

tribute nothing to this history, I will omit them; but B.C. 59 one other I will mention. Quintus Fufius Calenus, finding that the votes of all were hopelessly confused, at least in party contests, since each of the orders 1 attributed the good measures to itself and referred the preposterous ones to the others, proposed a law while praetor that each order should cast its vote separately. His purpose was that even if their individual opinions could not be revealed, by reason of their taking this vote secretly, yet it might become clear how the orders, at least, felt.

In most matters Caesar himself proposed, advised, and arranged everything in the city once for all as if he were its sole ruler; hence some facetious persons totally suppressed the name of Bibulus, and in speaking or writing would name Caesar twice, stating that the consuls were Gaius Caesar and Julius Caesar. But matters that concerned himself he managed through others, for he was extremely careful to offer nothing to himself; and thus he the more easily accomplished everything that he desired. On his own part, he would declare that he needed nothing more, and claimed to be thoroughly satisfied with what he had; but others, believing him a necessary and useful factor in affairs, proposed whatever he wished and had it passed, not only by the populace but by the senate itself. Thus it was that the multitude granted him the government of Illyricum and of Cisalpine Gaul with three legions for five years,

¹ The reference is to the three orders of which the juries were composed—senators, knights, and tribuni aerarii.

έπὶ ἔτη πέντε ἔδωκε, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τήν τε Γ αλατίαν τὴν ἐπέκεινα τῶν ὀρῶν καὶ στρατό-

πεδον έτερον προσεπέτρεψε.

Φοβηθείς δ' οὖν καὶ ως μή τι ὁ Πομπήιος έν τη ἀπουσία αὐτοῦ, ἐπειδη ὁ Γαβίνιος ὁ Αὖλος ύπατεύσειν εμελλε, νεωτερίση, εκείνον τε άμα καὶ τον έτερον υπατον Λούκιον Πίσωνα συγγενείας 1 ανάγκη προσηταιρίσατο τῷ μὲν γὰρ Πομπηίω την θυγατέρα καίπερ άλλω τινι ήγγυηκως συνώ-2 κισε, καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν τοῦ Πίσωνος ἔγημε, καὶ ὁ μέν ούτω πανταχόθεν έκρατύνθη, Κικέρων δέ καὶ Λούκουλλος οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενοι τούτοις ἀποκτεῖναι τόν τε Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον διὰ Λουκίου τινὸς Οὐεττίου ἐπεχείρησαν μέν, οὐκ ήδυνήθησαν δέ. ἀλλ' ολίγου και αὐτοι προσαπώλοντο. προμηνυθείς γὰρ ἐκείνος καὶ συλληφθείς πρίν τι δράσαι, 3 κατείπεν αὐτῶν καὶ εἴγε μὴ καὶ τὸν Βίβουλον ώς καὶ συνεπιβουλεύοντά σφισιν ἐσηγγέλκει, πάντως ἄν τι δεινον ἐπεπόνθεσαν νῦν δέ, ὅτι τοῦτον τῷ Πομπηίω τὸ πραττόμενον δηλώσαντα άμυνόμενος ήτιατο, ύπωπτεύθη μηδέ έπὶ λοιπῶν ἀληθεύειν, ἀλλ' ἐκ κατασκευασμοῦ τινος πρὸς συκοφαντίαν τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν σφων 4 παρεσκευάσθαι. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἄλλοι ἄλλα διεθρύλουν οὐ γάρ που καὶ διηλέγχθη τι, άλλὰ ές τὸ πλήθος ὁ Οὐέττιος ἐσαχθείς, καὶ μόνους οθς είπον ονομάσας, ές τε τὸ οἴκημα ἐσέπεσε, κάνταῦθα οὐ πολλώ ὕστερον έδολοφονήθη. 10 ύποπτός τε οὖν ἐκ τούτων ὁ Κικέρων τῶ τε Καίσαρι καὶ τῶ Πομπηίω γενόμενος ἐβεβαιώσατο την υπόνοιαν έν τη υπέρ του Αντωνίου απολογία. 1 συγγενείας Rk., συγγενείς L.

while the senate entrusted him in addition with B.C. 59

Transalpine Gaul and another legion.

But fearing even then that Pompey might make some change during his absence, inasmuch as Aulus Gabinius was to be consul, he attached to himself both Pompey and the other consul, Lucius Piso, by ties of kinship: upon the former he bestowed his daughter, in spite of having betrothed her to another man, while he himself married Piso's daughter. Thus he strengthened himself on all sides. Cicero and Lucullus, however, little pleased at this, undertook to kill both Caesar and Pompey through the help of a certain Lucius Vettius; but they failed of their attempt and all but lost their own lives as well. For Vettius, upon being exposed and arrested before he had accomplished anything, denounced them; and had he not charged Bibulus also with being in the plot against the two, it would certainly have gone hard with them. But as it was, owing to the fact that in his defence he accused this man who had revealed the plan to Pompey, it was suspected that he was not speaking the truth in the case of the others either, but had been prompted in the matter as the result of a plot of the other side to calumniate their opponents. Concerning these matters various reports were current, since nothing was definitely proven. Vettius was brought before the populace, and after naming only those whom I have mentioned, was thrown into prison, where he was treacherously murdered a little later. In consequence of this affair, Cicero became suspected by Caesar and Pompey, and he confirmed their suspicion in his defence of Antonius.

Ούτος γάρ πολλά μέν καὶ δεινά καὶ τὸ ὑπήκοον τὸ ἐν τῆ Μακεδονία, ἄρξας αὐτῆς, καὶ τὸ ἔνσπον-2 δον 1 εἰργάσατο, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀντέπαθε. τά τε γὰρ τῶν Δαρδάνων καὶ τὰ τῶν πλησιοχώρων σφίσι πορθήσας οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν ἐπιόντας αὐτοὺς ύπομείναι, άλλ' ώς καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι μετὰ τῶν ίππέων ύποχωρήσας ἔφυγεν, καὶ οὕτω τοὺς πεζοὺς έκεινοι περισχόντες έκ τε της χώρας βιαίως έξή-3 λασαν καὶ τὴν λείαν προσαφείλοντο. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ τοὺς συμμάχους τοὺς ἐν τῆ Μυσία 2 ποιήσας ήττήθη πρὸς 3 τη των Ίστριανων πόλει πρὸς τῶν Σκυθῶν τῶν Βασταρνῶν, ἐπιβοηθησάντων αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀπέδρα. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις αἰτίαν ἔσχεν, ἀλλ' ἐγράφη μὲν ἐπὶ τῆ τοῦ Κατιλίνου συνωμοσία, έάλω δε δι' έκεινα, καὶ συνέβη αὐτῶ, ὧν μὲν ἐκρίνετο, μὴ ἐλεγχθῆναι, ὧν 4 δ' οὐκ ἢτιάζετο, κολασθῆναι. καὶ δ΄μεν οὕτως ἀπήλλαξεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κικέρων ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τότε, ἄτε καὶ συνάρξαντός 4 οί, ὑπερδικῶν, πλείστην κατὰ του Καίσαρος ώς και αιτίου της δίκης αυτώ γεγενημένου καταδρομήν έποιήσατο, καί τινα αὐτὸν καὶ προσελοιδόρησεν. 17

Ο δ' ήχθετο μεν έπ' αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, οὐ μὴν οὕτ' εἶπεν οὕτ' ἔπραξεν ὑβριστικὸν ἐς αὐτὸν οὐδέν, καίπερ ὑπατεύων. τοὺς γὰρ πολλοὺς ἔλεγε συχνὰ καὶ μάταια ἐξεπίτηδες ἐς τοὺς κρείττονάς σφων ἐς φιλονεικίαν αὐτοὺς ὑπάγοντας τον ἴσοι σφίσι καὶ ὅμοιοι, ἄν γέ τι ὁμοιότροπον

¹ ένσπονδον Oddey, έκσπονδον L.

² Μυσία R. Steph., μουσίαι L.

³ πρòs added by Leuncl.

^{*} συνάρξαντος Rk., συνάρχοντος L.

⁵ ὑπάγοντας Bk., ὑπαγαγόντας L.

The latter, while governor of Macedonia, had B.C. 59 inflicted many injuries upon the subject territory as well as upon that which was in alliance with Rome. and had suffered many disasters in return. For after ravaging the possessions of the Dardanians and their neighbours, he did not dare to await their attack, but pretending to retire with his cavalry for some other purpose, took to flight; in this way the enemy surrounded his infantry and forcibly drove them out of the country, even taking away their plunder from them. When he tried the same tactics on the allies in Moesia, he was defeated near the city of the Istrians by the Bastarnian Scythians who came to their aid; and thereupon he ran away. It was not for this conduct, however, that he was accused, but he was indicted for complicity in Catiline's conspiracy; yet he was convicted on the former charge, so that it was his fate to be found not guilty of the crime for which he was being tried, but to be punished for something of which he was not accused. That was the way he came off. But Cicero, who defended him at this time because Antonius had been his colleague, made a most bitter attack upon Caesar, whom he held responsible for the suit against him, and even went so far as to heap abuse upon him.

Caesar was naturally indignant at this, but, although consul, refused to be the author of any insolent speech or act against him. He said that the multitude often purposely [cast] many idle [slurs] upon their superiors, in the effort to draw them into strife, so that they might seem to be their equals and of like importance with them, in case they should get anything similar said of themselves; and he

άντακούσωσι, δόξωσιν είναι καὶ οὐκ ήξίου άν-2 τίπαλον εκ τούτου οὐδένα ξαυτῷ ποιείν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς τε ἄλλοις τοῖς τι προπηλακίζουσιν αὐτὸν οὕτω προσεφέρετο, καὶ τότε τὸν Κικέρωνα όρων ούχ έαυτω τι τοσούτον λοιδορήσασθαι έθέλοντα δσον άντακοῦσαί τι τῶν ὁμοίων, ὥστε καὶ παρισωθήναί οἱ, ἐπιθυμοῦντα, βραχύ τε αὐτοῦ ἐφρόντισε καὶ οὐδὲν ὧν ἔλεγε προσεποιήσατο, άλλ' εία αὐτὸν ἀφθόνως, καθάπερ τισὶν 3 επαίνοις εαυτού, ταις λοιδορίαις χρήσθαι. μέντοι καὶ παντάπασιν όλιγώρως αὐτοῦ ἔσχεν. έπιεικεστέραν μεν γάρ όντως φύσιν είλήχει, καί οὐ πάνυ ραδίως έθυμοῦτο συχνοὺς δ' οὖν, ἄτε καὶ έν τοσούτοις πράγμασιν, έδικαίου, οὐ μην ώστε καὶ δι' ὀργῆς ἡ καὶ παραχρήμα πάντως αὐτὸ 4 ποιείν. θυμφ μεν δη οὐδεν έχαρίζετο, τοῦ δε δη καιρού διεσκόπει, καὶ τούς γε πλείους οὐδὲ αισθανομένους μετήει. οὐ γάρ ὅπως δόξειεν αμύνεσθαί τινας έπρασσεν, αλλ' όπως ότι ανεπιφθονώτατα πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ξαυτώ πάντα διοικήσειε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀδήλως, καὶ ἐν οίς 5 ηκιστα ἄν τις προσεδόκησε, τὰς τιμωρίας ἐπῆγε, της τε φήμης ενεκα, τοῦ μη δοκεῖν ὀργίλως εχειν, καὶ τοῦ μή τινα προαισθανόμενον προφυλάξασθαι η και προποιήσαί τι δεινον αὐτόν, πρὶν παθείν, έπιχειρήσαι. οὐ γὰρ τῶν ἤδη γεγονότων μᾶλλόν τι αὐτῷ ἔμελεν¹ ἢ ἵνα τὰ μέλλοντα κωλυθείη.² 6 κάκ τούτου πολλοίς μεν και των μεγάλα αὐτον λυπησάντων συνεγίγνωσκεν η και έπι βραγύ

¹ έμελεν R. Steph., έμελλεν L.

² τὰ μέλλοντα κωλυθείη Rk., καὶ λυθείη L.

did not see fit to make anybody his rival in this B.C. 59 manner. This, then, was his attitude toward others who insulted him in any way, and so now, when he saw that Cicero was not so anxious to abuse him as to receive similar abuse in return, so that he might be placed on an equality with him, he paid little heed to his traducer, ignoring all he said; indeed, he allowed him to indulge in abuse without stint, as if it were so much praise showered upon him. Still, he did not disregard him entirely. For, although Caesar possessed in reality a rather mild nature, and was not at all easily moved to anger, he nevertheless punished many, since his interests were so numerous, yet in such wise that it was not done in anger nor always immediately. He did not indulge in wrath at all, but watched for his opportunity, and his vengeance pursued the majority of his foes without their knowing it. For he did not act in such a way as to seem to be defending himself against anybody, but so as to arrange everything to his own advantage while arousing the least hatred. Therefore he visited his retribution secretly and in places where one would least have expected it, both for the sake of his reputation, in order to avoid seeming to be of a wrathful disposition, and also to the end that no one should learn of it beforehand and so be on his guard, or try to inflict some serious injury upon him before being injured. For he was not so much concerned about what had already occurred as he was to prevent future attacks. As a result he would pardon many of those, even, who had vexed him greatly, or pursue them only to a limited extent, because he believed they would do

έπεξήει, ὅτι οὐδὰν ἔτι κακουργήσειν αὐτοὺς ἐπίστευε· πολλοὺς δὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον τοῦ καθή-κοντος ἐς ἀσφάλειαν ἐτιμωρεῖτο, λέγων ὅτι τὸ μὰν . . . οὐκ ἄν ποτε ἀγένητον . . . τῆς κολάσεως

ύπερβολη πάντως τι δεινον πείσεται.

'Εξ οὖν τούτων τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ τότε αὐτὸς μέν την ήσυχίαν ηγε, τον δέ δη Κλώδιον άντιγαρίσασθαί τι αὐτῶ, ὅτι τῆς μοιχείας αὐτοῦ οὐ κατηγόρησε, βουλόμενον αισθόμενος παρεσκεύασε 2 κρύφα κατὰ τοῦ Κικέρωνος. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐς τὰ τοῦ πλήθους δικαιώματα αὐθις αὐτόν, ὅπως νομίμως εκποιηθή, συμπράττοντος αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου μετέστησεν, έπειτα δε δήμαρχον εύθυς 3 ἀποδειχθήναι διεπράξατο. οὐτος οὐν ὁ Κλώδιος έπεστόμισε μεν και τον Βίβουλον εσελθόντα τε ές την άγοραν έπ' εξόδω της άρχης, καὶ διανοούμενον μετά της του δρκου πιστώσεως και περί των παρόντων δημηγορήσαι, ἐπέθετο δὲ καὶ τῷ 4 Κικέρωνι. καὶ ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἐδόκει οἱ ῥάδιον είναι ανδρα πάμπολυ έν τη πολιτεία διά την των λόγων δεινότητα δυνάμενον καταλύσαι, τρέπεται πρὸς οἰκείωσιν οὐχ ὅτι τοῦ πλήθους, ἀλλὰ καὶ των ίππέων της τε βουλης, παρ' οίσπέρ που καὶ ὁ Κικέρων πλείστος ἐφέρετο, ἐλπίσας, αν τούτους σφετερίσηται, ραδίως αὐτόν, ἄτε καὶ διὰ φόβον μᾶλλον ἢ δι' εὕνοιαν ἰσχύοντα, καθαι-5 ρήσειν. παμπληθεῖς γὰρ ἐκ τῶν λόγων ἐλύπει, καὶ οὐκ ἐς τοσοῦτον οἵ τι ώφελούμενοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φκειούντο ές όσον οί βλαπτόμενοι ήλλοτριούντο. πρὸς γάρ τοι τῷ τοὺς πλείους τῶν ἀνθρώπων προχειρότερον ἐπὶ τοῖς δυσχερεστέροις ἀγανακτεῖν ή τῶν ἀμεινόνων γάριν τισὶν ἔγειν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν

no further injury; whereas upon many others he took B.C. 59 vengeance, even beyond what was fitting, with an eve to his own safety. What was once done, he said, [he could] never [make] undone [by any penalty], but because of the severity of the punishment he would for the future at least suffer no harm

In view of these considerations he was inclined to do nothing on this occasion also; but when he ascertained that Clodius was willing to do him a favour in return for the fact that he had not accused him of adultery, he set this man secretly against Cicero. In the first place, in order that he might be lawfully excluded from the patricians, he transferred him with Pompey's cooperation to the plebeian status once more, and then immediately had him appointed tribune. This Clodius, then, silenced Bibulus, when at the expiration of his office he entered the Forum and intended in connexion with taking the oath to deliver a speech about the existing state of affairs; and he attacked Cicero also. But since he decided that it was not easy to overthrow a man who had very great influence in the state by reason of his skill in speaking, he proceeded to conciliate not only the populace, but also the knights and the senate. by whom Cicero was held in the highest regard. His hope was that if he could make these men his own, he might easily cause the downfall of the orator, whose strength lay rather in the fear than in the good-will which he inspired. For Cicero annoved great numbers by his speeches, and those whom he aided were not so thoroughly won to his side as those whom he injured were alienated; for most men are more ready to feel irritation at what displeases them than to feel grateful to any one

συναγορεύσασί σφισιν ἀποδεδωκέναι τὸν μισθὸν νομίζειν, τοὺς δ' ἀντιδικήσαντας ἀμύνεσθαι τρό6 πον τινὰ προαιρεῖσθαι, πικροτάτους ἐχθροὺς ἐαυτῷ ἐποίει περιεῖναί τε καὶ τῶν κρατίστων ἀεί ποτε ἐπιχειρῶν καὶ τῆ παρρησία πρὸς πάντας ὁμοίως ἀκράτῳ καὶ κατακορεῖ χρώμενος, ἄτε καὶ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ δύνασθαι συνεῖναί τε καὶ εἰπεῖν ἃ μηδεὶς ἄλλος, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ χρηστὸς εἶναι δοκεῖν, 7 θηρώμενος. ἔκ τε οὖν τούτου, καὶ διότι μέγιστόν τε ἀνθρώπων ηὕχει καὶ οὐδένα ἐξ ἴσου ἑαυτῷ ἢγεν, ἀλλὰ ἔν τε τοῖς λόγοις ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν τῷ βίῳ πάντας τε ὑπερεφρόνει καὶ ἰσοδίαιτος οὐδενὶ ἤξίου εἶναι, φορτικός τε καὶ ἐπαχθὴς ἢν, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων οἶς ἤρεσκε, καὶ ἐφθονεῖτο καὶ ἐμισεῖτο.

13 'Ο οὖν Κλώδιος ἐλπίσας αὐτὸν διὰ ταῦτα, ἂν τήν τε βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας τόν τε ὅμιλον προπαρασκευάσηται, ταχὺ κατεργάσεσθαι,² τόν τε σῖτον προῖκα εὐθὺς³ διένειμε (τὸ γὰρ μετρεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀπόροις, τοῦ τε Γαβινίου ἤδη καὶ τοῦ

- 2 Πίσωνος ύπατευόντων, έσηγήσατο) καὶ τὰ έταιρικά, κολλήγια έπιχωρίως καλούμενα, ὄντα μὲν
 ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχαίου, καταλυθέντα δὲ χρόνον τινά,
 ἀνενεώσατο τοῖς τε τιμηταῖς ἀπηγόρευσε μήτ'
 ἀπαλείφειν ἔκ τινος τέλους μήτ' ἀτιμάζειν μηδένα,
 χωρὶς ἢ εἴ τις παρ' ἀμφοτέροις σφίσι κριθεὶς
 άλοίη.
- 3 Τούτοις οὖν αὐτοὺς δελεάσας καὶ ἔτερόν τινα νόμον ἔγραψε, περὶ οὖ διὰ πλειόνων ἀναγκαῖόν

¹ ἐποίει Reim., ἐσεποίει L.

² κατεργάσεσθαι Dind., κατεργάσασθαι L.

³ ϵὐθὺς Bs., αὖθις L.

for kindnesses, and they think that they have paid B.C. 59 their advocates in full with their fee, while their chief concern is to get even with their opponents in some way or other. Cicero, moreover, made for himself very bitter enemies by always striving to get the better of even the most powerful men and by always employing an unbridled and excessive frankness of speech toward all alike; for he was in pursuit of a reputation for sagacity and eloquence such as no one else possessed, even in preference to being thought a good citizen. As a result of this and because he was the greatest boaster alive and regarded no one as equal to himself, but in his words and life alike looked down upon everybody and would not live as any one else did, he was wearisome and burdensome, and was consequently both disliked and hated even by those very persons whom he otherwise pleased.

Clodius, therefore, hoped on this account that it he should first win over the senate and the knights and the populace he could quickly crush him. So B.C. 58 straightway went to distributing free corn; for when Gabinius and Piso had now become consuls, he had introduced his motion that it should be doled out to the needy; and he revived the associations called collegia in the native language, which had existed of old but had been abolished for some time. He also forbade the censors to remove anybody from any order or to censure any one, except as he should be tried and convicted before them both.

After offering them this lure he proposed another law, concerning which it is necessary to speak at

έστιν είπειν, ὅπως σαφέστερος τοις πολλοίς γένηται. της γαρ μαντείας της δημοσίας έκ τε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων τινῶν, ὥσπερ εἰπον, ποιουμένης, τὸ μέγιστον κῦρος ἡ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ είχεν, ούτως ώστε τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οἰωνίσματα πολλά καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην πράξιν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἐσάπαξ 4 ἐπὶ πάση τῆ ἡμέρα γίγνεσθαι. τοῦτό τε οὖν ίδιώτατον εν αὐτῷ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων άπάντων η ἐπέτρεπε πραχθηναί τινα, καὶ ἐγίγνετο μηδενός έτι καθ' έκαστον οιωνίσματος έπαγομένου, ή έκώλυε, καὶ ἀνεγειρίζετό τι, τὰς δὲ δὴ τοῦ δήμου διαψηφίσεις πάντως ἐπῖσχεν,1 καὶ ἡν πρὸς αὐτὰς ἀεὶ διοσημία, εἴτε ἐναίσιον εἴτε 5 έξαίσιον έγένετο. καὶ τὸ μὲν αἴτιον τῆς νομίσεως ταύτης οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι, γράφω δὲ τὰ λεγόμενα. έπεὶ οὖν πολλοὶ ἐμποδίζειν ἢ νόμων ἐσφορὰς ἢ άργόντων καταστάσεις ές τὸν δημον έσαγομένας βουλόμενοι προεπήγγελλον ώς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ την ημέραν εκείνην μαντευσόμενοι, ώστε μηδεμίαν 6 εν αὐτη κύρωσιν τὸν δημον σχεῖν, φοβηθεὶς ό Κλώδιος μὴ γραψαμένου αὐτοῦ τὸν Κικέρωνα ἀναβολήν τέ τινες ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου καὶ τριβὴν τῆ δίκη έμποιήσωσιν, ἐσήνεγκε μηδένα τῶν ἀρχόντων έν ταις ημέραις έν αις ψηφίσασθαί τι τον δημον άναγκαῖον είη, τὰ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ γιγνόμενα παρατηρείν.

14 Τοια ΰτα μεν τότε επὶ τον Κικέρωνα συνέγραψε. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνος, συνεὶς τὸ γιγνόμενον, Λούκιον Νίννιον Κουαδρᾶτον δημαρχοῦντα ἐναντιωθῆναι πᾶσί σφισιν ἀντιπαρεσκεύασεν, ἔδεισε μὴ καὶ

1 επίσχεν Bk., επισχείν L.

some length, so that it may become clearer to the B.C. 58 general public. Public divination was obtained from the sky and from certain other sources, as I have said, but that of the sky had the greatest authority -so much so, in fact, that while the other auguries were many in number and were taken for each action, this one was taken but once and for the whole day. This was the most peculiar feature about it; but there was the further difference that whereas in reference to all other matters sky-divination either allowed things to be done, in which case they were carried out without consulting any individual augury further, or else would prevent and hinder something, yet it stopped the voting of the people altogether, serving always as a portent to check them, whether it was of a favourable or unfavourable nature. The cause of this custom I am unable to state, but I set down the common report. Accordingly, many persons who wished to obstruct either the proposal of laws or the appointment of magistrates that came before the popular assembly were in the habit of announcing that they would look for omens from the sky that day, so that during it the people would have no power to pass any measure. Clodius, now, was afraid that if he indicted Cicero some might adopt this means to secure the postponement or delay of the trial; and so he introduced a measure that none of the magistrates should observe the signs from heaven on the days when it was necessary for the people to vote on anything.

Such were the measures which he then drew up with reference to Cicero. The latter understood what was afoot and induced Lucius Ninnius Quadratus, a tribune, to oppose every move; so

225

θόρυβος έκ τούτου καὶ διατριβή τις γένηται, καὶ 2 ὑπῆλθεν αὐτὸν ἀπατήσας. προδιομολογησάμενος γὰρ αὐτῷ μηδ' ὁτιοῦν, ἂν μηδὲν τῶν νομοθετουμένων έμποδίση, κατ' αὐτοῦ γράψειν, έπειτα την ήσυγίαν καὶ ἐκείνου καὶ τοῦ Νιννίου ἄγοντος διενομοθέτησεν αὐτά, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῷ 3 Κικέρωνι ἐπεχείρησεν. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω, καίτοι φρονιμώτατος άξιῶν είναι, τότε ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλωδίου, έἴ γε ἐκεῖνον ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸν Καίσαρα τούς τε άλλους τους μετ' αὐτῶν συνεστηκότας δεῖ λέγειν, 4 ἦπατήθη· ὁ δὲ δὴ νόμος ὃν μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Κλώδιος ἐσήνεγκεν, ἄλλως μεν οὐκ ἐδόκει ἐπ' αὐτῷ τίθεσθαι (οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ εἶχεν ἀλλὰ κατὰ πάντων άπλῶς τῶν πολίτην 1 τινὰ ἄνευ τῆς τοῦ δήμου καταγνώσεως αποκτενούντων ή καὶ άπεκτονότων ἐσήγετο),² ἔργω δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὅτι 5 μάλιστα συνεγράφετο. ἔφερε μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν βουλήν, ὅτι τοῖς τε ὑπάτοις τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως, δι' ἦσπερ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτά σφισι ποιείν έξον εγίγνετο, προσετετάχει, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ Λεντούλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων 6 των τότε θανατωθέντων κατεψήφιστο ου μέντοι άλλ' ὁ Κικέρων, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐσηγγέλκει περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐσήγητο 3 ἀεὶ καὶ ἐπεψηφίκει καὶ τέλος καὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν σφῶν διά γε τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπηρετούντων ἐπεποίητο, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν μόνος ἢ 7 καὶ μάλιστα ἔσχε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τά τε ἄλλα ίο γυρώς αὐτώ ἀντέπρασσε, καὶ τὴν βουλευτικὴν έσθητα ἀπορρίψας ἐν τῆ ἱππάδι περιενόστει, πάντας τε τούς τι δυναμένους, ούχ ὅπως τῶν

 $^{^{1}}$ πολίτην Rk., πολιτῶν L. 2 ἐσήγετο Bk., συνεσήγετο L. 3 ἐσήγητο Rk., ἐσηγεῖτο L. 4 ἔσχε R. Steph., ἔοικε L.

Clodius, fearing that some disturbance and delay B.C. 58 might arise as a result, outwitted him by deceit. He first made an agreement with Cicero to bring no indictment against him, if the other would not interfere with any of the measures he proposed; thereupon, while Cicero and Ninnius remained quiet, he secured the passage of the laws, and then made his attack upon the orator. And thus the latter, who thought himself extremely shrewd, was deceived on that occasion by Clodius-if, indeed, it is proper to speak here of Clodius and not rather of Caesar and the others who were in league with the two. Now the law that Clodius next proposed was not on its face enacted against Cicero, since it did not contain his name, but was directed against all, without exception, who should put to death or even had put to death any citizen without the condemnation of the people; yet in reality it was drawn up with especial reference to the orator. It brought within its scope, indeed, the entire senate, because that body had charged the consuls with the protection of the city, by which act it was permitted them to take such steps, and afterwards had condemned Lentulus and the others who were put to death at that time. Nevertheless, Cicero received the whole blame, or at least the greater part of it, since he had laid information against the men and had on each occasion made the motion and put the vote and finally had exacted the penalty of them through those entrusted with such business. this reason he vigorously opposed Clodius' measure in every way; in particular, he discarded his senatorial dress and went about in the garb of the knights, paying court meanwhile, as he went the rounds,

ἐπιτηδείων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν, καὶ μάλιστα τόν τε Πομπήιον καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἄτε μηδὲ τὴν ἔχθραν αὐτοῦ προσποιούμενον, καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ὁμοίως περιιῶν ἐθεράπευε.¹

Καὶ εβούλοντο γὰρ καὶ εκείνοι μήτε τὸν Κλώ-15 διον αυτοί παρεσκευακέναι μήτε τοίς γεγραμμένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀρέσκεσθαι δοκεῖν, τοιάνδε τινὰ ΄ ἐπὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα΄ ἀπάτην, σφίσι μὲν εὐπρεπῆ 2 έκείνω δε δη άφανη, προσεξεύρον. ό μεν γαρ Καισαρ υπείκειν αυτώ συνεβούλευε, μη και κατά γώραν μείνας ἀπόληται καὶ ἵνα γε καὶ μᾶλλον ύπ' ευνοίας τούτο ποιείν πιστευθή, υποστρατήγω οί χρήσεσθαι ύπισχνείτο, όπως μη μετ' όνείδους ώς καὶ ὑπεύθυνος ὤν, ἀλλὰ ἐπί τε ἀρχῆς καὶ μετὰ 3 τιμής έκποδων δη τώ Κλωδίω γένηται. ό δε δη Πομπήιος τούτου μέν αὐτόν, τό τε πρâγμα ἀπόδρασιν ἄντικρυς ὀνομάζων, καὶ ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ώστε καὶ κατ' ἔχθραν οὐκ ἐπιτηδείως οἱ συμβου-λεύοντα ὑποσημαίνων, ἀπέτρεπε, γνώμην δὲ ἐδίδου καταμείναι καὶ έαυτῶ τε ἄμα καὶ τῆ βουλῆ μετὰ παρρησίας βοηθήσαι, τόν τε Κλώδιον εὐθὺς ἀμύ-4 νασθαι: οὖτε γὰρ διαπράξασθαί τι αὖτὸν παρόντος τε ἐκείνου καὶ ἐναντιουμένου δυνήσεσθαι ἔλεγε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ δίκην δώσειν καὶ ξαυτοῦ τι προς τούτο συμπράξαντος, τοιούτους αὐτῶν 3 λόγους λεγόντων ούχ ὅτι ἐναντία ἀλλήλοις ἐγίγνωσκον άλλ' ἵν' ἐκεῖνον ἀνυπόπτως ἀπατήσωσι, 5 τῷ Πομπηίφ προσέθετο. οὔτε γὰρ προϋπώπτευέ τι ές αὐτόν, καὶ ἐπίστευε πάντως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σωθήσεσθαι. των τε γὰρ ἄλλων πολλοὶ καὶ ήδοῦντο

¹ έθεράπευε Η. Steph., έθεράπευσε L.

² δίκην supplied by Oddey. ³ αὐτῶν Reim., αὐτῶι L.

day and night alike, to all who had any influence, B.C. 58 not only of his friends but also of his opponents, and especially to Pompey and even Caesar, inasmuch as the latter concealed his enmity toward him.

Now these men, indeed, did not wish to appear to have instigated Clodius themselves, or even to be pleased with his measures, and so they devised the following plan, involving no discredit to themselves but obscure to Cicero, for deceiving him. Caesar, for his part, advised him to yield, for fear he might lose his life if he remained in the city; and in order to have it believed the more readily that he was doing this through good-will, he promised to employ him as his lieutenant, so that he might retire out of Clodius' way, not in disgrace, as if under investigation, but in a position of command and with honour. Pompey, however, tried to turn him aside from this course, calling the act outright desertion, and uttering insinuations against Caesar to the effect that through enmity he was not giving sound advice; as for himself, he advised him to remain and boldly defend both himself and the senate and thus avenge himself at once upon The latter, he declared, would not be able to accomplish anything with Cicero present and confronting him, and would furthermore meet his deserts, since he, Pompey, would also cooperate to this end. Now when these two expressed themselves thus, not because their views were opposed, but for the purpose of deceiving their victim without arousing his suspicion, Cicero attached himself to Pompey. Of him he had no previous suspicion and was absolutely confident of being saved by his assistance. For in the first place, many respected and

αὐτὸν καὶ ἐτίμων ὥστε καὶ κινδυνεύοντας συχνοὺς τοὺς μὲν παρὰ τῶν δικαστῶν τοὺς δὲ καὶ παρ' 6 αὐτῶν τῶν κατηγόρων ῥυόμενον. 1 καὶ ὁ Κλώδιος, ἄτε καὶ ἐν γένει ποτὲ αὐτῷ γενόμενος καὶ συστρατεύσας ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον, οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐ κατὰ γνώμην αὐτοῦ ἐδόκει ποιήσειν. τόν τε Γαβίνιον ἄντικρυς, ἄτε καὶ πάνυ φίλον αὐτῷ ὄντα, καὶ τὸν Πίσωνα ἀπό τε τῆς ἐπιεικείας καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος συγγένειαν ὑπάρξειν οἱ προσεδόκησε.

16 τούτοις τε οὖν τοῖς λογισμοῖς κρατήσειν ἐλπίσας (καὶ γὰρ ἐθάρσει παρὰ λόγον ὥσπερ ἀνεξετάστως ἐδεδίει), καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἐκ πονηροῦ συνειδότος τὴν ἀποδημίαν πεποιῆσθαι δόξη, τῷ μὲν Καίσαρι χάριν δή τινα ἔχειν ἔλεγε, τῷ δὲ δὴ

Πομπηίω επείσθη.

2 Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἀπατηθεὶς παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ πολὺ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑπεροίσων. πρὸς γὰρ δὴ τοῖς εἰρημένοις, οἴ τε ἱππῆς συνελθόντες ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον πρέσβεις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πρός τε τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν, ἄλλους τέ τινας ἐκ 3 σφῶν καὶ βουλευτὰς τόν τε 'Ορτήσιον τὸν Κύιντον καὶ Γάιον Κουρίωνα, ἔπεμψαν· καὶ ὁ Νίννιος τά τε ἄλλα αὐτῷ συνήρετο, καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα τῷ πλήθει ὡς καὶ ἐπί τινι κοινῆ συμφορᾶ μεταβαλεῖν² παρήνεσε. καὶ πολλοὶ ³ τοῦτο καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐποίησαν, * καὶ οὐ πρότερόν γε μετεβάλοντο 5 πρὶν τοὺς ὑπάτους σφίσι διὰ προγραφῆς ἐπιτιμῆσαι.

΄ 'Αλλ' ἦν γὰρ τὰ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν αὐτοῦ

βυόμενον Cary, βύεσθαι L.
 μεταβαλεῖν Βk., μεταβάλλειν L.
 πολλοὶ R. Steph., πολὸ L.
 ἐποίησαν supplied by Xyl.

⁵ μετεβάλοντο Βk., μετεβάλλοντο L.

honoured him as one who saved numerous persons B.C. 58 in grave peril, some from the judges and others from their very accusers; and Clodius, in particular, had formerly been a relative of Pompey's and had long served under him, so that it seemed likely that he would do nothing that failed to accord with his wishes. As for Gabinius, Cicero supposed he could count on him absolutely as an adherent, since he was a good friend of his, and equally on Piso, because of his amiability as well as his kinship with Caesar. On the basis of these calculations, then, he hoped to win, since he was now unreasonably confident, even as he had before been unduly terrified; and fearing that his withdrawal from the city would seem to have been occasioned by a bad conscience, he listened to Pompey, though he said that he was considerably obliged to Caesar.

And thus Cicero, deceived in this wise, was preparing as if for a great victory over his enemies. For, in addition to the grounds for hope already mentioned, the knights assembled on the Capitol and sent envoys in his behalf to the consuls and senate, some from their own number, and also the senators Quintus Hortensius and Gaius Curio. Ninnius, too, in addition to his assistance in other ways urged the populace to change their apparel, as if for a general calamity. And many of the senators also did this, and would not change back until the consuls rebuked them by an edict.

The forces of his adversaries were more powerful,

δυνατώτερα, οὔτε ὁ Κλώδιος χρηματίσασθαί τι ύπερ αὐτοῦ τῷ Νιννίω 1 ἐπέτρεψεν, οὔτε Γαβίνιος την πρόσοδον τοίς ίππεθσιν ές την βουλην έδωκεν, άλλὰ καὶ ἔνα τινὰ αὐτῶν, ὡς πολὺς ἐνέκειτο, καὶ έκ της πόλεως ² έξήλασε, τῷ τε 'Ορτησίφ καὶ τῷ Κουρίωνι, ότι καὶ ἀθροισθεῖσί σφισι συνεγένοντο 5 καὶ τὴν πρεσβείαν ὑπέστησαν, ἐπεκάλει. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Κλώδιος ἐς τὸ πληθος ἐσαγαγὼν πληγαῖς έπὶ τῆ πρεσβεία διά τινων προπαρεσκευασμένων συνέκοψε. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὅ τε Πίσων, καίπερ εὐνοϊκῶς τῷ Κικέρωνι δοκῶν ἔχειν, καὶ συμβουλεύσας γε αὐτῷ, ὡς έώρα ἀδύνατον ὂν ἄλλως αὐτὸν σωθηναι, προυπεξέχειν, ὅμως ἐπειδὴ διὰ 6 τοῦτο ἐκεῖνος ὡργίσθη, παρῆλθεν ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ότε πρώτον ήδυνήθη (τὰ γὰρ πολλὰ ήρρώστει), καὶ πυθομένου 3 τοῦ Κλωδίου τίνα γνώμην περὶ των γεγραμμένων έχοι, είπεν ὅτι οὐδέν μοι οὕτ' ωμον δουτε σκυθρωπον έργον αρέσκει και ο Γαβίνιος έρωτηθείς τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὐχ ὅπως έκεινον επήνεσεν, άλλα και των ιππέων της τε βουλής προσκατηγόρησεν.

17 'Ο μέντοι Καΐσαρ (ἔξω γὰρ τοῦ τείχους ὁ Κλώδιος δι' αὐτόν, ἐπειδήπερ ἐξεστράτευτο, τὸν ὅμιλον συναγαγὼν καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐπιγνώμονα τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐποιήσατο) τὴν μὲν ⁶ παρανομίαν τῶν περὶ τὸν Λέντουλον πραχθέντων κατεψη-2 φίσατο, τὴν μέντοι τιμωρίαν τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς γραφομένην οὐκ ἐδοκίμασεν ὅσα μὲν γὰρ περὶ

¹ τφ Νιννίφ Leunel., τοῦ νιννίου L.

πόλεως Cobet, πολιτείας L.
 πυθομένου Xvl., πυθόμενος L.

^{*} ουτ' ωμον Victorius, ουτω μόνον L.

⁵ οὕτε Śt., οὐδὲ L. 6 μὲν St., μὲν γὰρ L.

however. Clodius would not allow Ninnius to take B.C. 58 any action in his behalf, and Gabinius would not grant the knights access to the senate; on the contrary, he drove one of them, who was very insistent, out of the city, and rebuked Hortensius and Curio for having been present in the assembly of the knights and for having undertaken the mission. Moreover, Clodius brought them before the populace, where they were soundly belaboured for their mission by some appointed agents. After this Piso, though he seemed well-disposed towards Cicero and had advised him, on seeing that it was impossible for him to attain safety by any other means, to slip away in time, nevertheless, when the other took offence at this counsel, came before the assembly at the first opportunity (he was too ill most of the time) and to the question of Clodius as to what opinion he held regarding the proposed measure said: "No deed of cruelty or sadness pleases me." Gabinius, too, on being asked the same question, not only failed to praise Cicero but even accused both the knights and the senate.

Caesar, however, who had already taken the field, and whom Clodius could therefore make arbiter of the measure only by assembling the populace outside the walls, condemned the illegality of the action taken in regard to Lentulus, but still did not approve the punishment proposed for it. Every one knew, he said, all that had been in his mind con-

τῶν τότε γενομένων ἐφρόνησε, πάντας εἰδέναι ἔφη (τὴν γὰρ σώζουσάν σφας ψῆφον δεδωκὼς ἦν), οὐ μὴν καὶ προσήκειν ἐπὶ τοῖς παρεληλυθόσι τοιοῦτόν τινα νόμον συγγράφεσθαι. Καῖσαρ μὲν ταῦτ εἶπε, Κράσσος δὲ διὰ μὲν τοῦ υίέος βοήθειάν τινα τῷ Κικέρωνι ἐνεδείκνυτο, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἔπρασσε. καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ὑπισχνεῖτο μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπικουρίαν, σκήψεις δέ τινας ἄλλοτε ἄλλας ποιούμενος καὶ ἀποδημίας συχνὰς ἐπίτηδες

στελλόμενος οὐκ ἐπήμυνε. Ἰδων οῦν ταῦθ' ὁ Κικέρων καὶ φοβηθεὶς αὖθις

έπεγείρησε μεν ὅπλα ἄρασθαι (τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον φανερώς προεπηλάκιζε), κωλυθείς δὲ ὑπό τε τοῦ Κάτωνος καὶ τοῦ 'Ορτησίου, μη καὶ ἐμφύλιος ἐκ τούτου πόλεμος γένηται, τότε δή καὶ ἄκων μετά τε αἰσχύνης καὶ μετὰ κακοδοξίας, ώς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ συνειδότος ἐθελοντὴς 5 πεφευγώς, μετέστη. πρὶν δὲ δὴ ἀφορμῆσαι, ἔς τε τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνέβη καὶ ἀγαλμάτιον τι 'Αθηνᾶς άνέθηκε, Φυλακίδα αὐτὴν ὀνομάσας. ὑπεξήλθε δέ ές Σικελίαν προστάτης τε γαρ αυτών έγεγόνει, καὶ ἐλπίδα πολλὴν ἔν τε τοῖς δήμοις καὶ ἐν τοις ιδιώταις τῷ τε ἄρχοντι αὐτῶν είχε τιμηθή-6 σεσθαι. φυγόντος δ' αὐτοῦ ὁ νόμος τὸ κῦρος, ούχ ὅπως οὐκ ἐναντιωθέντος τινός, ἀλλὰ καὶ σπουδασάντων ἄλλων τε καὶ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων οἵπερ τὰ 1 τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀνὰ πρώτους πράττειν ἐδόκουν, έπειδήπερ απαξ έκποδων έγεγόνει, έλαβε καὶ ή τε οὐσία αὐτοῦ ἐδημεύθη, καὶ ἡ οἰκία ὥσπερ τινὸς πολεμίου κατεσκάφη, τό τε έδαφος αὐτῆς ἐς νεὼν 7 'Ελευθερίας ἀνέθηκαν. αὐτῷ τε ἐκείνῷ ή τε φυγή 1 οίπερ τὰ Bs., δ ὑπὲρ L.

cerning the events of that time, as he had cast his B.C. 58 vote in favour of sparing their lives, but it was not fitting for any such law to be drawn up with regard to events now past. This was Caesar's advice. Crassus showed some favour to Cicero through his son, but himself took the side of the multitude. Pompey kept promising him assistance, but by making various excuses at different times and purposely arranging many journeys out of town, failed to defend him.

Cicero, perceiving this, became afraid and again undertook to resort to arms, among other things even abusing Pompey openly; but he was stopped by Cato and Hortensius, for fear a civil war might result. Then at last he departed, against his will, and with the shame and ill-repute of having gone into exile voluntarily, as if conscience-stricken. But before leaving he ascended the Capitol and dedicated a little image of Minerva, whom styled "Protectress." And he set out secretly for Sicily; for he had once been governor there, and entertained a lively hope that he should be honoured among its towns and private citizens and by their governor. On his departure the law took effect; so far from meeting with any opposition, it was supported, as soon as he was once out of the way, by those very persons, among others, who had seemed to be the most active workers in Cicero's behalf. His property was confiscated, his house was razed to the ground, as though it had been an enemy's, and its site was dedicated for a temple of Liberty. Against Cicero himself a decree of exile

ἐπετιμήθη καὶ ἡ ἐν τῆ Σικελία διατριβὴ ἀπερρήθη· τρισχιλίους τε γὰρ καὶ ἐπτακοσίους καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίους ὑπὲρ τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπερωρίσθη, καὶ προσεπεκηρύχθη ἵν' εἰ δή ποτε ἐντὸς αὐτῶν φανείη, καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ὑποδεξάμενοι αὐτὸν ἀνατὶ διόλωνται.

18 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν διὰ τοῦτο μετέστη καὶ ἐκεῖ διέτριβεν ὀδυρόμενος ἐντυχὼν δ' αὐτῷ Φιλίσκος τις ἀνὴρ ἔν τε ταῖς ᾿Αθήναις συγγεγονώς οἱ καὶ τότε κατὰ τύχην ¹ συντυχών, "οὐκ αἰσχύνη," ἔφη, "ὧ Κικέρων, θρηνῶν καὶ γυναικείως διακείμενος; ὡς ἔγωγε οὔποτ' ἄν σε προσεδόκησα οὕτω μαλακισθήσεσθαι, πολλῆς μὲν παιδείας καὶ παντοδαπῆς μετεσχηκότα, πολ-

λοίς δὲ καὶ συνηγορηκότα."

Καί δς ύπολαβών εἶπεν, " ἀλλ' οὐδέν τοι ὅμοιόν ἐστιν, ὧ Φιλίσκε, ὑπὲρ ἄλλων τέ τινα λέγειν καὶ ἑαυτῷ συμβουλεύειν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων λεγόμενα, ἀπὸ ὀρθῆς καὶ ἀδιαφθόρου τῆς γνώμης προϊόντα, καιρὸν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα λαμβάνει ὅταν δὲ δὴ πάθημά τι τὴν ψυχὴν καταλάβη, θολοῦται καὶ σκοτοῦται καὶ οὐδὲν δύναται καίριον ἐννοῆσαι. ὅθεν που πάνυ καλῶς εἴρηται ὅτι ῥᾳον παραινέσαι ἑτέροις ἐστὶν ἡ αὐτὸν παθόντα καρτερῆσαι."

3 "Λέγεις μέν τι," ἔφη ὁ Φιλίσκος, "ἀνθρώπινον οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἢξίουν σε, τοσαύτη μὲν φρονήσει κεχρημένον τοσαύτην δὲ σοφίαν ἢσκηκότα, μὴ οὐ προπαρεσκευάσθαι πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, ἵν' εἴ τι καὶ παράλογόν σοι προσπέσοι, μήτι γε²

τύχην Bs., τὴν τύχην L.
 μήτι γε Dind., μήτοι γε L.

was passed, and he was forbidden to tarry in Sicily; B.C. 58 for he was banished five hundred miles I from Rome, and it was further proclaimed that if he should ever appear within those limits, both he and those who harboured him might be slain with impunity.

He accordingly went over to Macedonia and spent his time there in lamentations. But there met him a man named Philiscus, who had made his acquaintance in Athens and now by chance fell in with him again. "Are you not ashamed, Cicero," he said, "to be weeping and behaving like a woman? Really, I should never have expected that you, who have enjoyed such an excellent and varied education, and who have acted as advocate to many, would grow so faint-hearted."

"But," replied the other, "it is not at all the same thing, Philiscus, to speak for others as to advise one's self. The words spoken in others' behalf, proceeding from a mind that is firm and unshaken, are most opportune; but when some affliction overwhelms the spirit, it becomes turbid and darkened and cannot reason out anything that is opportune. For this reason, I suppose, it has been very well said that it is easier to counsel others than to be strong oneself under suffering."

"That is but human nature," rejoined Philiscus. "I did not think, however, that you, who are gifted with so much sound sense and have practised so much wisdom, had failed to prepare yourself for all human possibilities, so that even if some unexpected accident should befall you, it would not find you

¹ Literally 3,750 stades; Dio regularly reckons 7½ instead of 8 stades to the (Roman) mile. Cf. p. 61 and note. The distance here given agrees with Plutarch's statement (Cic. 32), but Cicero himself (ad Att. iii. 4) says 400 miles.

4 καὶ ἄφρακτόν σε εὕροι. ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν ἐν τούτω καθέστηκας, . . . καὶ γὰρ ἄν τι ώφελήσαιμί σε διαλεξάμενός τι των προσφόρων, ίν ωσπερ οί τὰ Φορτία συναιρόμενοί τισιν έπικουφίζουσιν αὐτούς, καὶ ἐγώ σοι τὸ πάθος τοῦτο έπελαφρύναιμι, τοσούτω ράον εκείνων δσω μηδε 5 τὸ βραγύτατον αὐτοῦ μεταλήψομαι. οὐ γάρ που καὶ ἀπαξιώσεις παραμυθίου τινὸς παρ' έτέρου τυγείν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτάρκης έαυτῷ ἦσθα, οὐδὲν αν ημίν των λόγων τούτων έδει νύν δ' δμοιον πέπουθας ώσπερ εί Ίπποκράτης η Δημοκήδης η καὶ ἄλλος τις τῶν πάνυ ἰατρῶν νοσήματι δυσιάτω περιπεσών άλλοτρίας χειρός πρός την άκεσιν αὐτοῦ προσεδεήθη.1"

"'Αλλ' εἴ γέ τινα," ἔφη ὁ Κικέρων, " τοιοῦτον ἔχεις λόγον ὥστε τὴν ἀχλύν μου ταύτην ἀπὸ τῆς 19 ψυχης άφελειν και ές το άρχαιόν με φως έπαναγαγείν, ετοιμότατός είμι ἀκούειν. ὥσπερ γὰρ τῶν φαρμάκων, ούτω δη καὶ τῶν λόγων καὶ διαφοραὶ πολλαί και δυνάμεις ποικίλαι είσιν, ώστ' οὐδεν θαυμαστον εί καὶ έμε τον λαμπρον έν τε τη γερουσία καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῖς τε δικαστη-

ρίοις σοφία τινὶ καταιονήσειας."
"Φέρε οὖν," εἶπεν ὁ Φιλίσκος, "ἐπειδήπερ άκούειν ετοιμος εί, σκεψώμεθα πρώτον μεν εί κακὰ ώς άληθως έστι ταθτα τὰ περιεστηκότα σε, έπειτα δὲ τίνα τρόπον αὐτὰ ἀκεσόμεθα. ἐγὼ τοίνυν πρώτον μεν άπάντων δρώ σε ύγιαίνοντα τώ σώματι καὶ εὖ μάλα ἐρρωμένον, ὅπερ που πρῶτον κατά φύσιν άγαθόν έστιν άνθρώποις, έπειτα δὲ τὰ

¹ προσεδεήθη Rk., προσδεηθηι L.

unfortified at any point. But since, now, you are in B.C. 58 this plight, . . . 1 for I might be of some little assistance to you by rehearsing a few appropriate arguments. And thus, just as men who put a hand to other's burdens relieve them, so I might lighten this misfortune of yours, and the more easily than they, inasmuch as I shall not take upon myself even the smallest part of it. Surely you will not deem it unbecoming, I trust, to receive some encouragement from another, since if you were sufficient for yourself, we should have no need of these words. As it is, you are in a like case to Hippocrates or Democedes or any of the other great physicians, if one of them had fallen ill of a disease hard to cure and had need of another's aid to bring about his own recovery."

"Indeed," said Cicero, "if you have any argument that will dispel this mist from my soul and restore me to the light of old, I am most ready to listen. For words, as drugs, are of many varieties, and divers potencies, so that it will not be surprising if you should be able to steep in some mixture of philosophy even me, for all my brilliant feats in the senate, the assemblies, and the law-courts."

"Come then," continued Philiscus, "since you are ready to listen, let us consider first whether these conditions that surround you are actually bad, and next in what way we may cure them. First of all, now, I see you are in excellent physical health and strength, which is surely man's chief natural blessing; and, next, that you have the necessities of

¹ The gap may be filled by some such words as, "I will endeavour to offer you some encouragement," or "Listen to me," as suggested by Bs.

3 ἐπιτήδεια αὐτάρκη κεκτημένον, ὥστε μήτε πεινῆν μήτε διψην η ριγούν η και άλλο τι άτοπον ύπ' άπορίας ύπομένειν, δ δή καὶ δεύτερον εἰκότως ἄν τις αγαθον ανθρώπω φύσει τιθείη. ὅταν γάρ τινι η τε τοῦ σώματος σύστασις εὖ 1 ἔχη καὶ διαρκεῖν . ἀφροντιστῶν δύνηται, πάντα τὰ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν έπιβάλλοντα καρποῦται."

Ο οὖν Κικέρων ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη, "ἀλλ' οὐδὲν 20 των τοιούτων ὄφελός έστιν, ὅταν του τὴν ψυχὴν λυπη τι καὶ δάκνη· πολλῷ γὰρ πλεῖον ² αί έκείνης φροντίδες ταλαιπωροῦσί τινα ἡ αἱ τοῦ σώματος εὐπάθειαι τέρπουσιν. ὥσπερ καὶ ἐγὼ νῦν οὐδὲν οὕτε τῆς τοῦ σώματος ὑγιείας προτιμῶ, νοσων γε την γνώμην, ούτε της των έπιτηδείων

εὐπορίας πολλῶν γὰρ ἀπεστέρημαι."

Καὶ ὅς, " καὶ τοῦτό σε," ἔφη, " λυπεῖ; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐνδεήσεσθαι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἔμελλες, λόγον ἄν τινα είχεν ἄχθεσθαί σε τοῖς ἀπολωλόσιν εἰ δὲ έκπλεά σοι πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ὑπάρχει, τί ἀνιᾶ ότι μη και πλείω κέκτησαι; παν γαρ το ύπερ την χρείαν τινι ον περιττόν έστι, και έν τῷ ἴσω και 3 παρον και άπον καθέστηκεν, έπεί τοι και πρότερον οὐδὲν δήπου τοῖς μη ἀναγκαίοις ἐχρῶ, ὥστε καὶ τότε μη είναι ὧν μη ἔχρηζες ἡ καί νῦν είναι ὧν μη δέη νόμιζε. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ πατρῷά σοι τὰ πολλά αὐτῶν γέγονεν, ώστε σε σπουδην ίδιωτέραν περὶ αὐτὰ ποιεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ ὑπό τε τῆς γλώττης καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων σου πεπόρισται, δι'οὺς καὶ 4 ἀπόλωλεν. οὔκουν ἀγανακτεῖν προσήκει εἰ καθά-

¹ ἥ τε . . . εὖ Rk., ἣ . . . εὖ τε L. ² πλεῖον Rk., πλείονα L.

life in sufficiency so as not to hunger or thirst or B.C. 58 suffer cold or endure any other hardship through lack of means—which may appropriately be set down as the second natural blessing for man. For when one's physical condition is good and one can live without anxiety, all the factors essential to happiness are enjoyed."

To this Cicero replied: "But not one of these things is of use when some grief is preying upon one's mind; for mental cares cause one far more distress than bodily comforts cause pleasure. Even so, I also at present set no value on my physical health, because I am suffering in mind, nor yet on the abundance of necessaries; for my loss is great

indeed "

"And does this grieve you?" replied the other. "Now if you were going to be in want of things needful, there would be some reason for your being annoyed at your loss. But since you have all the necessaries in full measure, why do you distress yourself because you do not possess more? For all that one has beyond one's needs is superfluous, and amounts to the same thing whether present or absent; since surely you did not make use formerly of what was not necessary. Consider, therefore, either that then what you did not need you did not have, or else that you now have what you do not need. Most of these things, indeed, were not yours by inheritance, that you should be particularly exercised about them, but were acquired by your own tongue and by your own words—the very things which caused you to lose them. You should not therefore be vexed if things have

24 I

περ ἐκτήθη τινά, οὕτω καὶ ἀπεβλήθη. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὶ οἱ ναύκληροι πάνυ χαλεπῶς φέρουσι πολλὰ ζημιούμενοι· λογίζεσθαι γάρ, οἶμαι, φρονίμως ἐπίστανται ὅτι ἡ θάλαττα ἡ διδοῦσά σφισιν αὐτὰ καὶ ἀραιοεῖται

καὶ ἀφαιρεῖται.

21 "Καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἰκανά· ἀποχρῆν τε γὰρ ἀνθρώπφ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν τὸ τὰ ἀρκοῦντα κεκτῆσθαι καὶ μηδενὸς ὧν τὸ σῶμα χρήζει προσδεῖσθαι νομίζω, καὶ πᾶν τὸ περιττὸν καὶ φροντίδας 2 καὶ πράγματα καὶ φθόνους ἔχειν ἡγοῦμαι. ἐπειδη δὲ ἔφησθα ὅτι οὐδεμία ἀπόλαυσις τῶν τοῦ σώματος ἀγαθῶν ἐστιν, ἂν μὴ καὶ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς προσυπάρχη τινί, ἔστι μὲν ἀληθὴς ὁ λόγος (ἀδύνατον γάρ, κακῶς αὐτῆς ἐχούσης, μὴ οὐ καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτῆ συννοσεῖν), ἐγὰ μέντοι πολλῷ ῥᾶον οἴομαι εἶναι τῆς εὐεξίας τῆς γνώμης ἐπιμεληθῆναί 3 τινι ἡ τῆς τοῦ σώματος. τοῦτο μὲν γάρ, ἄτε καὶ σάρκινον ὄν, πολλὰ μὲν ἄτοπα ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχει, πολλῆς δὲ ἐπικουρίας παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου δεῖται ἐκείνη δὲ δή, οἶα θειοτέρας φύσεως οὖσα, καὶ ἡυθμίζεσθαι καὶ νουθετεῖσθαι ἡαδίως δύναται. οὐκοῦν κἀνταῦθα ἴδωμεν τί τέ σοι τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγαθῶν ἀπέστη, καὶ τί τῶν κακῶν προσγενόμενον οὐκ ἃν ἀποτριψαίμεθα.

2 "'Ορῶ τοίνυν ἔγωγε πρῶτον μὲν φρονιμώτατόν σε ἀνθρώπων ὄντα· τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι πλεῖστα μὲν καὶ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον, ἐν οἶς συνεβούλευσάς τι αὐτοῖς, ἔπεισας, πλεῖστα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἰδιώτας, ἐν οἶς συνηγόρησάς σφισιν, ἀφέλησας.

2 ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ δικαιότατον πανταχοῦ γοῦν ὑπέρ τε τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τῶν φίλων ἀνταγωνιζόμενος τοῦς ἐπιβουλεύουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐξήτασαι· καὶ αὐτά

been lost in the same manner in which they B.C. 78 were won. Ship-masters, for example, do not take it greatly to heart when they suffer great losses; for they understand, I suspect, how to take the sensible view of it, namely, that the sea which gives them wealth takes it away again.

"So much for the present point; for I think it should be enough for a man's happiness to have a sufficiency and to lack nothing that the body requires, and I hold that everything in excess involves anxiety, trouble, and jealousy. As for your saving, now, that there is no enjoyment of physical blessings unless those of the spirit are also present. that is indeed true, since it is impossible, if the spirit is in a poor state, that the body should fail to share in its ailment; nevertheless, I think it much easier for one to look after his mental health than his physical. For the body, being of flesh, contains in itself many dangers and requires much assistance from the divine power; whereas the spirit, of a nature more divine, can easily be trained and prompted. Let us see here also, then, what spiritual blessing has abandoned you and what evil has come upon you that we may not shake off.

"First, then, I see that you are a man of the greatest sagacity. The proof is that you so often persuaded both the senate and the people in cases where you gave them advice, and so often helped private citizens in cases where you acted as their advocate. And secondly, I see that you are a most just man. Certainly you have always been found contending for your country and for your friends against those who plotted their ruin. Indeed, this

. βέβηκέ σοι ἢ ὅτι πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς 3 πολιτείας καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων διετέλεις. καὶ μην ότι καὶ σωφροσύνης ές τὰ πρώτα ἀνήκεις, αὐτὸ τὸ ἐπιτήδευμά σου δηλοῖ· οὐ γὰρ οἰόν τ' έστὶ δουλεύοντά τινα ταις τοῦ σώματος ήδοναις έν μέσφ τε ἀεὶ φαίνεσθαι καὶ ἐν τῆ ἀγορῷ ἀναστρέφεσθαι, μαρτύρια τὰ ἡμερινὰ ἔργα τῶν νυ-4 κτερινών ποιούμενον. οὕτω δὲ δὴ τούτων ἐχόντων έγω μέν σε καὶ ἀνδρειότατον ῷμην εἰναι, τοσαύτη μὲν ρωμη διανοίας τοσαύτη δὲ καὶ ἰσχύι λόγων χρώμενον συ δέ, ως ἔοικας, αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ ἐκπλαγείς ὅτι παρά τε τὴν ἐλπίδα καὶ παρὰ τὴν άξίαν ἔπταισας, παρήρησαί τι τοῦ σφόδρα ἀν-5 δρείου. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπολήψη τοιούτων δε των κατά σε όντων, και εθ μεν ήκοντος τοθ σώματος εὖ δὲ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, οὐχ ὁρῶ τί τὸ λυποῦν ἐστί σε."

23 Ταῦτα αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος ὁ Κικέρων ἔφη "οὐ δοκεῖ οὖν σοι μέγα κακὸν εἶναι ἀτιμία καὶ φυγή, καὶ τὸ μήτ' οἴκοι διατρίβειν μήτε² μετὰ τῶν φίλων εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος μεθ' ὕβρεως ἐκπεπτωκότα ζῆν ἐν ἀλλοτρία γῆ καὶ ἀλᾶσθαι, φυγάδα προσαγορευόμενον, καὶ γέλωτα μὲν τοῖς ἐχθροῦς αἶσχος δὲ τοῖς οἰκείοις παρέχοντα;"

Οὐδαμῆ ἔμοιγε" εἶπεν ὁ Φιλίσκος. "δύο γὰρ τούτων ὄντων ἐξ ὧν συνεστήκαμεν, ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος, καὶ ρητῶν ἑκατέρω παρ' αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως καὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν δεδομένων, εἰ μέν τι περὶ ταῦθ' ἀμαρτάνοιτο, καὶ βλαβερὸν ἂν

1 γε H. Steph., τε L. 2 μήτε supplied by Gros.

very misfortune which you have now suffered has B.C. 58 befallen vou for no other reason than that you continued to say and do everything in behalf of the laws and of the constitution. Again, that you have attained the highest degree of self-mastery is shown by your very course of life, since it is not possible for a man who is a slave to sensual pleasures to appear constantly in public and to go to and fro in the Forum, making his deeds by day witnesses of those by night. This being the case, I, for my part, supposed you were also very brave, enjoying, as you did, such force of intellect and such power of oratory. But it seems that, startled out of yourself through having failed contrary to your hopes and deserts, you have fallen a little short of true courage. But you will regain this immediately, and as you are thus equipped as I have pointed out, with a good physical endowment as well as cannot see what it is that is distressing you."

At the end of this speech of his Cicero replied: "There seems to you, then, to be no great evil in disfranchisement and exile and in not living at home or being with your friends, but, instead, being expelled with violence from your country, living in a foreign land, and wandering about with the name of exile, causing laughter to your enemies and disgrace to your friends?"

"Not in the least, so far as I can see," declared "There are two elements of which we are constituted, soul and body, and definite blessings and evils are given to each of the two by Nature herself. Now if there should be any defect in these two, it would properly be considered injurious and

εἰκότως καὶ αἰσχρὸν νομίζοιτο, εἰ δ' ὀρθῶς ἔχοι, 3 καὶ μᾶλλον ᾶν ωφέλιμον εἴη. δ καὶ σοὶ νῦν ὑπάρχει. τὰ γὰρ δὴ ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνα, αί φυγαὶ ικαὶ αὶ ἀτιμίαι, καὶ εἰ δή τι τοιοῦτον ἔτερον, νόμω τε καὶ δοκήσει τινὶ καὶ αἰσγρὰ καὶ κακά ἐστι, καὶ οὐδὲν οὔτε τῶ σώματι οὔτε τῆ ψυχῆ λυμαίνεται. ποίον μεν γαρ αν σωμα είπειν έχοις νενοσηκος η καὶ ἀπολωλός, ποίαν δὲ ψυχὴν ἀδικωτέραν ἡ καὶ άμαθεστέραν γεγονυΐαν ὑπ΄ς ἀτιμίας καὶ φυγῆς ή και άλλου τινὸς των τοιούτων; έγω μέν γαρ 4 ούχ όρω. το δε αίτιον ότι οὐδεν σφων φύσει κακόν έστιν, ώσπερ οὐδ' 3 ή έπιτιμία οὐδ' ή έν τῆ πατρίδι διατριβή φύσει χρηστή, άλλ' όποιά ποτ' άν τις εκαστος ήμων περί αυτά δοξάση, τοιαυτα 5 καὶ δοκεῖ εἶναι. αὐτίκα τὴν ἀτιμίαν οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς παντελώς ἄνθρωποι νομίζουσιν. άλλ' έστιν à των έργων έπαίτια παρά τισίν όντα παρ άλλοις έπαινείται, καὶ έτερα πρὸς τινῶν τιμώμενα πρὸς ετέρων κολάζεται εἰσὶ δὲ οῖ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν 6 οὔτε τὸ ὄνομα οὔτε τὸ ἔργον αὐτῆς ἴσασι. καὶ πάνυ εἰκότως. ὅσα γὰρ μὴ προσάπτεται ὁ τῶν τῆ φύσει τοῦ ἀνθρώπου προσηκόντων, οὐδ' ἀνήκειν ές αὐτὸν νομίζεται. ωσπερ αν οὖν, εἰ κρίσις τις ή και ψήφισμά τι έγένετο τὸν δείνα νοσείν ή τὸν δείνα αἰσγρὸν εἶναι, γελοιότατον αν δήπουθεν ην. ούτω καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀτιμίας ἔχει.

"Τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ τὴν φυγὴν ἔγωγε 24 όρω ὄν. ἀποδημία γάρ τις ἄτιμός ἐστιν, ὥστ' είπερ αὐτὴ καθ' αύτὴν ἡ ἀτιμία μηδεμίαν κακίαν

αί φυγαί supplied by Rk.
 αί φυγαί supplied by Rk.
 οὐδ' Bk., οὐθ' L.
 νομίζουσιν Bk., νομίζουσιν ἐπιτιμίαν L. 5 προσάπτεται R. Steph., προσάπτηται L. 6 εί H. Steph., ή L.

disgraceful; but if all should be right with them, it B.C. 58 would be useful instead. This is your condition at the present moment. Those things which you mentioned. banishment and disfranchisement, and anything else of the sort, are disgraceful and evil only by convention and a certain popular opinion, and work no injury to either body or soul. What body could you cite that has fallen ill or perished and what spirit that has grown more unjust or even more ignorant through disfranchisement or exile or anything of that sort? I see none. And the reason is that no one of these things is by nature evil, just as neither citizenship nor residence in one's country is in itself excellent, but whatever opinion each one of us holds about them, such they seem to be. For instance, men do not universally apply the penalty of disfranchisement to the same acts, but certain deeds which are reprehensible in some places are praised in others, and various actions honoured by one people are punished by another. Indeed, some do not so much as know the name, nor the thing which it implies. naturally enough; for whatever does not touch that which belongs to man's nature is thought to have no bearing upon him. Precisely in the same way, therefore, as it would be most ridiculous, surely, if some judgment or decree were to be rendered that So-and-so is sick or So-and-so is base, so does the case stand regarding disfranchisement.

"The same thing I find to be true in regard to exile. It is a sojourn abroad involving disfranchisement; so that if disfranchisement in and of itself

έχει, οὐδὲ τῆ φυγῆ δήπου προστρίψασθαί τι 2 κακὸν δύναται, ἐπεὶ τήν γε ἄλλως συχνοὶ πλεῖστον δσον χρόνον οι μέν ἄκοντες οι δὲ καὶ ἐκόντες άποδημοῦσι, καί τινες καὶ πάντα τὸν βίον καταναλίσκουσι περινοστούντες, ώσπερ άεὶ πανταχόθεν έξελαυνόμενοι, καὶ οὐδεν μέντοι παρά τοῦτο 3 βλάπτεσθαι νομίζουσιν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ διαφέρει τι έκούσιον τινα ή μη τοῦτο ποιείν · οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ό άκων σωμασκών ήττον τι έρρωται τοῦ έθελοντὶ αὐτὸ δρῶντος, οὐδ' ὁ ἄκων ναυτιλλόμενος ήττω 1 τινα ωφελίαν του ετέρου κτάται. και αυτό γε τοῦτο τὸ ἀκούσιον οὐχ ὁρῶ δυνάμενον ἀνδρὶ 4 Φρονίμω συμβήναι. ώστ' εἴπερ ἐν τούτω διάφορον τοῦ τε εὖ καὶ τοῦ κακῶς πράττειν ἐστὶν ότι² τὰ μὲν ἐθελονταὶ ἐτοίμως τὰ δ' ἄκοντες χαλεπώς ποιούμεν,3 εὐθεράπευτον 4 έὰν γάρ τοι πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἐκούσιοι ὑπομένωμεν καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν αὐτῶν ἡττώμεθα, συνανήρηται πάντα 5 κάκείνα, όσα αν έν τω άκουσίω θη τις είναι. καὶ γάρ που καὶ ἀρχαίος λόγος καὶ μάλα εὖ ἔχων έστιν ὅτι δει ἡμᾶς μὴ ὅσα ᾶν βουλώμεθα ἀξιοῦν γίγνεσθαι, άλλ' ὅσα αν ἔκ τινος ἀνάγκης γίγνηται βούλεσθαι. οὔτε γὰρ αὐθαίρετον τὸν τοῦ βίου τρόπον ἔχομεν οὔθ' αὧτῶν ⁶ ἐσμέν · ἀλλ' ὅπως ἂν 6 τῆ τύχη δόξη, καὶ ὁποῖος ᾶν ἐκάστω ἡμῶν δαίμων έκπληρωτής τοῦ τεταγμένου δοθή, τοιοῦτον ἀνάγκη καὶ ἐκείνον ἡμᾶς ποιείσθαι, 25

"Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτά ἐστιν, ἄν τ' ἐθέλωμεν ἄν

¹ ήττω Bs., ήττωνα L. 2 571 added by Leuncl.

³ ποιουμεν R. Steph., ποιώμεν L.

^{*} εὐθεράπευτον R. Steph., εὐθεράπευτος L.

⁵ συνανήρηται Rk., συνανήρτηται L. 6 οδθ' αύτῶν R. Steph., οδτ' αὐτῶν L.

contains no evil, surely no evil can be attached to B.C. 58 exile either. In fact, many live abroad anyway for very long periods, some unwillingly, but others willingly; and some even spend their whole life travelling about, just as if they were expelled from every place in turn; and yet they do not regard themselves as being injured in doing so. Nor does it make any difference whether a man does it voluntarily or not; the man who trains his body unwillingly is no less strong than he who does it willingly, and one who goes on a voyage unwillingly obtains no less benefit than another. And as regards this unwillingness itself, I do not see how it can exist with a man of sense. Accordingly, if the difference between being well and badly off is that we do some things readily and voluntarily, while we perform others unwillingly and grudgingly, the trouble can easily be remedied. For if we willingly endure all necessary things and allow none of them to conquer us, all those matters in which one might assume unwillingness have been done away with at a single stroke. There is, indeed, an old saving and a very good one, to the effect that we ought not to demand that whatever we wish should come to pass, but to wish for whatever does come to pass as the result of any necessity. For we neither have free choice in our manner of life nor are we our own masters; but according as it may suit chance, and according to the character of the fortune granted each one of us for the fulfilment of what is ordained, we must also shape our life.

"Such is the nature of the case whether we like it

τε καὶ μή εἰ δέ σε οὐχὶ η ἀτιμία αὐτη οὐδ ηφυγη αὐτη 1 λυπεῖ, άλλ' ὅτι μη μόνον μηδὲν ήδικηκώς την πατρίδα άλλα και πολλά εὐηργετηκως ήτίμωσαί τε καὶ έξελήλασαι, λόγισαι τοῦθ', ότι ἐπειδήπερ ἄπαξ ἐπέπρωτό σοι τοιοῦτό τι παθείν, κάλλιστον δήπου και άριστον συμβέβηκε 2 τὸ μηδὲν ἀδικήσαντά σε ἐπηρεάσθαι.2 σὺ 3 μὲν γαρ πάντα τὰ καθήκοντα τοῖς πολίταις συνεβούλευσας καὶ ἔπραξας, οὐκ ἰδιωτεύων ἀλλ' ὑπατεύων, οὐδ' ἰδία τι πολυπραγμονών ἀλλὰ τοῖς τῆς βουλής δόγμασι πειθόμενος, οὐ κατὰ στάσιν ἀλλ' 3 ἐπὶ τῷ βελτίστω γενομένοις έ ὁ δεῖνα δὲ καὶ ό δείνα έκ δυναστείας καὶ έπηρείας πάντα κατά σοῦ συνεσκευάσαντο, ὥστ' ἐκείνοις μὲν καὶ ἄχθεσθαι καὶ λυπεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τῆ ἀδικία προσήκει, σοὶ δὲ δὴ ἀνδρείως φέρειν τὰ δόξαντα τῷ δαίμονι καὶ 4 καλον καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἐστιν. οὐ γάρ που μᾶλλον αν εθελήσαις 5 τως τε Κατιλίνα συμπράξας καὶ τῶ Λευτούλω συνομόσας, καὶ πάντα μὲν τάναντία τῶν συμφερόντων τῆ πατρίδι παραινέσας, μηδὲν δὲ τῶν προσταχθέντων σοι ὑπ' αὐτῆς ποιήσας, οἴκοι μένειν ἀδικήσας $\mathring{\eta}^6$ κατορθώσας φυγεῖν. 5 οὐκοῦν εἰ καὶ τῆς δόξης σοι μέλει, πολλ $\mathring{\varphi}$ που αίρετώτερου έστι μηδέν αδικήσαντά σε έκπεπτωκέναι ή κακουργήσαντά τι οίκοι μεμενηκέναι τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ἡ αἰσχύνη τοῖς ἀδίκως ἐκβαλοῦσί τινα, ἀλλ' οὐ τῶ κατ' ἐπήρειαν ἐξελαθέντι8 προσγίγνεται.

αὐτὴ Rk., αὕτη L.
 ἀπηρεάσθαι Bk., ἐπηρέσθαι L.
 σὸ Pflugk, καὶ σὸ L.
 ἡ γενομένοις Pflugk, γενόμενος L.
 ἐθελήσαις H. Steph., ἐθελῆσαι L.
 ἡ à added by Xyl.

⁷ ἐκβαλοῦσι Βk., ἐκβάλλουσιν L. 8 ἐξελαθέντι Dind., ἐξελασθέντι L.

or not. If, now, it is not disfranchisement in itself or B.C. 58 exile in itself that troubles you, but the fact that you have not only done your country no injury but have actually benefited her greatly, and yet you have been disfranchised and expelled, look at it in this way-that, when once it was destined for you to have such an experience, it has surely been the noblest and the best fortune that could befall you to be despitefully used without having committed any wrong. For you advised and carried all that was proper for the citizens, not as an individual but as consul, not meddling officiously in a private capacity but obeying the decrees of the senate, which were not passed as party measures but for the best ends. This and that person, on the contrary, out of their superior power insolence devised everything against you; hence they ought to have trouble and sorrow for their injustice, but for you it is noble as well as necessary to bear bravely what Heaven has determined. Surely you would not prefer to have joined with Catiline and conspired with Lentulus, to have given your country the exact opposite of useful counsel, to have performed none of the duties laid upon you by her, and thus remain at home as the reward of wickedness, instead of saving your country and being exiled. Accordingly, if you care at all about your reputation, it is far preferable, I am sure, for you to have been driven out, after doing no wrong, than to have remained at home by performing some base act; for, apart from other considerations, the shame attaches to those who have unjustly cast a man forth, rather than to the man who has been wantonly expelled.

"Καίτοι ἔγωγε ἀκούω τοῦθ', ὅτι οὐκ ἄκων οὐδ' 26 άλοὺς 1 μετέστης, 2 άλλ' έθελοντης εμίσησας τὸν μετ' αὐτῶν βίον, ἄτε μήτε βελτίους σφᾶς ποιῆσαι δυνάμενος μήτε συναπολέσθαι σφίσιν υπομένων, καὶ ἔφυγες οὐ τὴν πατρίδα ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐτῆ. ὥστ' ἐκείνοι μὲν καὶ ἄτιμοι καὶ έξόριστοι είεν ἄν, πάντα τάγαθὰ ἐκ τῶν ψυχῶν 2 έκβεβληκότες, σὺ δὲ ἐπίτιμος καὶ εὐδαίμων, μήτ' άτόπως τινὶ δουλεύων καὶ πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα έγων, ἄν τε ἐν Σικελία ἄν τε ἐν Μακεδονία ἄν τε καὶ ἄλλοθί που της οἰκουμένης ζην έθελήσης. οὐ γαρ δήπου τα χωρία οὔτε εὐτυχίαν οὔτε κακοδαιμονίαν τινα δίδωσιν, άλλα και αυτός εκαστος . αύτῷ καὶ πατρίδα καὶ εὐδαιμονίαν ἀεὶ καὶ παν-3 ταχοῦ ποιεί. καὶ ταῦθ' ὁ Κάμιλλος ἐννοήσας 3 ήδέως ἐν ᾿Αρδέα κατώκησε, ταῦθ᾽ ὁ Σκιπίων λογισάμενος αλύπως εν Λιτέρνω κατεβίω. τί γαρ δεί τὸν 'Αριστείδην, τί δὲ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα λέγειν, οῦς ἐνδοξοτέρους ἡ φυγὴ ἐποίησεν, τί τὸν Αννι...4 τί τον Σόλωνα, ος έκων έτη δέκα ἀπεξενώθη:

4 "Μὴ οὖν μηδὲ σὰ μήτε χαλεπόν τι τῶν τοιούτων, ἃ μήτε τῆ τοῦ σώματος μήτε τῆ τῆς ψυχῆς ήμῶν φύσει προσήκει, νόμιζε εἶναι, μήτ' ἀγανάκτει τοῖς προσπεπτωκόσιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' αἵρεσίς τις ἔστιν ἡμῖν τοῦ ζῆν ὅπως ἂν ἐθελήσωμεν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἀλλὰ ἀνάγκη πᾶσα ὑπο μένειν ἡμᾶς τὰ δοκοῦντα τῷ δαιμονίῳ. τοῦτο δὲ ἂν μὲν ἐθελονταὶ ποιῶμεν, οὐ λυπησόμεθα, ἂν δὲ

άλοὺs R. Steph., άλλους L.
 μετέστης Βk., μετέστησας L.
 ἐννοήσας Rk., εὖ νοήσας L.

⁴ "Αννιον L, 'Αννίβαν Fabricius. 5 τη supplied by Leuncl.

"Moreover, the story, as I heard it, was that you B.C. 58 did not depart unwillingly, nor after conviction, but of your own accord; that you hated to live with them, seeing that you could not make them better and would not endure to perish with them, and that you fled, not from your country, but from those who were plotting against her. Consequently it would be they who are dishonoured and banished, having cast out all that is good from their souls, and it would be you who are honoured and fortunate, as being nobody's slave in unseemly fashion but possessing all that is needful, whether you choose to live in Sicily, or in Macedonia, or anywhere else in the world. For surely it is not places that give either success or misfortune of any sort, but each man creates his own country and his own happiness always and everywhere. This was the feeling of Camillus when he was fain to dwell in Ardea; this was the way Scipio reasoned when he spent his last days in Liternum without grieving. But why mention Aristides or Themistocles, men whom exile rendered more famous, or . . . 1 or Solon, who of his own accord left home for ten years?

"Therefore, do you likewise cease to consider irksome any such thing as pertains neither to our physical nor to our spiritual nature, and do not vex yourself at what has happened. For to us belongs no choice, as I told you, of living as we please, but it is absolutely necessary for us to endure what Heaven determines. If we do this voluntarily, we shall not be grieved; but if involuntarily, we shall

¹ Annius, the Ms. reading, is corrupt; perhaps Hannibal is meant. In any case a relative clause appears to have been lost after the name.

άκόντως, οὕτε 1 ἐκφευξόμεθά τι τῶν πεπρωμένων, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον τῶν κακῶν προσεπικτησόμεθα, 6 τὸ μάτην ἀνιᾶσθαι. τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι οἱ μὲν καὶ τὰ ἀτοπώτατα εὐκόλως φέροντες ἐν οὐδενὶ δεινῷ καθεστηκέναι νομίζουσιν, οί δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐλαφροτάτοις βαρυνόμενοι πάντα τὰ έξ ἀνθρώπων κακὰ έχειν ύποπτεύουσι καὶ έτεροι, οί μεν καὶ τὰ άμείνω κακώς οί δὲ καὶ τὰ χείρω καλώς μεταχειριζόμενοι, τοιαθτα καλ τοίς άλλοις ² εκάτερα δοκείν είναι ποιούσιν οία αύτοις είναι παρασκευά-27 ζουσι. καὶ σὺ οὖν ταῦτα λογιζόμενος μήτε τοῖς παροῦσιν ἄχθου, μήτ', αν τοὺς ἐκβαλόντας σε εὐτυχοῦντας πυνθάνη, λυποῦ. κουφαὶ³ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐφήμεροι καὶ ἄλλως αἱ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐπραγίαι εἰσί, καὶ ὅσφ αν μᾶλλόν τις ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπαύξη, ῥᾳ̂ον ὥσπερ πνεῦμα πίπτει, μάλιστα 2 δὲ ἐν ταῖς στάσεσιν. ἄτε γὰρ ἐν τεταραγμένοις καὶ ἀκαταστάτοις πράγμασι φερόμενοι μικρόν, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδέν, τῶν χειμαζομένων διαφέρουσιν, άλλ' ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω, τοτὲ μὲν δεῦρο τοτὲ δὲ έκεῖσε, ἄττουσι∙ κὰν ἄρα τι καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον 3 σφαλῶσι, παντελῶς βαπτίζονται. καὶ ἵνα γε μήτε τον Δροῦσον μήτε τον Σκιπίωνα μήτε τους Γράκχους ἢ καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς εἴπω, μέμνησο 6 μεν όπως ο Κάμιλλος ο φυγας άμεινον τοῦ Καπιτωλίνου^τ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπήλλαξε, μέμνησο⁶ δὲ ὅσον ᾿Αριστείδης τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ὕστερον διήνεγκεν. ""Ωστε καὶ σὺ μάλιστα μὲν ἔλπιζε καὶ καταχθήσεσθαι (οὔτε γὰρ ἐξ ἀδικίας ἐξελήλασαι, καὶ

οὕτε Rk., οὐδὲ, L.
 κουφαὶ Leunel., κωφαὶ L.
 φερόμενοι R. Steph., φερόμενοι L.
 ἄττουσι supplied by Reim.
 μέμνησο Rk., μέμνησθε L.

⁷ Καπιτωλίνου Wesseling, Καπιτωλίου L.

not escape at all what is fated, and we shall at the B.C. 58 same time acquire the greatest of ills—the distressing of our hearts to no purpose. The proof of this is that men who bear good-naturedly the most outrageous fortunes do not regard themselves as being in any very dreadful plight, while those who are disturbed at the lightest disappointments imagine that all human ills are theirs. And people in general. both those who manage favourable conditions badly and those who manage unfavourable conditions well, make their good or ill fortune appear to others to be just what they make it for themselves. Bear this in mind, then, and be not cast down by your present state, nor grieve if you learn that the men who exiled you are flourishing. For the successes of men are vain and ephemeral at best, and the higher a man climbs as a result of them, the more easily, like a breath, does he fall, especially in partisan strife. Borne along in the midst of troubled and unstable conditions they differ little, if at all, from sailors in a storm, but are tossed up and down, now hither, now thither; and if they make the slightest mistake, they are sure to sink. Not to mention Drusus, or Scipio, or the Gracchi, or certain others, remember how Camillus, the exile, later came off better than Capitolinus, and remember how greatly Aristides afterwards surpassed Themistocles.

"Do you also, then, hope, first and foremost, for your restoration; for you have not been expelled

έπιζητήσουσι μέν σε, ώς πυνθάνομαι, καὶ αὐτοὶ οι έκβεβληκότες, ποθήσουσι δὲ πάντες) αν δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐμμείνης, μήτι γε¹ καὶ 28 ἀνιαθής παρὰ τοῦτο μηδέν. ἄν μὲν γάρ μοι πεισθής, καὶ πάνυ ἀγαπήσεις χωρίον τέ τι παραθαλασσίδιον έξω πάτου έκλεξάμενος, καὶ έν αὐτῶ γεωργῶν τε ἄμα καὶ συγγράφων τι, ὡς Ξενοφῶν, 2 ὡς Θουκυδίδης. τό τε γὰρ εἶδος τοῦτο τῆς σοφίας διαρκέστατον έστι καὶ παντὶ μὲν ἀνδρὶ πάση δὲ πολιτεία άρμοδιώτατον, καὶ ἡ φυγὴ φέρει τινὰ σχολην γουιμωτέραν. ὥστ' εἴπερ ὄντως ἀθάνατος καθάπερ ἐκεῖνοι γενέσθαι ἐθέλεις, ζήλωσον αὐ- 3 τούς. τά τε γὰρ ἐπιτήδεια ἀρκοῦντα ἔχεις καὶ ουτ' άξιώματός τινος προσδέη. εί γάρ τι καὶ έν τούτοις άγαθόν έστιν, υπάτευκας καὶ πλέον ούδεν τοίς και δεύτερον και τρίτον ή και τέταρτον άρξασι, πλην γραμμάτων ἀριθμοῦ κενών, ὑπάρχει, ὰ μήτε ζῶντα μήτ' ἀποθανόντα τινὰ ἀφελεί. 4 οὔκουν ἂν ἕλοιο οὔτε Κορουῖνος οὔτε Μάριος δ έπτάκις υπατεύσας μαλλον ή Κικέρων είναι. οὐτ' αὐ ἡγεμονίας τινὸς ἐπιθυμεῖς, ὅς γε καὶ τὴν δοθεισάν σοι έξέστης, καταφρονήσας μεν των άπ' αὐτῆς κερδών, καταφρονήσας δὲ καὶ τῆς όλιγοχρονίου τε και ύπευθύνου πασι τοις συκοφαντείν 5 έθέλουσιν έξουσίας. καὶ ταῦτ' εἶπον οὐχ'ὅτι καὶ ἀναγκαῖόν τι 2 αὐτῶν πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ἐστίν, ἀλλ ὅτι καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς, ἐπείπερ ἐχρῆν, ίκανως εξήτασαι, ίνα καὶ εξ εκείνων τὸ διάφορον των βίων μαθών τὰ μὲν έλη τὰ δὲ ἀπώση 3 καὶ τὰ μὲν διώξης τὰ δὲ φύγης. σμικρὸς γὰρ ὁ βίος

 $^{^1}$ μήτι γε Dind.. μήτοι γε L. 2 τι supplied by Oddey. 3 ἀπώση Dind., ἀπωθήση L.

on account of wrong-doing, and the very ones B.C. 58 who drove you forth will, as I learn, seek for you, while all will miss you. But even if you continue in your present state, do not distress yourself at all about it. For if you will take my advice, you will be quite satisfied to pick out a little estate in some retired spot on the coast and there carry on at the same time farming and some historical writing, like Xenophon and like Thucydides. form of learning is most enduring and best adapted to every man and to every state; and exile brings with it a kind of leisure that is more fruitful. then, you wish to become really immortal, like those historians, emulate them. You have the necessary means in sufficiency and you lack no distinction. For if there is any virtue in such honours, you have been consul; nothing more belongs to those who have held office a second, a third, or a fourth time, except an array of idle letters which benefit no man, living or dead. Hence you would not choose to be Corvinus,1 or Marius, the man seven times consul, rather than Cicero. Nor, again, are you anxious for any position of command, seeing that you withdrew from the one bestowed upon you, because you scorned the gains to be had from it, scorned a brief authority that was subject to the scrutiny of all who chose to practise These matters I have mentioned, not because any one of them is requisite for happiness, but because, since it was necessary, you have occupied yourself sufficiently with public affairs to learn therefrom the difference in lives and to choose the one course and reject the other, to pursue the one and avoid the other. Our life is but short, and you

¹ M. Valerius Corvus (less properly Corvinus), consul for the sixth time in B.C. 299.

ήμων, καὶ δεῖ σε μὴ πάντα αὐτὸν ἄλλοις βιωναι, 6 άλλ' ήδη τι καὶ σεαυτῷ χαρίσασθαι. σκέψαι δὲ όσον ή τε ήσυχία της ταραχης καὶ ή εὔροια των θορύβων ή τε έλευθερία της δουλείας καὶ ή ἀσφάλεια των κινδύνων διαφέρει, ίν' επιθυμήσης ζήσαι

ώς έγώ σοι παραινώ. " Ούτω μεν γαρ εὐδαιμονήσεις, καί σου μέγα

ονομα καὶ ² τοῦτο ἀεὶ καὶ ζώντος ἐπὶ τούτω καὶ 29 τελευτήσαντος έσται αν δε δη τήν τε κάθοδον σπουδάσης καὶ τὴν ἐν τῆ πολιτεία λαμπρότητα ζηλώσης, δυσχερές μεν οὐδεν εἰπεῖν βούλομαι, φοβοῦμαι δέ, ἔς τε τὰ πράγματα ἀποβλέπων καὶ τὴν σὴν παρρησίαν ἐννοῶν, τήν τε δύναμιν καὶ τὸ πληθος τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν σου θεωρῶν, 2 μήποτέ τι καὶ αὖθις σφαλής. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐν φυγη γένοιο, μεταγνώση μόνον, εί δέ τι έτερον ανήκεστον πάθοις, οὐδε μετανοήσαι δυνήση. καίτοι πως μεν ου δεινόν, πως δ' ουκ αισχρών άποτμηθηναί τέ τινος την κεφαλην και ές την άγοραν τεθήναι, κὰν οὕτω τύχη, καὶ ἄνδρα τινὰ αὐτῆ 3 καὶ γυναῖκα ⁴ ἐνυβρίσαι; καί με μὴ ὡς φαθλά σοι οἰωνιζόμενον μισήσης, ἀλλ' ὡς διοσημίαν τινα προδεικνύντα φύλαξαι. μηδέ σε έξαπατάτω 5 τοῦθ', ὅτι καὶ φίλους τινὰς τῶν δυνατῶν έχεις οὐδὲν γάρ σε ἀφελήσουσιν οἱ δοκοῦντες φιλείν προς τους έχθρως διακειμένους, ώσπερ 4 που καὶ πεπείρασαί. οι γὰρ δυναστείας ἐρῶντες παρ' οὐδὲν πάντα τάλλα πρὸς τὸ τυχεῖν ὧν

3 μόνον Bk., μὲν L.

¹ εύροια R. Steph., εύρεια L. ² καὶ R. Steph., εἶ καὶ L.

⁴ και άνδρα—και γυναικα Bk., κάν ά. —κάν γ. L.

ξξαπατάτω R. Steph., έξαπάτω L.
 ἐχθρῶs R. Steph., ἐχθροὺs L.
 οὐδὲν Reim., οὐδενὶ L.

ought not to live all yours for others, but by this B.C. 58 time to grant a little to yourself. Consider how much better quiet is than turmoil, and tranquillity than tumults, freedom than slavery, and safety than dangers, that you may feel a desire to live as I am urging you to do. In this way you will be happy, and your name shall be great because of it—and that for evermore, whether you are living or dead.

"If, however, you are eager for your restoration and aim at a brilliant political career, I do not wish to say anything unpleasant, but I fear, as I cast my eyes over the situation and call to mind your frankness of speech, and behold the power and numbers of your adversaries, that you may meet defeat once more. If then you should encounter exile, you will have merely to experience a change of heart; but if you should incur some fatal punishment, you will not be able even to repent. And yet is it not a dreadful and disgraceful thing to have one's head cut off and set up in the Forum, for any man or woman, it may be, to insult? Do not hate me as one who prophesies evil to you, but pay heed to me as to one announcing a warning from Heaven. Do not let the fact that you have certain friends among the powerful deceive you. You will get no help against those who hate you from the men who seem to love you, as, indeed, you have learned by experience. For those who have a passion for power regard everything else as nothing in comparison with obtaining what

βούλονται τίθενται, άλλὰ καὶ τοὺς φιλτάτους καὶ τοὺς συγγενεστάτους πολλάκις ἀντὶ τῶν

έχθίστων άντικαταλλάσσονται."

30 Καὶ Κικέρων μὲν ταῦτα ἀκούσας ῥάων 1 πως έγένετο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἔφυγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Πομπηίου τοῦ μάλιστα αὐτὸν έκβαλόντος κατήχθη. αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι ὁ Κλώδιος τόν τε Τιγράνην τὸν νεώτερον, ἐν δεσμοῖς ἔτι καὶ 2 τότε παρά Λουκίω Φλαουίω όντα, πεισθείς ύπὸ χρημάτων έξήρπασε καὶ ἀφῆκε, καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον τόν τε Γαβίνιον άγανακτήσαντας έπὶ τούτω περιύβρισε, τοῖς τε ἀμφ' αὐτοὺς οὖσι καὶ πληγὰς καὶ τραύματα ἔδωκε, καὶ τοῦ ὑπάτου τάς τε ράβδους συνέτριψε καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν καθιέρωσεν. 3 ὀργισθεὶς γὰρ διὰ ταῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι τῆ ² ἐξουσίᾳ, ἡν αὐτὸς τοῖς δημάρχοις ἀπεδεδώκει, κατ' αὐτοῦ ὁ Κλώδιος ἐκέχρητο, ἀνακαλέσασθαι τὸν Κικέρωνα ἢθέλησε, καὶ αὐτῶ τὴν κάθοδον εὐθὺς διὰ τοῦ Νιννίου πράττειν ήρξατο. 4 καὶ δς ἐσήνεγκε μὲν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γνώμην, ἀπόντα τὸν Κλώδιον τηρήσας: άντιστάντος δέ οἱ έτέρου τινὸς δημάρχου, ἐκείνην τε ώς καὶ τῷ πλήθει κοινώσων ἐξέθηκε, καὶ τῷ Κλωδίω πρὸς πάντα καθάπαξ ήναντιοῦτο. κάκ τούτου καί φιλονεικίαι και τραύματα ἀπ' αὐτῶν 5 πολλὰ ἐκατέροις ἐγίγνετο. πρὶν δὲ ἢ ἐς τοῦτο ἀφικέσθαι, βουληθεὶς ὁ Κλώδιος τόν τε Κάτωνα έκποδών, ὅπως ράον ὅσα ἔπραττε κατορθώση, ποιήσασθαι, καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαΐον τὸν 3 τότε τὴν Κύπρον ἔχοντα ἀμύνασθαι ὅτι αὐτὸν παρὰ τῶν

 $^{^{1}}$ ράων Rk., ραιδίως I.. 2 τ $\hat{\eta}$ Xyl., $\hat{\epsilon}\nu$ L. 3 τον added by Rk.

they desire, and often give up their dearest friends B.C. 58 and closest kin in exchange for their bitterest foes."

On hearing this Cicero grew somewhat easier in His exile, however, did not last long, but he was recalled by Pompey himself, who had been chiefly responsible for his expulsion. The reason was Clodius had taken a bribe to deliver Tigranes the younger, who was still at that time in confinement at the house of Lucius Flavius, and had let him go: and when Pompey and Gabinius became indignant at this, he wantonly insulted them, inflicted blows and wounds upon their followers, broke to pieces the consul's fasces, and devoted his property to the gods. Pompey, enraged at this, particularly because the authority which he himself had restored to the tribunes had been used against him by Clodius, desired to recall Cicero, and immediately began through Ninnius to work for his restora-The latter waited for Clodius to be absent, and then introduced in the senate the motion in Cicero's behalf. When another one of the tribunes opposed him, he not only posted up his measure, indicating that he would communicate it also to the people, but he furthermore set himself in unqualified opposition to Clodius at every point. From this there arose contentions and many wounds in consequence for both sides. But before matters reached that point Clodius wished to get Cato out of the way, so that he might more easily succeed with his schemes, and likewise to avenge himself upon Ptolemy, who then held Cyprus, because the latter

καταποντιστών οὐκ ἐλύσατο, τήν τε νησον ἐδήμοσίωσε καὶ πρὸς την διοίκησιν αὐτης τὸν Κά-

τωνα καὶ μάλα ἄκοντα ἀπέστειλε. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν¹ τῆ πόλει ἐγίγνετο· Καῖσαρ δὲ

εύρε μὲν οὐδὲν ἐν τῆ Γαλατία πολέμιον, ἀλλὰ άκριβως πάντα ήσύχαζεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐν εἰρήνη διεγένετο, άλλα αὐτομάτου το πρωτον πολέμου τινὸς αὐτῷ συμβάντος έτερος συνηνέχθη, ώστ' αὐτόν, ὅπερ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπεθύμει, πάντα . . . 2 καὶ πολεμήσαι καὶ κατορθώσαι. Ἐλουήτιοι γὰρ πλήθει τε ἀκμάζοντες καὶ χώραν οὐκ αὐτάρκη τῆ πολυανθρωπία σφων έχοντες, μέρος μέν τι ἐκπέμ-ψαι ἐς ἀποικίαν οὐκ ἠθέλησαν, μὴ καὶ διασπασθέντες εὐεπιβουλευτότεροι τοῖς λυπηθεῖσί ποτε ύπ' αὐτῶν γένωνται, πάντες δὲ δὴ ἀπαναστῆναι βουληθέντες, ώς καὶ ές έτέραν τινὰ καὶ πλείω καὶ βελτίω χώραν μετοικισθησόμενοι, τάς τε κώμας καὶ τὰς πόλεις σφῶν ἀπάσας ἔκαυσαν ὥστε μηδένα 3 μετάμελον της άναστάσεως ποιήσασθαι. καί τινας 2 καὶ έτέρους τῶν αὐτῶν δεομένους προσλαβόντες ἀπηραν, 'Ορκετόριγός σφισιν ήγουμένου, ἐν νῷ3 έχοντες τόν τε Ροδανον διαβήναι και προς ταις "Άλπεσί που κατοικισθήναι. καὶ ἐπειδή ὁ Καῖσαρ τήν τε γέφυραν διέκοψε καὶ τάλλα ώς κωλύσων αὐτοὺς διαβηναι ητοιμάζετο, ἔπεμψαν πρὸς αὐτὸν δίοδόν τε αἰτούμενοι καὶ προσυπισχνούμενοι μηδέν την των 'Ρωμαίων γην κακώσειν. 4 καὶ ὅς, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα μήτε ἐπίστευεν 4 αὐτοῖς μήτε προχωρησαί ποι ἐπιτρέψειν ἔμελλεν, ἀλλ'

3 ἐν νῷ supplied by Leuncl.

31

¹ έν added by R. Steph. 2 τινας Βk., τινας μέν L.

⁴ ἐπίστευεν Η. Steph., ἐπίστευσεν L.

had failed to ransom him from the pirates. Hence he B.C 58 declared the island the property of the state and despatched Cato, very much against the latter's will, to attend to its administration.

While this was going on in the city, Caesar found no hostility in Gaul, but everything was absolutely quiet. The state of peace, however, did not continue, but first one war broke out against him of its own accord, and then another was added, so that his greatest wish was fulfilled of waging war and winning success for the whole [period of his command (?)]. The Helvetii, who were strong in numbers and had not sufficient land for their large population, were unwilling to send out a part to form a colony for fear that if separated they might be more exposed to plots on the part of the tribes whom they had once injured; instead, they decided to migrate all together, with the intention of settling in some larger and better country, and they burned all their villages and cities, so that none should regret the migration. After adding to their numbers some others who felt the same needs, they set out with Orgetorix as their leader, intending to cross the Rhone and settle somewhere near the Alps. When Caesar destroyed the bridge and made other preparations to hinder them from crossing, they sent to him asking permission to cross and also promising to do no injury to the Roman territory. And though he had the greatest distrust of them and had not the slightest idea of allowing them to proceed, nevertheless, because he

ότι γε οὐδέπω καλῶς παρεσκεύαστο, βουλεύσεσθαί τε ¹ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἠξίουν μετὰ τῶν ὑποστρατήγων ἔφη καὶ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἐν ἡητῆ τινι ἡμέρα δώσειν. καί τι καὶ ἐλπίδος, ὡς καὶ ἐπιτρέψων σφίσι τὴν δίοδον, ὑπετείνατο. κὰν τούτω τὰ ἐπικαιρότατα διετάφρευσε καὶ ἀπετείχισεν, ὥστ' ἄπορον αὐτοῖς τὴν ὁδὸν γενέσθαι.

32 Οί οὖν βάρβαροι χρόνον μέν τινα ἐπέσχον, έπειτ' έπειδη μηδεν ήκουσαν κατά το συγκείμενον, άραντες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διὰ τῶν ᾿Αλλοβρίγων έπορεύοντο ήπερ ώρμηντο, έπειτ' έντυχόντες τοίς 2 κωλύμασιν ές Σηκουανούς ἀπετράποντο, καὶ διά τε τούτων καὶ διὰ τῶν Αἰδούων ἐθελοντί σφισι την δίοδον, ἐφ' ῷ μηδὲν ἀδικηθῶσι, παρεχόντων διιόντες οὐκ ἐνέμειναν τοῖς ώμολογημένοις, ἀλλὰ την χώραν αὐτῶν ἐλεηλάτουν. πέμψαντες οὖν οῖ τε Σηκουανοί καὶ οι Αἴδουοι πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπικουρίαν τε παρ' αὐτοῦ ἤτουν, καὶ ἐδέοντο μή 3 σφας περιιδείν ἀπολομένους.2 καὶ ἔλεγον μὲν οὐδὲν ὅμοια οἷς ἔπραξαν, ἔτυχον δ' οὖν ὅμως ὧν ήξίουν ό γὰρ Καῖσαρ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Τόλοσαν οί Ἐλουήτιοι τράπωνται, είλετο μετ έκείνων αὐτοὺς ἀμύνασθαί μᾶλλον ἢ συμφρονήσασί σφισιν, ὅπερ εὔδηλον ἢν ἐσόμενον, πολεμῆσαι. 4 προσπεσών οὖν διὰ ταῦτα τοῖς Ἐλουητίοις τὸν "Αραριν διαβαίνουσι, τούς μὲν τελευταίους ἐπακολουθούντας έν αὐτῷ τῷ πόρῳ διέφθειρε, τοὺς δὲ προκεχωρηκότας ές τοσοῦτον έκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου καὶ έκ τοῦ τάχους τῆς διώξεως καὶ ἐκ³ τῆς πύστεως των απολωλότων εξέπληξεν ώστε ες δμολογίαν

 $^{^1}$ τε H. Steph., τι L. 2 ἀπολομένους Cobet, ἀπολουμένους L. 3 έκ added by Bk.

was not yet well prepared he answered that he B.C. 58 wished to consult his lieutenants about their requests and would give them their reply on a stated day; in fact he held out some little hope that he would grant them the passage. Meanwhile he dug ditches and erected walls in the most commanding positions, so as to make the road impassable for them.

Accordingly the barbarians waited for a time, and then, when they heard nothing as agreed, they set out and proceeded first through the country of the Allobroges, as they had begun. Then, encountering the obstacles, they turned aside into the territory of the Sequani and passed through their land as well as that of the Aedui, who gave them a free passage on condition that they should do no harm: but instead of abiding by the agreement, they went to plundering their country. Then the Sequani and Aedui sent to Caesar asking for assistance and begging him not to let them be ruined. Although their statements did not correspond at all with their past deeds, they nevertheless obtained their request. For Caesar was afraid the Helvetii might turn also against Tolosa, and chose to drive them back with the help of the other tribes, rather than to fight them all after they had come to an understanding. which it was clear they would otherwise do. Consequently he fell upon the Helvetii as they were crossing the Arar, annihilating at the very ford those who were bringing up the rear, and so alarming those who had gone ahead by the suddenness and swiftness of his pursuit and the report of their losses, that they desired to come to terms, on condition of

33 επὶ χώρα τινὶ εθελήσαι ελθείν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ συνέβησαν· επειδὴ γὰρ δμήρους ἢτήθησαν, ἢγανάκτησαν οὐχ ὅτι ἢπιστοῦντο, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἀπηξίουν
δμήρους τισὶ δοῦναι.

Καὶ τῶν μὲν σπονδῶν κατεφρόνησαν, προχωροθυτες δὲ αθθις τήν τε ἵππον τοθ Καίσαρος, ἀπό τε τοῦ πεζοῦ πολὺ προδραμοῦσαν καὶ τοὺς όπισθοφύλακας αὐτῶν παραλυποῦσαν, ὑποστάντες 2 τῶ ἱππικῶ ἐνίκησαν, κάκ τούτου αὐτοί τε φρόνημα λαβόντες καὶ ἐκεῖνον φυγεῖν διά τε τὴν ἐλάττωσιν, καὶ ὅτι σπανίσας τῶν ἐπιτηδείων πρὸς πόλιν τινα έξω της όδου ουσαν έξετράπετο, νομίσαντες, 3 τοῦ τε πρόσω ἀφεῖντο καὶ ἐπεδίωξαν αὐτόν. ἰδὼν οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Καΐσαρ, καὶ φοβηθεὶς τήν τε ὁρμὴν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ πληθός, τῷ μὲν πεζῷ πρὸς μετέωρον τι ὥρμησε, τοὺς δὲ ἱππέας προεβάλετο 1 προκινδυνευσαί σφισιν, έως εν επιτηδείω παρατάξη. τρεψαμένων τε αθθις αὐτοὺς ἐκείνων, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ ὄρθιον θυμῷ φερομένων, ἐπικατέδραμέ σφισιν έξαίφνης, και άτε συντεταγμένος σποράδας 4 έξ ὑπερδεξίων οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπεώσατο. τραπομένων δὲ τούτων, ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν μὴ μαχομένων (ύπό τε γαρ του πλήθους και ύπο της σπουδης οὐ πάντες ἄμα παρεγένοντο) προσέμιξαν έξαίφνης κατὰ νώτου τοῖς ἐπιδιώκουσί σφας, καὶ ἐθορύβησαν 5 μεν αὐτούς, πλείον δε οὐδεν ἔσχον ὁ γὰρ Καίσαρ τοις ίππευσι τους φεύγοντας προστάξας αυτός τῷ ὁπλιτικῷ πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐτράπετο, καὶ κρατήσας πρός τε τὰς ἀμάξας ἀμφοτέροις σφίσι συγκαταφυγοῦσιν ἐφέσπετο, κάνταῦθα αὖθις ἰσχυρῶς

1 προεβάλετο Rk., προσεβάλλετο L.

receiving some land. They did not, however, reach B.C. 58 any agreement; for when they were asked for hostages, they became offended, not because they were distrusted, but because they thought it unworthy of them to give hostages to anyone. So they disdained a truce and went forward again.

When Caesar's cavalry galloped far ahead of the infantry and proceeded to harass their rear-guard, the enemy withstood them with their own cavalry and conquered them. Filled with pride in consequence. and thinking that he, too, had fled, both because of the defeat and because, owing to lack of provisions, he turned aside to a city that was off the road, they abandoned further progress and pursued after him. Caesar, seeing this and fearing the violence of their attack as well as their numbers, hurried with his infantry to some higher ground, but first threw forward his horsemen to bear the brunt of the fighting until he could marshal his forces in a suitable place. The barbarians routed them a second time and were making a spirited charge straight up the hill, when Caesar with his forces in battle-array dashed down upon them suddenly from his superior position, while they were scattered, and so repulsed them without difficulty. After these had been routed, some others who had not joined in the conflict-for owing to their multitude and their baste not all had arrived at the same time-attacked the pursuers in the rear and threw them into some confusion, but gained no advantage. For Caesar, leaving the fugitives to his cavalry, and turning himself with his heavy-armed troops to the others, defeated them and followed both bodies as they fled together to the waggons; and there, though from these vehicles they made a

έπ' αὐτῶν ἀμυνομένους σφᾶς ἐνίκησε. παθόντες 6 δὲ ταῦθ' οἱ βάρβαροι δίχα διηρέθησαν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὡμολόγησαν αὐτῷ καὶ ἔς τε τὴν οἰκείαν ὅθεν ἐξανέστησαν ἐπανῆλθον, κἀνταῦθα τὰς πόλεις ἀνορθώσαντες ἄκησαν οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐθελήσαντες τὰ ὁπλα παραδοῦναι πρὸς τὸν Ἡρνον, ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀρχαίαν σφῶν γῆν ἐπανελθεῖν δυνάμενοι, ὥρμησαν, καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ σύμμαχοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων δι' ὧν διήεσαν ἡαδίως, ἄτε καὶ ὀλίγους καὶ νενικημένους, ἔφθειραν.

34 Οὕτω μὲν δὴ τὸν πρῶτον πόλεμον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπολέμησεν, ἀρξάμενος δὲ ἐκεῖθεν οὐχ ἡσύχασεν, ἀλλ' αὐτός τε τὸ ἑαυτοῦ βούλημα ¹ ἄμα ἀπεπλήρωσε καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐχαρίσατο. οἴ τε γὰρ Σηκουανοὶ καὶ οἱ Αἴδουοι τήν τε ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτοῦ ἰδόντες καὶ τὰ ἔργα ὁμολογοῦντα ταῖς ἐλπίσιν αἰσθόμενοι, ἐκείνῳ τε εὐεργεσίαν ἄμα καταθέσθαι καὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς τοὺς ὁμοχώρους σφίσι τιμωρή-2 σασθαι ἀθέλησαν· τὸν γὰρ 'Ρῆνον πάλαι ποτὲ

2 σασθαι ἠθέλησαν· τὸν γὰρ `Ρῆνον πάλαι ποτὲ διαβάντες τῆς τε χώρας αὐτῶν τινα παρετέτμηντο καὶ αὐτοὺς ² ὑποτελεῖς ἐπεποίηντο, ὁμήρους σφῶν ἔχοντες. καὶ ἐτύγχανον γὰρ δεόμενοι ὧν ὡρέγετο, ῥαδίως αὐτὸν ἀνέπεισαν ἐπικουρῆσαί σφισιν.

3 ' ' ' Ηρχε μὲν γὰρ ' Αριόουιστος τῶν Κελτῶν ἐκείνων, καὶ τήν τε κύρωσιν τῆς βασιλείας παρὰ τῶν ' Ρωμαίων εἰλήφει, καὶ ἐς τοὺς φίλους τούς τε συμμάχους αὐτῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπατεύοντος ἐσεγέγραπτο ' ³ πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου δόξαν καὶ τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ' ἰσχὺν οὐδὲν

¹ βούλημα Βk., βούλευμα L.

² αὐτοὺς Βκ., ἐαυτοῖς L, ἐαυτοὺς U.

³ ἐσεγέγραπτο Bs , ἔγραπτο L. 4 ἀπ' αὐτῆs Bk., ἀπ' αὐτῶν L.

vigorous defence, he vanquished them again. After B.C. 58 this reverse the barbarians divided into two parties. The one came to terms with him, and going back again to their native land, whence they had set out, they rebuilt and occupied their cities there. The others refused to surrender their arms, and, with the idea that they could get back again to their old home, set out for the Rhine; but being few in numbers and labouring under a defeat, they were easily annihilated by the allies of the Romans through whose territory they passed.

Such was the first war that Caesar fought, and he did not remain quiet after this beginning; instead, he at the same time satisfied his own desire and did the allies a favour. For the Sequani and Aedui, who had marked his desire and had noticed that his deeds corresponded with his hopes, were willing at one stroke to bestow a benefit upon him and to take vengeance upon the Germans, who were their neighbours. The latter had at some time in the remote past crossed the Rhine, cut off portions of their territory, and rendered them tributaries, taking hostages from them. And because they happened to be asking what Caesar was anxious for, they easily persuaded him to assist them.

Now Ariovistus was the ruler of those Germans; his authority had been confirmed by the Romans and he had been enrolled among their friends and allies by Caesar himself during his consulship. In comparison, however, with the glory to be derived from the war and the power which that glory would bring, the

¹ Dio regularly uses the word "Celts" in place of "Germans"; to avoid confusion, however, the usual term has been adopted in the translation.

τούτων έφρόντισε, πλην καθ' όσον παρά τοῦ βαρβάρου πρόφασιν της διαφοράς, μη και προϋπάρ-4 χειν τι ές αὐτὸν νομισθη, λαβεῖν ἠθέλησε. καὶ δια τούτο μετεπέμψατο αυτονώς και διαλεγθηναί τι αὐτῷ δεόμενος. ἐπειδή τε οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔφη ὅτι " εἴ τί μοι βούλεται Καῖσαρ εἰπεῖν, αὐτὸς πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐλθέτω· οὕτε γὰρ ἄλλως καταδεέστερος αὐτοῦ εἰμι, καὶ τὸν χρείαν τινὸς ἔχοντα 5 αὐτὸν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀφικνεῖσθαϊ δεῖ," ὀργήν τε ὡς καὶ πάντας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους προπεπηλακικότος αὐτοῦ ἐν τούτω ἐποιήσατο, καὶ παραχρημα τούς τε δμήρους τῶν συμμάχων ἀπήτησεν αὐτόν, καὶ προσαπηγόρευσεν αὐτῷ μήτε τῆς χώρας σφῶν έπιβαίνειν μήτ' ἐπικουρίας οἴκοθεν ἐπάγεσθαι. 6 ταθτα δὲ ἔπραξεν οὐχ ὅτι καὶ καταπλήξειν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐξοργιεῖν κάκ τούτου πρόφασιν τοθ πολέμου και μεγάλην και εύπρεπη λήψεσθαι ήλπισεν. ὅπερ ἐγένετο ἀχθεσθεὶς γὰρ ὁ βάρβαρος τοῖς ἐπιτάγμασι πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἀπεκρίνατο, ὥστε τὸν Καίσαρα λόγους μὲν μηκέτ' αὐτῷ ἀντιπέμψαι, τὸν δὲ δὴ Οὐεσοντίωνα, τὴν τῶν Σηκουανών πόλιν, εὐθύς, καὶ πρὶν αἰσθέσθαι 1 τινά, προκατασγείν.

5 Κάν τούτφ οἱ στρατιῶται, ἀγγελίας ἐλθούσης ὅτι τε ὁ ᾿Αριόουιστος ἰσχυρῶς παρασκευάζεται, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἔτεροι τῶν Κελτῶν πολλοὶ οἱ μὲν διαβεβήκασιν ἤδη τὸν Ἡρνον ὡς ἐπὶ βοήθειαν αὐτοῦ, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ ποταμῷ συνειλέχαται ε ὅπως ἐξαίφνης σφίσιν ἐπίθωνται, δεινῶς ἤθύμη-2 σαν τά τε γὰρ μεγέθη αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τό

 $^{^{1}}$ αἰσθέσθαι U^{a} , αἰσθηθήσεσθαι L. 2 συνειλέχαται St., συνειλόχαται L.

Roman general heeded none of these considerations, B.C. 58 except in so far as he wished to get some excuse for the quarrel from the barbarian, so that he should not appear to be in any way the aggressor against Ariovistus. Therefore he sent for him, pretending that he wished to have a conference with him. Ariovistus, instead of obeying, replied: "If Caesar wishes to say anything to me, let him come to me himself. I am not inferior to him, anyway, and the man who has need of another should himself go to that person." Thereupon Caesar became angry on the ground that he had thereby insulted all the Romans, and he immediately demanded of him the hostages of the allies and forbade him either to set foot on their land or to bring any reinforcements from This he did, not with the idea of scaring him, but because he hoped to enrage him and by that means to gain a good and plausible pretext And this was what happened. for the war. The barbarian, angered by these demands, made a long and harsh reply, so that Caesar no longer bandied words with him, but straightway, before any one was aware of his intentions, seized on Vesontio, the city of the Sequani.

Meanwhile reports reached the soldiers that Ariovistus was making vigorous preparations, and also that many other Germans had either already crossed the Rhine to assist him or had collected on the very bank of the river to attack the Romans suddenly; hence they fell into deep dejection. Alarmed by the stature of their enemies, by their numbers, their boldness, and

τε θράσος καὶ τὰς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προχείρους ἀπειλὰς έκπλαγέντες ούτω διετέθησαν ώς μηδέ πρός άνθρώπους τινάς άλλα πρός θηρία άπορα καὶ άγρια προσοισόμενοι. καὶ ἐθρύλουν ὅτι πόλεμον ούτε προσήκοντα ούτε έψηφισμένον δια την ιδίαν τοῦ Καίσαρος φιλοτιμίαν ἀναιροῖντο, καὶ προσεπηπείλουν εγκαταλείψειν αὐτόν, αν μη μετα-3 βάληται. μαθών οὖν ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνος τῷ μὲν πλήθει τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὐδὲν διελέξατο (οὔτε γὰρ καλὸν ενόμιζεν είναι τοιαθτα πρός πολλούς λέγειν, καλ ταθτ' ές τοὺς πολεμίους μέλλοντα ἐκφοιτήσειν, καὶ έδεισε μή πως ἀπειθήσαντες θορυβήσωσι καὶ κακόν τι έξεργάσωνται), τοὺς δὲ δὴ ὑπάρχους καὶ τους υπομείονας άθροίσας τοιάδε έν αὐτοῖς ἔλεξεν. "Οὐ τὸν αὐτόν, ὧ ἄνδρες φίλοι, τρόπον ἡγοῦμαι 36δείν ήμας περί τε των ίδίων και περι των κοινών Βουλεύεσθαι, οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν ὁρῶ σκοπὸν ἰδία τε εκάστφ καὶ δημοσία ἄπασιν ὄντα. ήμιν μεν γὰρ τὰ ἐπιεικέστατα καὶ ἀσφαλέστατα, τῶ δὲ δήμω τὰ κράτιστα καὶ προαιρεῖσθαι καὶ πράττειν 2 προσήκει. δεί μὲν γὰρ καὶ εν τοῖς ἰδίοις δραστηρίους είναι τὸ γὰρ ἐπιεικὲς οὐκ ἐθέλει εἰ μὴ 2

εἶναι δοκεῖ, πόλις δέ, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀρχὴν ἔχουσα, τάχιστ' ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου κατα3 λυθείη. ταῦτα γὰρ οὕτως οὐχ ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ταχθέντα ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως νομοθετηθέντα καὶ ἦν ἀεὶ καὶ ἔστι, καὶ ἔσται μέχριπερ ἂν καὶ τὸ θνητὸν γένος συνεστήκη.

καὶ ἐκ τούτου σώζεσθαι· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ἀνὴρ μὲν ὅστις ἀπραγμονέστατός ἐστι, καὶ ἀσφαλέστατος

 $^{^1}$ kal added by "B" (in $\it Litt.~Centralbl.~1891,~p.~1319). <math display="inline">^2$ el μh Reim., μh L.

consequent ready threats, they were in such a mood B.C. 58 as to feel that they were going to contend not against men, but against uncanny and ferocious wild beasts. And the talk was that they were undertaking a war which was none of their business and had not been decreed, merely on account of Caesar's personal ambition; and they threatened also to desert him if he did not change his course. So he, when he heard of it, did not make any address to the common soldiers, since he thought it was not a good plan to discuss such matters before a crowd. and that if he did, these things would get out and reach the enemy, and since he feared his soldiers might perchance refuse obedience, raise a tumult. and do some harm, but he assembled his lieutenants and subalterns and spoke before them as follows:

"My friends, we ought not, I think, to deliberate about public interests in the same way as about private. In fact, I do not see that the same goal is set for each man privately as for all together publicly. For though we may for ourselves take the course that is most expedient and safe, vet for the people we should both adopt and carry out only the measures that are best. Even in private matters it is necessary to be energetic; so only can a respectable position be maintained. Still, a man who is least occupied with affairs is thought to be also safest. But a state, especially if it holds sway over others, would be very quickly overthrown by such a course.1 These laws, not drawn up by man but enacted by Nature herself, always have existed, do exist, and will exist so long as the race of mortals endures

¹ Cf. Frg. 8 and Thucydides ii. 63.

273

Т

"Τούτων οὖν οὕτως ἐχόντων, οὐδ' ὑμῶν οὐδένα χρη τὸ ἴδιον ήδὺ καὶ ἀσφαλὲς ἐν τῶ παρόντι μαλλον ή τὸ τοῖς πασι Ῥωμαίοις καὶ εὐπρεπες 4 καὶ συμφέρον προσκοπεῖν. λογίζεσθε γὰρ τά τε άλλα ὅσα εἰκός ἐστι, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι δεῦρο ήλθομεν αὐτοί τε τοσοῦτοι καὶ τοιοῦτοι ἔκ τε της βουλης καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων ὄντες, καὶ πληθος πολύ στρατιωτών χρήματά τε ἄφθονα λαβόντες, 5 οὐχ ἵνα ῥαθυμῶμεν, οὐδ΄ ἵνα ἀμελῶμεν, ἀλλ΄ ὅπως τά τε τῶν ὑπηκόων ὀρθῶς διοικήσωμεν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐνσπόνδων ἀσφαλῶς διασώσωμεν, τούς τε άδικειν έπιχειρουντάς σφας άμυνώμεθα, καί 6 τὰ ἡμέτερα ἐπαυξήσωμεν. ὡς εἴ γε μὴ ταῦθ' ούτω φρονούντες ήλθομεν, τί ποτε καὶ ἀρχὴν έξεστρατεύσαμεν, άλλ' οὐ τρόπον γέ 1 τινα οἴκοι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις κατεμείναμεν; καὶ γάρ που καὶ ἄμεινον ἢν μηδ' ὑποστῆναι τὴν στρατείαν 7 ή προσταχθέντας αὐτὴν προδοῦναι. εἰ δ' οἱ μὲν ύπὸ τῶν νόμων ἀναγκαζόμενοι τὸ προσταττόμενον ύπο της πατρίδος πράττειν, οι δε δη πλείους έθελονταί διά τε τὰς τιμὰς καὶ διὰ τὰς ἀφελίας τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν πολέμων περιγιγνομένας πάρεσμεν, πῶς ầν ἡ καλῶς ἡ ὁσίως ἡμῖν ἔχοι ψεύσασθαι καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐκπεμψάντων ἡμᾶς ἄμα καὶ τὰς 8 ήμετέρας αὐτῶν ἐλπίδας; ἰδία μὲν γὰρ οὐδ' ἂν είς ούτως εὖ πράξειεν ὥστε μη οὐ τῷ κοινῷ πταίσαντι συναπολέσθαι τὸ δὲ δημόσιον εὐτυχοῦν πάσας καὶ τὰς ἐκάστου συμφορὰς ἀναφέρει. " Λέγω δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες ἐταῖροί 37 τε καὶ φίλοι, τοὺς ἐνταῦθα ὄντας (οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως

ἀγνοεῖτε αὐτὰ ὥστε καὶ μαθεῖν δεῖσθαι, οὔτ'

1 γέ Βk., τε L.

"This being the case, no one of you at this B.C. 58 juncture should have an eye to what is privately agreeable and safe so much as to what is creditable and advantageous to all the Romans. For, apart from the other considerations that may naturally arise, reflect in particular that we who are so many and of such rank-members of the senate and knights-have come here accompanied by a great multitude of soldiers and with money in abundance, not that we may take our ease or neglect our duties, but for the purpose of managing rightly the affairs of our subjects, preserving in safety the property of those bound to us by treaty, repelling any who undertake to do them wrong, and increasing our own possessions. For if it was not in this spirit that we came, why in the world did we take the field at all instead of contriving in some manner or other to stay at home attending to our own affairs? Surely it were better not to have undertaken the campaign than to give it up after being assigned to it. If, however, some of us are here because compelled by the laws to do what our country ordains, and the majority of us voluntarily, on account of the honours and rewards that come from the wars we wage, how could we either honourably or rightly cheat not only the hopes of the men who sent us forth but also our own? For no one can fare so well individually as not to be ruined with the republic, if it should fall; but if the state prospers, it sustains all the misfortunes of each individual citizen.

"I do not say this with reference to you who are here, my comrades and friends; for you are not ignorant of these things, that you need to be instructed

ολιγώρως αὐτῶν ἔχετε ὥστε καὶ προτροπῆς χρήζειν), ἀλλ' ὅτι τινὰς τῶν στρατιωτὧν ἤσθημαι αὐτούς τε θρυλοῦντας ώς οὐ προσήκοντα τόνδε τον πόλεμον ἀνηρήμεθα, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσ-2 στασιάζοντας, εν αὐτοί τε βεβαιοτέραν ἐκ τῶν παρ' έμου λόγων την ύπερ της πατρίδος προθυμίαν ποιήσησθε, καὶ ἐκείνους πάνθ' à προσήκει διδάξητε· πλείω γὰρ ἂν παρ' ὑμῶν ἰδία καὶ πολλάκις ἀκούοντες αὐτὰ ἀφεληθεῖεν ἡ παρ' 3 έμου άπαξ πυθόμενοι. λέγετε τοίνυν αὐτοῖς ὅτι οί πρόγονοι ήμῶν οὐκ οἴκοι μένοντες, οὐδὲ τὰς στρατείας οκνούντες, οὐδὲ τοὺς πολέμους φεύγοντες, οὐδὲ τὰς ῥαθυμίας διώκοντες τηλικαύτην την πόλιν εποίησαν, άλλα ταις γνώμαις πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα προχείρως τολμῶντες καὶ τοῖς σώμασι πάντα τὰ ἀρέσαντα προθύμως ἐκπο-4 νοῦντες, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἴδια ὡς ἀλλότρια ἀεί ποτε παραβαλλόμενοι, τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν πέλας ώς καὶ οἰκεῖα ετοίμως κτώμενοι, καὶ μήτε εὐδαιμονίαν άλλο τι ἢ τὸ τὰ δέοντα πράττειν νομίζοντες, μήτε δυστυχίαν άλλο τι ή τὸ μετ' ἀπραξίας 1 ήσυχάζειν ήγούμενοι.

5 "Τοιγαροῦν ἐκ τούτων τῶν πολιτευμάτων αὐτοί τε, ὀλίγιστοι τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς γενόμενοι καὶ πόλιν οὐδεμίαν ῆς οὐκ ἐλάττω τὸ πρῶτον νεμόμενοι, Λατίνους ἐκράτησαν, Σαβίνους ἐνίκησαν, Τυρσηνοὺς Οὐόλσκους 'Οπικοὺς Λευκανοὺς Σαυνίτας ἐχειρώσαντο, πᾶσαν ἐνὶ λόγω ² τὴν ἐντὸς τῶν "Αλπεων γῆν κατεστρέψαντο, πάντας τοὺς ἀλλο-38 φύλους τοὺς ἐπελθόντας σφίσιν ἀπεώσαντο, καὶ

μετ' ἀπραξίας Oddey, μετὰ εὐπραξίας L.
 ένὶ λόγφ Pflugk, ἐν ὀλίγφ L.

in them, nor are you indifferent toward them, that B.C. 58 vou require exhortation. I say it because I have ascertained that some of the soldiers are themselves noisily talking to the effect that this war we have undertaken is none of our business, and are stirring up the rest to sedition. My purpose is that you yourselves may as a result of my words make more unswerving the zeal you have for your country and may also teach the others their whole duty. For they will be benefited more by hearing it from you individually and repeatedly than they would from learning it but once from my lips. Tell them, then, that it was not by staying at home or shirking their campaigns or avoiding their wars or pursuing their ease that our ancestors made the city so great, but it was by bringing their minds to venture readily all that they ought to do and their bodies to work out eagerly all all the plans they had determined upon; by risking their own possessions as if they belonged to others, but acquiring readily the possessions of their neighbours as their own, while they thought that happiness was nothing else than doing their duty, and held that misfortune was nothing else than resting inactive

"It was in consequence of these principles, therefore, that those men, who were in the beginning very few and dwelt in a city as small as any at first, conquered the Latins, subdued the Sabines, mastered the Etruscans, Volscians, Oscans, Lucanians and Samnites, in a word, subjugated the whole land south of the Alps, and repulsed all the foreign tribes that came

αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα Ῥωμαῖοι οἵ τε πατέρες ημών ζηλώσαντες οὐκ ηρκέσθησαν τοῖς παροῦσιν, οὐδ' ἡγάπησαν οίς παρέλαβον, ἀλλ' ὅλεθρον μὲν αύτων σαφή την ραστώνην, σωτηρίαν δε άκριβή την ταλαιπωρίαν νομίσαντες είναι, καὶ φοβηθέντες μεν μη μείναντα αυτά εφ' εαυτών 1 κατατριφθείη καὶ καταγηράσειεν, αἰσχυνθέντες 2 δὲ εί τοσαθτα παραδεξάμενοι μηδεν έπικτήσαιντο, 2 πολλῷ πλείω καὶ μείζω προσκατειργάσαντο. γὰρ ἄν τις καθ' ἔκαστον λέγοι τὴν Σαρδώ, τὴν Σικελίαν, τοὺς Μακεδόνας, τοὺς Ἰλλυριούς, τὴν Έλλάδα, τὴν ᾿Ασίαν τὴν περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν, Βιθυνούς, "Ιβηρας, "Αφρους; καίτοι συχνὰ μὲν αν χρήματα ἔδοσαν αὐτοις Καρχηδόνιοι ώστε μη ἐκεῖσε ἐκπλεῦσαι, συχνὰ δὲ Φίλιππος καὶ Περσεύς ώστε μη ἐπ' αὐτούς στρατεῦσαι, πολλά 'Αντίογος, πολλά οι παίδες αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔγγονοι 3 ώστε έπι της Ευρώπης καταμείναι. άλλ' ούτε έκεινοι πρό τε της δόξης και προ του μεγέθους τής $\dot{a}\rho\chi\dot{\eta}$ ς $\dot{a}\rho\gamma\dot{\epsilon}\dot{i}\nu$ τε $\dot{a}\kappa\lambda\dot{\epsilon}\dot{\omega}$ ς καὶ πλουτε $\dot{i}\nu$ $\dot{a}\dot{\delta}\epsilon\dot{\omega}$ ς ε $\dot{i}\lambda$ οντο, οὐτ αὐτ $\dot{\omega}$ ν $\dot{\eta}\mu\dot{\omega}$ ν οἱ πρεσ $\dot{\beta}$ ύτεροι οἱ καὶ ν $\dot{\upsilon}$ ν ἔτ' ὄντες, $\dot{a}\lambda\lambda$ ' ἄτε 3 ε $\dot{\upsilon}$ ε $\dot{i}\dot{\delta}$ ότες ότι διὰ 4 τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ κτᾶται τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ σώζεται, πολλὰ μὲν ἐβεβαιώσαντο τῶν προϋπαρχόντων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ προσεκτή-4 σαντο. τί γάρ δεῖ κἀνταῦθα καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπεξιέναι την Κρήτην, τον Πόντον, την Κύπρον, την 'Ιβηρίαν την 'Ασιανήν, την 'Αλβανίαν την έκει, Σύρους άμφοτέρους, Αρμενίους έκατέρους.

 $^{^1}$ έφ' έαυτῶν ${
m Rk.}$, έφ' έαυτὰ ${
m L.}$ 2 καταγηράσειεν αἰσχυνθέντες ${
m Bk.}$, καταγηράσηι έναισχυν-3 ἀλλ' ἄτε Bk., ἀλλά τε L.

^{5 &#}x27;Ασιανήν Βk., ἀσίαν L. 4 διὰ Bk., διά τε L.

against them. The later Romans, likewise, and our B.C. 58 own fathers imitated them, not being satisfied with what they had nor content with what they had inherited, but regarding sloth as their sure destruction and hardship as their certain safety. They feared that if their treasures remained unaugmented they would waste away of themselves and wear out with age, and were ashamed after receiving so rich a heritage to add nothing to it; accordingly they effected much greater and more numerous conquests. But why mention individually Sardinia, Sicily, Macedonia, Illyria, Greece, Ionian Asia, Bithynia, Spain, and Africa? And yet the Carthaginians would have given them much money not to extend their voyages thither, and much would Philip and Perseus have given to keep them from making campaigns against them; Antiochus would have given much, his sons and grandsons would have given much, to have them remain in Europe. But those men in view of the glory and the greatness of the empire did not choose to be ignobly idle or to enjoy their wealth in security, nor did the older men of our own generation who even now are still alive; nay, as men who well knew that advantages are preserved by the same methods by which they are acquired, they made sure of many of their original possessions and also acquired many new ones. But here again, why catalogue in detail Crete, Pontus, Cyprus, Asiatic Iberia, Farther Albania, both Syrias, the two

'Αραβίους, Παλαιστίνους; ὧν οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα πρότερον ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες νῦν τῶν μὲν αὐτοὶ δεσπόζομεν, τὰ δὲ ἐτέροις ἐχαρισάμεθα, ὥστε ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ προσόδους καὶ δυνάμεις καὶ τιμὰς

καὶ συμμαχίας προσειληφέναι.

"Τοιαῦτα γοῦν ἔχοντες παραδείγματα, μήτε τὰ τῶν πατέρων ἔργα καταισχύνητε μήτε τὴν 39 άρχὴν μεγίστην ήδη οὖσαν προῆσθε. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδι ἀπι ἴσης ἡμιν τε καὶ τοις ἄλλοις τοις μηδεν των δμοίων κεκτημένοις βουλευτέον έστίν. 2 ἐκείνοις μὲν γὰρ ἐξαρκεῖ ῥαστωνεύειν καὶ μετὰ ἀσφαλείας ἄλλοις ὑποπεπτωκέναι, ἡμῖν δ' ἀναγκαιόν έστι και πονείν και στρατεύεσθαι καὶ μετὰ κινδύνων τὴν παροῦσαν εὐδαιμονίαν φυλάττειν. πολλοὶ ¹ γὰρ ἐπιβουλεύουσιν ² αὐτῆ· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ὑπεραῖρόν τινας καὶ ζηλοῦται καὶ Φθονείται, κάκ τούτου πόλεμος άίδιος έστιν άπασι τοις καταδεεστέροις προς τους έν τινι 3 αὐτῶν ὑπερέχοντας. ἢ ὁ οὖν ἀπὸ πρώτης ἐχρῆν μηδὲν διαφερόντως ἡμᾶς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ηὐξησθαι, ή, ἐπείπερ τηλικοῦτοι γεγόναμεν καὶ τοσαθτα κεκτήμεθα, πέπρωταί τε ἡ ἄρχειν τῶν ἄλλων ἐγκρατῶς ἡ καὶ αὐτοὺς παντελῶς ἀπολέσθαι (τοις γὰρ ές τε ἀξίωμα τοσούτον καὶ ἐς δύναμιν τηλικαύτην προκεχωρηκόσιν ἀδύνατόν έστιν ἀκινδύνως ίδιωτεῦσαι), πειθώμεθα τῆ τύχη, μηδὲ ἑκοῦσαν αὐτὴν καὶ αὐτεπάγγέλτον τοις τε πατράσιν ήμων υπάρξασαν και ήμιν 4 παραμένουσαν ἀπωσώμεθα. ἔσται δὲ τοῦτο οὐκ ầν τὰ ὅπλα ῥίψωμεν, οὐδ' ἂν τὰς τάξεις ἐκλίπω-

¹ πολλοί Βk., πολλοί τε L.

² ἐπιβουλεύουσιν Wagner, ἐπιθυμοῦσιν L. ³ ħ Rk., μη L.

Armenias, Arabia, and Palestine? Countries whose B.C. 58 very names we did not know precisely in former times we now rule, lording it over some ourselves and having bestowed others upon various persons, so that we have gained from them revenues and troops and honour and alliances.

"With such examples before you, now, do not bring shame upon the deeds of the fathers nor let slip the empire which is already the greatest. cannot even deliberate in like manner with the rest of mankind who have no possessions like ours. them it suffices to live in ease and, with safety guaranteed, to be subject to others, but for us it is necessary to toil, to make campaigns, and to incur danger in guarding our existing prosperity. Against this prosperity many are plotting, since everything that lifts people above their fellows arouses both emulation and jealousy; and consequently an eternal warfare is waged by all inferiors against those who excel them in any way. Hence either we ought not in the first place to have grown powerful beyond other men, or else, since we have become so great and have gained so many possessions, it is fated for us either to rule our subjects firmly or to perish utterly ourselves. For it is impossible for men who have advanced to such distinction and to power so vast to live to themselves without danger. Let us therefore obey Fortune and not repel her, seeing that she voluntarily and at her own behest was present with our fathers and now abides with us. But this result will not be attained if we cast away our arms or desert

μεν, 1 οὐδ' αν δια κενης οἴκοι καθώμεθα 2 η και παρα τοῖς συμμάχοις πλανώμεθα, ἀλλα αν τά τε ὅπλα δια χειρὸς ἀεὶ ἔχωμεν (οὕτω γὰρ μόνως εἰρήνη σώζεται) καὶ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ πολέμου δια κινδύνων ἀσκῶμεν (οὕτω γὰρ μόνως οὐκ ἀεὶ πολε-5 μήσομεν), τοῖς τε δεομένοις τῶν συμμάχων ἀπροφασίστως ἐπικουρῶμεν (οὕτω γὰρ πολὺ πλείους ἔξομεν) καὶ τοῖς ἀεί τι παρακινοῦσι τῶν πολεμίων 3 μη ἐπιτρέπωμεν (οὕτω γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἔθ' ἡμᾶς ἀδικεῖν ἐθελήσει).

"Εί μὲν γάρ τις τῶν θεῶν ἐγγυητὴς ἡμίν 40 έγενετο ὅτι, κὰν ταῦτα μὴ ⁴ ποιῶμεν, οὔτε τις ἡμῖν έπιβουλεύσει καὶ πάνθ' όσα κεκτήμεθα ἀσφαλῶς ἀεὶ καρπωσόμεθα, αἰσχρὸν μὲν ἂν ἦν 5 εἰπεῖν ότι την ήσυχίαν άγειν έχρην, όμως δ' οὖν εἶχον άν τινα σκηψιν εύπρεπη οί μηδεν των δεόντων πράτ-2 τειν βουλόμενοι. εί δ' ανάγκη τε τοὺς κεκτημένους τινα ύπο πολλων επιβουλεύεσθαι, και προσήκει τὰς ἐπιθέσεις αὐτῶν προκαταλαμβάνεσθαι, καὶ οί μεν έπι τοις οικείοις ήσυχάζοντες και περι τούτοις κινδυνεύουσιν, οί δὲ ἐκ περιουσίας τῷ πολέμω καὶ κατά τῶν ἀλλοτρίων 6 χρώμενοι καὶ ἐκεῖνα φυ-3 λάσσουσιν (οὐδεὶς γὰρ περὶ τοῖς ξαυτοῦ δεδιώς των τοῦ πέλας ἐφίεται· ὁ γὰρ περὶ των ὑπαρχόν-των οἱ φόβος ἰσχυρως τοῦ πολυπραγμονεῖν τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα αὐτὸν ἀποτρέπει), τί τοῦτο λέγει τις,7 ώς οὐ χρη ημας ἀεί τι προσκτασθαι;

¹ ἐκλίπωμεν Dind., ἐκλείψωμεν L.

καθώμεθα Pflugk, καθήμεθα L.
 πολεμίων Xyl., πολέμων L.

⁴ μη supplied by Xyl. 5 η̄ν supplied by Pflugk.

⁶ άλλοτρίων ΧυΙ., άλλοβριγων L.

or sit idly at home or even wander about visiting B.C. 58 our allies; it will be attained if we keep our arms constantly in hand (this is the only way to preserve peace), practise the deeds of war by actual fighting (this is the only way we shall not be forever having war), aid unhesitatingly those of our allies who ask for aid (in this way we shall get many more), and do not indulge those of our enemies who are always turbulent (in this way no one will any longer care to wrong us).

"What though some god had become our surety that even if we should fail to do all this, no one would plot against us and we should forever enjoy in safety all that we have won, it would still be disgraceful to say that we ought to keep quiet; yet those who are willing to do nothing that is requisite would then have some show of excuse. But if, as a matter of fact, it is inevitable that men who possess anything should be plotted against by many, and if it behooves them to anticipate their attacks; if those who hold quietly to their own possessions risk losing even these, while those who without any compulsion employ war to acquire the possessions also of others are protecting their own as well,-for no one who fears for his own goods covets those of his neighbour, since his fear concerning what he already has effectually deters him from meddling in what does not belong to him,-if all this be true, why, then, does any one say that we ought not always to be acquiring something more?

283

"Οὐ μέμνησθε, τὰ μὲν ἀκηκοότες τὰ δὲ ἑορακότες, ότι οὔτε τῶν ἐν τῆ Ἰταλία γενῶν οὐδὲν πρότερον ἀπέσχετο τοῦ τῆ πατρίδι ἡμῶν ἐπιβουλεύειν πρὶν τοὺς πολέμους ἐν τῆ ἐκείνων χώρα τοὺς προγόνους ήμων ποιήσασθαι, ούτε οί Ἡπειρωται πρίν ές την 5 Έλλάδα αὐτοὺς περαιωθηναι; οὐ Φίλιππος μελλήσας καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν στρατεύσειν, πρὶν φθάσαντας την εκείνου κακώς ποιήσαι οὐ Περσεύς, οὐκ 'Αντίοχος, οὐ Μιθριδάτης, πρὶν τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτοὺς ἐργάσασθαι. καὶ τί τἆλλα λέγοι τις ἄν; 6 άλλ' οι Καρχηδόνιοι, τέως μέν οὐδὲν δεινον ἀφ' ήμῶν ἐν τῆ ᾿Αφρικῆ εἶχον, ἔς τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν διέπλεον καὶ τὴν χώραν κατέτρεχον τάς τε πόλεις έπόρθουν καὶ παρ' ολίγον καὶ τὸ ἄστυ αὐτὸ είλον, έπειδη δ' άντιπολεμεῖσθαι ήρξαντο, παντάπασιν 7 ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἡμῶν ἐξέδρασαν. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τῶν Γαλατῶν καὶ Κελτῶν ἄν τις εἰπεῖν έχοι. καὶ γὰρ οὖτοι, μέχρι μὲν ἐντὸς τῶν Αλπεων έμένομεν, πολλάκις αὐτὰς ὑπερέβησαν καὶ πολλά της Ἰταλίας ἐπόρθησαν ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτολμήσαμέν ποτε έξω τε των δρων έκστρατεύσαι καὶ τὸν πόλεμόν σφισι περιστήσαι, καί τινα καὶ τής χώρας αὐτῶν ἀπετεμόμεθα, οὐκέτ' οὐδένα πόλεμον ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῆ Ἱταλία, πλὴν ἄπαξ, εἴδομεν. 8 όταν οὖν τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων λέγη τις ὅτι οὐ χρη πολεμείν ημας, οὐδεν άλλο φησίν ή ὅτι ου χρη πλουτείν, ου χρη έτέρων ἄρχειν, ουκ έλευ-9 θέρους, οὐ Ῥωμαίους είναι. ὥσπερ οὖν ἄν, εἴπερ τι τούτων εἶπέ τις, οὐκ αν ηνέσχεσθε ἀλλα καν έν χερσίν αὐτὸν ἀπεκτείνατε, οὕτω καὶ νῦν, ὧ άνδρες έταιροι, πρός τους έκεινα λέγοντας δια-1 ἐμένομεν Oddev, ἔμενον L.

"Do you not recall, partly from hearsay and B.C 58 partly from observation, that none of the Italian races stopped plotting against our country until our ancestors carried the wars into their territory, nor vet the Epirots until our fathers crossed over into Greece? Nor Philip, who intended to make a campaign even against Italy, until they harried his land first; nor Perseus, or Antiochus, or Mithridates, until they treated them in the same way? And why mention the other instances? But take the Carthaginians; so long as they suffered no disaster at our hands in Africa, they kept crossing into Italy, overrunning the country, sacking the towns, and almost captured the city itself; but when they began to have war made upon them, they fled altogether from our land. One might instance the same results in the case of the Gauls and Germans. For these peoples, while we remained on our side of the Alps, often crossed them and ravaged a large part of Italy; but when we ventured at last to make a campaign beyond our own borders and to bring the war home to them, and also took away a part of their territory, we never again saw any war begun by them in Italy, except once. When, accordingly, in the face of these facts, anybody declares that we ought not to make war, he simply says that we ought not to be rich, ought not to rule others, ought not to be free, ought not to be Romans. Therefore, just as you would not endure it if a man should say any of these things, but would kill him even as he stood before you, so now also, comrades, you must feel the same way toward those who make these other

τίθεσθε, μὴ τοῖς ῥήμασί σφων ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἔργοις τὸν νοῦν τεκμαιρόμενοι.

``Oὐκοῦν ὅτι μὲν οὕτω χρὴ φρονεῖν, οὐδέν` $"av^1"$ 41 ἀντειπεῖν ὑμῶν 2 νομίζω· εἰ δ' ὅτι μήτε ἐξήτασται περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου παρὰ 3 τῆ βουλῆ καὶ παρὰ τῷ δήμω μη ἐψήφισται, διὰ τοῦτό τις ήττον οίεται δείν ήμας προθυμηθήναι, λογισάσθω τοῦθ', 4 ὅτι πάντες οἱ πόλεμοι ὅσοι πώποτε γεγόνασιν ήμιν, οί μεν έκ παρασκευής και προεπαγ-2 γέλσεως οι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ καιροῦ συμβεβήκασι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὅσα μὲν ἂν ὁ οἴκοι τε μενόντων ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀγόντων κινηθῆ καὶ ἐκ πρεσβείας τινὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων λάβη, καὶ σκέψιν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ δεῖ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἐστι γίγνεσθαι καὶ ψήφον ἐπάγεσθαι, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τούς τε υπάτους ή και στρατηγούς προστάτ-3 τεσθαί σφισι καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκπέμπεσθαι· ὅσα δ' αν εξεληλυθότων ήδη και εξεστρατευμένων τινων εκφανή, ταυτ' οὐκετ' ες διαγνώμην αγεσθαι χρή, άλλ' ώς καὶ δεδογμένα καὶ κεκυρωμένα ὑπ' αὐτης της χρείας προκαταλαμβάνεσθαι πρὶν αὐξηθῆναι.

4 "'H τίνος μὲν ἔνεκα ὑμᾶς ἐνταῦθ' ὁ δῆμος ἐξέπεμψεν, τίνος δ' ἔνεκα ἐμὲ μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν εὐθὺς ἔστειλε, τοῦτο μὲν ἐπὶ πέντε ἔτη καθάπαξ, δ μήπω πρότερον ἐγεγόνει, ἄρχειν ἑλόμενος, τοῦτο δὲ τέσσαρσι στρατοπέδοις ὁπλίσας, εἰ μὴ καὶ 5 πολεμῆσαι πάντως ἡμᾶς δεήσειν ἐνοίζεν; οὐ γάρ

⁵ αν added by Bk.

που ΐνα μάτην τρεφώμεθα, οὐδ' ἵνα τάς τε πόλεις

 $^{^1}$ οὐδέν' ὰν Pflugk, οὐδένα L. 2 ὑμῶν Bk., ὁμῖν L. 3 παρὰ Rk., παρά τε L. 4 τοῦθ' Pflugk, ταῦθ' L.

statements, judging their disposition not by their $_{\rm B\,C.\,58}$ words but by their deeds.

"Therefore none of you will contend, I think, that this is not the right point of view to take. If, however, any one thinks that because no investigation has been made of this war in the senate and no vote has been passed in the assembly we need be less eager, let him reflect that while some, to be sure, of the many wars which have fallen to our lot, have come about as a result of preparation and previous announcement, yet others have occurred on the spur of the moment. For this reason all uprisings that are made while we are staying at home and keeping quiet, in which the beginning of the complaints arises from some embassy, both call for and demand an inquiry into their nature and the taking of a vote, after which the consuls and practors must be assigned to them and the forces sent out; but all that come to light after commanders have already gone forth and taken the field are no longer to be brought up for decision, but to be taken in hand promptly, before they increase, as matters decreed and ratified by the very urgency of the crisis.

"Else for what reason did the people send you hither, for what reason did they send me immediately after my consulship? Why did they, on the one hand, elect me to hold command for five years at one time, as had never been done before, and on the other hand equip me with four legions, unless they believed that we should certainly be required to fight? Surely it was not that we might be supported in idleness, or that making visits to the allied cities

τὰς συμμαχίδας καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν ὑπήκοον περιιώντες χαλεπώτεροι καὶ τῶν πολεμίων αὐτοῖς γιγνώμεθα, --οὐδ' αν είς ταῦτα φήσειεν, --άλλ' ἵνα την οίκείαν φυλάξωμεν, ίνα 1 την των πολεμίων πορθήσωμεν, ίν' ἄξιόν τι καὶ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ 6 των αναλωμάτων εργασώμεθα. οὐκοῦν εν τούτω καὶ οὖτος ὁ πόλεμος καὶ πᾶς ὁστισοῦν ἄλλος καὶ έπιτέτραπται ήμιν καὶ έγκεχείρισται. καὶ πάνυ γε φρονίμως ἐποίησαν ἐφ' ἡμῖν τὸ τίσι πολεμητέον είναι διαγνώναι καταλιπόντες και μη αὐτοί πόλεμον ψηφισάμενοι. οι μεν γάρ οὔτ' άκριβώσαι τὰ τῶν συμμάχων τοσοῦτον ε αὐτῶν άφεστηκότες ήδυνήθησαν άν, καὶ πρὸς εἰδότας καὶ προπαρεσκευασμένους 3 τούς πολεμίους ούκ αν 7 όμοίως ἐπιτηδείως προσηνέχθησαν ήμεις δὲ δὴ κριταὶ άμα καὶ λειτουργοὶ τοῦ πολέμου γιγνόμενοι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοφώρους τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τὰ οπλα εὐθὺς ἐπιφέροντες, οὕτ' ἀνεξετάστως οὕτ' άδίκως οὔτ' ἀπροφυλάκτως αὐτὸν ποιησόμεθα.

" Καί μοι εί τις ύμων ἐκεῖνο ὑπολαμβάνει, τί δὴ 42 τηλικούτον ο 'Αριόουιστος πεπλημμέληκεν ώστ' άντὶ φίλου καὶ συμμάχου πολέμιος ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, σκοπείτω τουθ', ότι τους άδικείν τι έπιχειρούντας οὐκ ἐφ' οἶς ποιοῦσι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐφ' οἶς φρονοῦσιν ἀμύνασθαι δεῖ, καὶ τήν τε αὔξησιν αὐτῶν πρίν καὶ βλαβήναί τι προκαταλαμβάνειν, καὶ μή περιμείναντας κακώς έργω παθείν, τότε τιμω-2 ρείσθαι. ὅτι τοίνυν καὶ ἐχθρὸς καὶ ἔχθιστός ἐστιν ήμιν, πως αν άλλως μαλλον έλεγχθείη ή έξ ων έποίησεν; πέμψαντος γάρ μου πρός αὐτὸν φι-

² τοσοῦτον Cobet, καὶ τοσοῦτον L. ¹ "va added by Bk. 3 προπαρεσκευασμένους Pflugk, πρός παρεσκευασμένους L.

and our subject territory, we should prove a worse B.C. 58 bane to them even than their enemies. would make this assertion. It was rather that we might protect our own land, ravage that of the enemy, and accomplish something worthy both of our numbers and our expenditures. With this understanding, therefore, both this war and every other whatsoever have been assigned and entrusted to us. They acted very sensibly in leaving in our hands the decision as to whom we should fight, instead of voting for the war themselves. For they would not have been able to understand thoroughly the affairs of our allies, being at such a distance from them, and would not have taken measures with equal opportuneness against enemies who were already informed and prepared. So we, on whom has devolved at once the decision and the carrying out of the war, and who are turning our weapons promptly against foes actually in the field, shall not be waging the war without investigation or unjustly or incautiously.

"But suppose, now, some one of you should answer me with this objection: 'What wrong has Ariovistus done so great that he should have become an enemy of ours in place of a friend and ally?' Let any such man consider the fact that one has to defend one's self against those who are undertaking to do a wrong not merely on the basis of what they do, but also on the basis of what they intend, and has to check their growth promptly, before suffering any injury, instead of waiting until the wrong is actually done and then taking vengeance. Now how could it better be proved that he is hostile, nay, most hostile toward us than by what he has done? I sent

289

λικώς ὅπως ἔλθη τε πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ κοινῆ μεθ' ήμων βουλεύσηται περί των παρόντων, οὔτ' ήλθεν 3 οὖθ' ήξειν ὑπέσχετο. καίτοι τί μὲν ἐγὼ ἄδικον ἡ ανεπιεικές ή φορτικον εποίησα μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτὸν ώς φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον; τί δὲ ἐκεῖνος ύβρεως καὶ ἀσελγείας, οὐκ ἐθελήσας ἐλθεῖν, έκλέλοιπεν; ἄρ' οὐ δυοῖν ἀνάγκη θάτερον, ἤτοι ύπωπτευκότα αὐτόν τι κακὸν πείσεσθαι ἡ ύπερ-4 πεφρονηκότα ήμας τούτο πεποιηκέναι; οὐκούν είτε τι ύποτετόπηκεν, σαφέστατα αὐτὸς ξαυτὸν έξελέγχει ἐπιβουλεύοντα ἡμῖν οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἡμῖν μηδεν δεινον παθών υποπτός έστιν, οὐδ' ἀπ' ορθης καὶ ἀδόλου τῆς γνώμης γίγνεται, ἀλλ' οἱ προπαρεσκευασμένοι τινας αδικήσαι έτοίμην την υποψίαν 5 κατ' αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ συνειδότος σφῶν ἔχουσιν εἴτ' αὖ μηδενὸς τοιούτου ὑπόντος ὑπερεόρακέ τε ἡμᾶς καὶ λόγοις ὑπερηφάνοις ὕβρικε, τί 1 χρη τοῦτον, έπειδαν έργου τινός έπιλάβηται, προσδοκήσαι πράξειν; ο γαρ εν οίς μηδεν κερδανείν εμελλε τοσαύτη ύπεροψία κεχρημένος πῶς οὐ πόρρωθεν έξελήλεγκται μηδέν δίκαιον μήτε φρονών μήτε πράσσων;

"Οὐ τοίνυν ἀπέχρησεν αὐτῷ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμὲ ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν² ἐκέλευσεν, εἴπερ τι αὐτοῦ 43 δεοίμην. καὶ μή μοι μικρὰν τὴν προσθήκην ταύτην εἶναι νομίσητε μεγάλη γάρ ἐστιν ἐπίδειξις τῆς διανοίας αὐτοῦ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν μὴ ἐθελῆσαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφικέσθαι τάχ' ἄν τις καὶ ἄκνφ καὶ ἀρρωστία καὶ φόβφ, ἀπολογούμενος 2 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, ἀνέθηκε τὸ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐμὲ μεταπέμψασθαι οὕτε σκῆψιν οὐδεμίαν ἐνδέχεται, καὶ

¹ τί Bk., τίνα L. 2 αύτον Bk., αὐτον L.

to him in a friendly way to bid him come to us and B.C. 58 consult with us about present conditions, and he neither came nor promised that he would appear. And yet what did I do that was unfair or unseemly or arrogant in summoning him as a friend and ally? What insolence and wantonness, on the other hand. has he failed to show in refusing to come! Is it not inevitable that he did this for one of two reasonseither that he suspected he should suffer some harm or that he felt contempt for us? Now if he felt any suspicion, he convicts himself most clearly of conspiring against us; for no one, when he has suffered no injury, is suspicious towards us, nor does one become so with an upright and guileless mind: rather, it is those who have prepared themselves to wrong others because of their own conscience that harbour suspicion against them. If, on the other hand, nothing of this sort was at the bottom of his action, but he merely looked down on us and insulted us with overweening words, what must we expect him to do when he lays hold of some real project? For when a man has shown such disdain in matters where he was not going to gain anything, does he not stand convicted from afar off of utter injustice both in thought and in deed?

"Not content, now, with this, he further bade me come to him, if I wanted anything of him. Do not, I beg of you, regard this addition as any light matter; for it is weighty as an indication of his disposition. As for his refusing to come to us, one speaking in his defence might ascribe this to hesitation, or infirmity, or fear; but his summoning me admits of no excuse, and furthermore proves that he

προσεξελέγχει καὶ ἐκείνο αὐτὸν οὐ κατ' ἄλλο τι πεποιηκότα ή ὅτι οὔθ' ὑπακούειν ἐς οὐδὲν ἡμίν καὶ προσέτι καὶ προσαντεπιτάττειν πάντα παρε-3 σκεύασται. καίτοι καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πόσης ὕβρεως καὶ πόσου προπηλακισμοῦ μεστόν έστιν; μεταπέμπεταί τινα ὁ ἀνθύπατος ὁ Ῥωμαίων, καὶ έκείνος οὐκ ἔρχεται· μεταπέμπεταί τις 1 τὸν ἀνθύπατον τὸν ε Ῥωμαίων ᾿Αλλόβριξ ἄν. μὴ γὰρ ὅτι ἐμοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος οὐκ ἐπείσθη, μηδ' ὅτι ἐμὲ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐκάλεσε, σμικρόν τι τοῦτο καὶ 4 φαῦλον είναι νομίσητε. ούτε γὰρ έγὼ αὐτὸν μετεπεμψάμην, άλλ' ὁ Ῥωμαίος, ὁ ἀνθύπατος, αι ράβδοι, τὸ ἀξίωμα, τὰ στρατόπεδα, οὔτε ἐγὼ μετεπέμφθην ύπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα. ἰδία μεν γαρ εμοί προς αὐτον οὐδέν έστι συμβόλαιον 3 κοινή δὲ δὴ πάντες καὶ εἴπομέν τι καὶ ἐποιήσαμεν καὶ ἀντηκούσαμεν καὶ ἀντεπάθομεν.4

44 " Πσθ' σσφ τις αν αὐτὸν ἔν τε τοῖς φίλοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις ἡμῶν ἀναγεγράφθαι φήση, τοσούτφ μαλλον ἀξιομίσητον ὅντα ἀποδείξει. διὰ τί; ὅτι οἶα μηδὲ τῶν ἐχθίστων τις ὁμολογούντων ἡμῖν εἶναι ἐτόλμησέ ποτε ποιῆσαι, ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνος ἔν τε τοῖς τῆς φιλίας καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῆς συμμαχίας ὀνόμασιν ἐξείργασται, καθάπερ ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεποιημένος αὐτάς, ἵν' ἡμᾶς ἀδικεῖν ἀδεῶς 2 ἔχη. ἀλλ' οὔτε τότε ἐπὶ τῷ προπηλακίζεσθαι καὶ ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι ἐσπεισάμεθα αὐτῷ, οὔτε νῦν αὐτοὶ τὰς σπονδὰς λύσομεν. ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ὡς πρὸς φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον ἔτ' αὐτὸν ὄντα ἐπρε-

¹ τις R. Steph., τι L. 2 τον v. Herw., των L.

 ³ συμβόλαιον Oddey, συμβούλιον L.
 ⁴ ἀντεπάθομεν V. Herw., ἐπάθομεν L.

acted in the first instance from no other motive B.C. 58 than a determination to yield us obedience in nothing and furthermore to make corresponding demands in every case. And yet with what insolence and contumely does this very course of his teem! proconsul of the Romans summons a man and he does not come; then some one summons the proconsul of the Romans—an Allobrogian! 1 Do not regard it as a slight matter and of little moment that he failed to obey me, Caesar, or that he summoned me, For it was not I who summoned him, but the Roman, the proconsul, the fasces, the authority, the legions; it was not I who was summoned by him, but all these. Privately I have no relations with him, but in common we have all spoken and acted, received his retort and suffered his scorn.

"Therefore the more anybody asserts that he has been enrolled among our friends and among our allies, the more he will prove him to deserve our hatred. Why? Because deeds such as not even any of those who are avowedly our bitterest foes has ever ventured to do have been committed by Ariovistus under the names of friendship and of alliance, as if he had secured these for the very purpose of having a chance to wrong us with impunity. But it was not to be insulted and plotted against that we made our treaty with him at the time, nor will it be ourselves who now break the truce. For we sent envoys to him as to one who was still a friend

¹ Possibly an error on the part of Dio himself.

σβευσάμεθα, ο δ' όρατε ὅπως ἡμῖν κέχρηται·

δαπερ οὖν ἡνίκα εὐεργετεῖν τε ἡμᾶς ἐβούλετο κἀντ' εὖ πάσχειν ἠξίου, δικαίως ἐκείνων ἐτύγχανεν, οὕτω καὶ νῦν, ἐπειδὴ τἀναντία αὐτῶν πάντα ποιεῖ, δικαιότατα ἂν ἐν ἐχθροῦ μέρει νομισθείη. καὶ μὴ θαυμάσητε εἰ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ πρότερόν ποτε καὶ ἐν τῆ βουλῆ καὶ ἐν τῷ δήμω χρηματίσας
τινὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, εἶτα ταυτὶ νυνὶ λέγω. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔχω καὶ οὐ μεταβάλλομαι. τίς δέ ἐστιν αὕτη; τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς καὶ πιστοὺς καὶ τιμᾶν καὶ ἀμείβεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς καὶ ἀπίστους καὶ ἀτιμάζειν καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι. ἐκεῖνος δέ ἐστιν ὁ μεταβαλλόμενος, ὁ μήτε καλῶς μήτε δεόντως τοῖς δοθεῖσιν αὐτῷ παρ' ἡμῶν χρώμενος.

5 "Παθ' ὅτι μὲν δικαιότατα ἃν αὐτῷ πολεμή-

45 " Ω σθ' ὅτι μὲν δικαιότατα ἃν αὐτῷ πολεμήσαιμεν, οὐδένα ἀμφισβητήσειν οἴομαι ὅτι δὲ οὕτε ἄμαχος οὕτε δυσπολέμητός ἐστιν, ὁρᾶτε μὲν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὁμοφύλων αὐτῷ, οῦς πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον, ῥῷστα δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐνικήσαμεν, λογίζεσθε δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὧν περὶ αὐτοῦ ² ἐκείνου πυνθανόμεθα. οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως δύναμίν τινα οἰκείαν συνεστηκυῖαν καὶ συγκεκροτημένην ἔχει νῦν τε, ἄτε μηδὲν δεινὸν προσδοκῶν, καὶ παντελῶς ἀπαράσκευός ἐστιν. οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ ἐκ τῶν ὁμοχώρων ἄν τις αὐτῷ ¹ προθύμως, οὐδ' εἰ πάνυ ἐπαγγέλλεται, βοηθήσειε τίς μὲν γὰρ ἃν ἕλοιτο ἐκείνῳ συμμαχήσας πολεμῆσαι ἡμῖν, μηδὲν ὑφ' ἡμῶν λελυπημένος; πῶς δ' οὐκ ἃν μᾶλλον ἡμῖν πάντες ἡ ἐκείνῳ συναράμενοι τήν τε τυραννίδα αὐτοῦ ὅμορόν σφισιν οὖσαν καταλῦσαι καὶ

and ally, but as to him—see how he has treated us! A.C. 58 Accordingly, just as when he chose to benefit us and desired to be well treated in return, he justly obtained his wishes, so now, likewise, when he pursues the opposite course in everything, he would most justly be regarded in the light of a foe. Do not be surprised that I, who myself once looked after some of his interests both in the senate and in the assembly, now speak in this way. So far as I am concerned, I am of the same mind now as then, and am not changing. And what is that? To honour and reward the good and faithful, but to dishonour and punish the evil and unfaithful. It is he that is changing front, in that he does not make a fair and proper use of the privileges bestowed by us.

"Therefore, that we should go to war with him most justly, no one I think will dispute. And that he is neither invincible nor even a difficult adversary, you can see both from the other members of his race, whom we have often conquered before and have recently conquered very easily, and you can reason further from what we learn about the man himself. For he has no force of his own at any time that is united and welded together, and at present, since he is looking for nothing serious, he is utterly unprepared. Hence, no one of his countrymen even would readily aid him, not even if he makes most tempting offers; for who would choose to be his ally and fight against us, if he had not received any injury at our hands? Would they not all, rather, cooperate with us. instead of with him, in the desire of overthrowing his

της χώρας μέρος τι παρ' ήμῶν προσλαβεῖν ἐθελή-4 σειαν; εὶ δὲ δὴ καὶ συσταῖέν τινες, οὔτι γε καὶ κρείττους αν ήμων γένοιντο. Ίνα γαρ τάλλα έάσω, τὸ πλήθος ήμων, τὴν ήλικίαν, τὴν ἐμπειρίαν, τὰ έργα, ἐκεῖνό γε τίς οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι ἡμεῖς μὲν κατὰ παν 1 όμοίως τὸ σωμα ωπλίσμεθα, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ δὴ γυμνοὶ τὸ πλεῖστόν εἰσι, καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν καὶ λογισμῷ καὶ τάξει χρώμεθα, ἐκείνοι δὲ δὴ θυμῷ 5 πρὸς πάντα ἀσύντακτοι Φέρονται; μὴ γάρ τοι μήτε την δρμην αὐτῶν μήτε τὸ μέγεθος ἢ τῶν σωμάτων ἢ τῆς βοῆς φοβηθῆτε. φωνή τε γὰρ οὐδένα πώποτε ἀνθρώπων ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν δρᾶν μέν οὐδὲν πλέον, ἄτε τὰς αὐτὰς ήμιν χείρας ἔχοντα, πάσχειν δὲ πολύ πλείω, ἄτε καὶ μεγάλα καὶ γυμιὰ ὄντα, δυνήσεται· ή τε όρμὴ ἄμετρος καὶ προπετης τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς οὖσα καὶ 46 ἐκκενοῦται ραδίως καὶ ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἀνθεῖ. πεπειραμένοις δέ που ὧν λέγω καὶ νενικηκόσιν ὑμῖν τούς όμοίους αὐτοῖς ταυτὶ παραινῶ, ὥσθ' ὑμᾶς μήτε τῷ λόγω δοκείν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ παράγεσθαι, καὶ τῶ ἔργω ἐχυρωτάτην τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς νίκης ἐκ 2 τῶν προκατειργασμένων ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τῶν Γαλατῶν αὐτῶν τῶν ὁμοίων σφίσι συχνοὶ ήμιν συμμαχήσουσιν, ώστ' εί καί τι φοβερον τὰ ἔθνη ταῦτα εἶχε, τοῦτο καὶ ἡμῖν καὶ ἐκείνοις 2 ύπάρξει.

"Ταῦτ' οὖν αὐτοί τε οὕτω λογίζεσθε καὶ τοὺς 3 ἄλλους διδάσκετε· ὡς εἴ γε καὶ ὑμῶν τινες ἄλλως πως φρονοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἔγωγε καὶ ὡς πολεμήσω, οὐδὲ ἐγκαταλείψω ποτὲ τὴν τάξιν ἢν ἐτάχθην

 $^{^1}$ $\pi \hat{a} \nu$ Rk., $\pi a \nu \theta \dot{}$ L. 2 èkelvois R. Steph., èkelvw L.

despotic rule on their very borders, and of obtaining B.C. 58 from us some share of his territory? And even if some should band together, they would not prove superior to us in any way. For, to omit other considerations,—our numbers, our age, our experience, our deeds,—who does not know that we have armour over all our body alike, whereas they are part unprotected, and that most employ both reason and organization, whereas they are unorganized and rush at everything impulsively? Do not, then, fear their violence nor yet the magnitude either of their bodies or their shouting. For voice never yet killed any man, and their bodies, having the same hands as ours, can accomplish no more, but will be capable of much greater injury through being both large and unprotected. And though their charge is tremendous and headlong at first, it easily exhausts itself and is effective for but a short while. To you who have of course experienced what I mention and have conquered men like them I make these suggestions, so that you may not seem to have been misled by my words, but may really feel a most steadfast hope of victory as a result of your former exploits. However, a great many of the very Gauls who are like them will be our allies, so that even if these nations did have anything terrible about them, we shall possess that advantage in common with them.

"Do you, then, look at matters in this light yourselves, and also instruct the rest. For that matter, even if some of you do feel differently, I, for my part, will fight just the same and will never abandon the post to which I have been assigned by my country.

ύπὸ τῆς πατρίδος. καί μοι 1 τὸ δέκατον στρατόπεδον άρκέσει καὶ γὰρ εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι κᾶν διὰ πυρὸς 4 δέη καὶ γυμνοὶ χωρήσουσι προθύμως. οί δὲ δὴ άλλοι την ταχίστην ἀπαγάγετε, μηδέ μοι μάτην ενταθθα τρύγεσθε, τά τε κοινα είκη αναλίσκοντες καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων πόνων μεταποιούμενοι, τήν τε λείαν τὴν ³ ὑφ' ἐτέρων κτωμένην σφετεριζόμενοι." Ταῦτα τοῦ Καίσαρος εἰπόντος οὐ μόνον οὐδεὶς 47

άντειπεν, εί και τὰ μάλιστά τινες 4 τάναντία σφίσιν εγίγνωσκον, άλλα και συνήνεσαν πάντες. καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα οί δο δι' ὑποψίας αὐτῷ ὄντες, λογοποιείν à ήκουσαν. καὶ τούς γε 6 στρατιώτας ού γαλεπώς έπεισαν πειθαρχήσαι, τούς μέν έκ τοῦ προκεκρίσθαι προθυμουμένους, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους 2 δι' ἐκείνους Φιλοτιμουμένους. ἐξαίρετον δὲ δὴ τὸ δέκατον στράτευμα ἐποιήσατο, ὅτι εὔνοιάν πως άεὶ αὐτοῦ εἰχεν. οὕτω δὲ δὴ τὰ πολιτικὰ στρατόπεδα πρὸς τὴν τῶν καταλόγων τάξιν ὢνομάζετο. όθενπερ καὶ νῦν ὁμοίως τὰ νῦν ὄντα τὰς ἐπικλή-

'Ωρμημένων οὖν αὐτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκέτι κατὰ χώραν έμεινε, μη και χρονίσαντες άμβλύτεροι αὐθις γένωνται, άλλ' εὐθὺς άρας ἐπὶ τὸν 'Αριόουιστον ήλασε. καὶ οὕτω γε 6 αὐτὸν τῷ αἰφνιδίφ της εφόδου κατέπληξεν ώστε καὶ ες λόγους οί 4 ύπερ ειρήνης ελθείν κατηνάγκασεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ συνέβησαν αὐτός τε γὰρ πάντα προστάξαι καὶ έκείνος οὐδὲν ὑπακοῦσαι ἡθέλησεν.

πόλεμος συνερρώγει, καὶ μετέωροι οὐ μόνον αὐτοὶ

σεις ἔχει.

¹ καί μοι Pflugk, καί τοι L.

³ The Rk., Ral The L.

⁵ of R. Steph., \$ L.

² τρύχεσθε Bk., εντρύχεσθε L.

⁴ TIVES Rk , TIVES ES L.

⁶ γε Bk., τε L.

The tenth legion will be enough for me; I am sure BC. 58 that, if there should be any need of it, they would readily go through fire naked. The rest of you be off, the quicker the better, and let me not see you wearing yourselves out here to no purpose, recklessly spending the public money, laying claim to other men's labours, and appropriating the plunder gathered by others."

At the end of this speech of Caesar's not only did no one raise an objection, even if some thought altogether the opposite, but they all agreed, especially those who were suspected by him, to spread the ideas they had heard. They had no difficulty in persuading the soldiers to yield obedience; some were eager to do so as a result of having been chosen in preference to others, and the rest were led to do the same through emulation of these. He had specially singled out the tenth legion because for some reason he always felt kindly toward it. This was the way the legions of the republic were named, according to the order of their enrolment; whence those of the present day have similar titles.

When their enthusiasm had been thus aroused, Caesar, in order that they might not grow indifferent again through delay, no longer remained stationary, but immediately set out and marched against Ariovistus. By the suddenness of his approach he so alarmed the latter that he forced him to hold a conference with him regarding peace. They did not come to terms, however, since Caesar wished to make all the demands and Ariovistus refused to obey any of them. The war consequently broke out; and not only were the two sides them-

έκάτεροι ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι οἵ τε πολέμιοἱ σφων οἱ ἐκείνῃ πάντες ἢσαν, τήν τε μάχην αὐτῶν ὅτι τάχιστα ἔσεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἄπαξ κρατήσασι 5 καὶ τἄλλα δουλεύσειν 1 νομίζοντες. προείχον δὲ οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ τοῖς μεγέθεσιν, οἱ δὲ δὴ 'Ρωμαῖοι τῷ τε ἐμπειρία καὶ ταῖς ὁπλίσεσι καὶ πως καὶ πρὸς τὸν θυμὸν τῶν Κελτῶν, τήν τε ἄκριτον καὶ προπετῆ αὐτῶν ὁρμήν, ἀντίρροπον τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος φρόνημα εὐρίσκετο, ὥστε ἰσοπαλεῖς ἐκ τούτων ὄντες καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας τήν τε ἐπ' αὐταῖς προθυμίαν ἰσοστασίας ἐποιοῦντο.

'Αντικαθημένων δε αὐτῶν ἀλλήλοις, αί γυναῖκες αί των βαρβάρων ἀπηγόρευσάν σφισι θειάσασαι μηδεμίαν πρό της νέας σελήνης μάχην συνάψαι. 2 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ ᾿Αριόουιστος (πάνυ γὰρ αὐταῖς προσείχεν δπότε τοιοῦτό τι ποιήσειαν) οὐχ άπάση εὐθὺς τῆ δυνάμει, καίτοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων προκαλουμένων σφας, συνέμιξεν, αλλα τους ίππέας μετά τῶν συντεταγμένων σφίσι πεζῶν μόνους ἐκπέμπων ισχυρώς αὐτοὺς ἐλύπει. κάκ τούτου καταφρονήσας χωρίον τι ύπερ τοῦ ταφρεύματός σφων 3 καταλαβείν επεχείρησε. καὶ κατέσχε μεν αὐτό, αντικαταλαβόντων δε και εκείνων έτερον, ες μεν μάχην, καίπερ καὶ μέχρι τῆς μεσημβρίας τὸν στρατον έξω του Καίσαρος παρατάξαντος, ουχ ωρμησεν, έπαναχωρήσαντος δε αὐτοῦ προς εσπέραν ἐπῆλθέ τε έξαπιναίως σφίσι καὶ ὀλίγου καὶ 4 τὸ χαράκωμα αὖτῶν εἶλε. προχωρούντων οὖν οὔτως οἱ τῶν πραγμάτων σμικρόν τε ἔτι τῶν γυναικών εφρόντισε, καὶ τῆ ὑστεραία παραταξα-

¹ δουλεύσειν Η. Steph., δουλεύειν L.

selves in anxious suspense, but likewise all the BC. 58 allies and enemies of both sides in that region, since they felt sure that the battle between them would take place in the shortest possible time and that all would have to serve those who once conquered. The barbarians were superior in numbers and in physical size, the Romans in experience and in armour. To some extent also Caesar's prudence was found to counterbalance the fiery spirit of the Germans and their reckless and impetuous attack. As a result, then, of their being evenly matched in these respects, their hopes and their zeal based on these hopes were likewise in perfect balance.

While they were encamped opposite each other, the women of the barbarians as the result of their divinations, forbade the men to engage in any battle before the new moon. For this reason Ariovistus, who always paid great heed to them whenever they took any such action, did not immediately join in conflict with his entire force, although the Romans were challenging them to battle. Instead, he sent out the cavalry alone, with only the foot-soldiers assigned to them, and did the other side severe injury. Then, becoming contemptuous of them, he undertook to occupy a position above the Romans' entrenchments; this he seized, and his opponents occupied another in their turn. Then, although Caesar kept his army drawn up outside until noon, Ariovistus would not proceed to battle, but when, toward evening, the Romans retired, he suddenly attacked them and all but captured their rampart. Therefore, since affairs were turning out so well for him, he paid little heed any longer to the women; and on the following day, when the Romans had

μένων των 'Ρωμαίων, ὅπερ που καθ' ἡμέραν ἐποιοῦντο, ἀντεπεξήγαγε.

Καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνοι προϊόντας ἐκ τῶν σκηνωμάτων ιδόντες οὐχ ἡσύχασαν, άλλ' ἐξάξαντες ούτε συντάξασθαί σφισιν ἀκριβῶς ἐπέτρεψαν, καὶ τὴν ἀκόντισιν αὐτῶν, ἐφ' ἡ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα έθάρσουν, δρόμφ μετὰ βοῆς προσπεσόντες ὑπετέ-2 μοντο, καὶ οὕτω γε ὁμόσε αὐτοῖς ἐχώρησαν ὥστε σφας μήτε τοις κουτοις μήτε τοις ξίφεσι τοις μακροτέροις χρήσασθαι. ωθίζοντό τε οὖν, καὶ τοῖς σώμασι τὸ πλείον ἡ τοίς ὅπλοις ἐμάχοντο, ἀνατρέψαι τε τὸν προσκείμενον καὶ καταβαλεῖν τὸν 3 ανθεστηκότα αγώνα ποιούμενοι. καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ τῆς τῶν βραχυτέρων ξιφῶν χρήσεως στερηθέντες ταις τε χερσί και τοις στόμασιν άντ' εκείνων ηγωνίζοντο, κατασπώντες τους άντιπάλους, δάκνοντες, σπαράττοντες, ἄτε καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν σω-4 μάτων πολύ αὐτῶν ὑπερέχοντες. οὐ μέντοι καὶ μεγάλα τινὰ ἐκ τούτου σφᾶς ἔβλαψαν· συμπλεκόμενοι γὰρ αὐτοῖς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἰσόρροποί πως τῆ τε οπλίσει καὶ τῆ τέχνη ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ τέλος ἐπὶ μακρότατον τοιουτοτρόπω μάχη χρησάμενοι όψέ ποτε ἐπεκράτησαν· τά τε γὰρ ξιφίδια καὶ σμικρότερα τῶν Γαλατικῶν ὄντα καὶ τὰς προσβολὰς χαλυ-5 βδικάς έχοντα χρησιμώτατά σφισιν έγένετο, καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ αὐτῷ πόνω ἐπὶ πλεῖον συσχεθέντες μαλλον των βαρβάρων αντήρκεσαν, άτε ούγ δμοιον ταις όξύτησι των έφόδων το διαρκές σφων έχόντων. διὰ μὲν οὖν ταθτα ἡττήθησαν ἐκείνοι,

been drawn up in battle array, according to their B.C. 58 daily custom, he led out his forces against them.

The Romans on seeing them advancing from their tents did not remain quiet, but rushing forward, gave them no chance to form strictly in line, and by attacking with a charge and shout prevented them from hurling their javelins, in which they had especial confidence; in fact, they came to so close quarters with them that the enemy could not employ either their pikes or long swords. So the barbarians pushed and shoved, fighting more with their bodies than with their weapons, and struggled to overturn whomever they encountered and to knock down whoever withstood them. Many, deprived even of the use of their short swords, fought with hands and teeth instead, dragging down their opponents, and biting and tearing them, since they had a great advantage in the size of their bodies. The Romans, however, did not suffer any great injuries in consequence of this; they closed with their foes, and thanks to their armour and skill, somehow proved a match for them. At length, after carrying on that sort of battle for a very long time, they prevailed late in the day. For their daggers, which were smaller than the Gallic daggers and had steel points, proved most serviceable to them; moreover, the men themselves, accustomed to hold out for a long time with the same sustained effort lasted better than the barbarians, because the endurance of the latter was not of like quality with the vehemence of their attacks. The Germans were accordingly defeated, though they

οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐτράποντο, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἡθέλησαν

άλλ' ὅτι οὐκ ήδυνήθησαν φυγεῖν ὑπ' ἀπορίας τε 6 άμα καὶ ἐκλύσεως. συστρεφόμενοι οὖν κατὰ τριακοσίους καὶ πλείους καὶ ἐλάττους, τάς τε άσπίδας άπανταχόθεν σφων προεβάλλοντο, καὶ ορθοί ιστάμενοι ἀπρόσμικτοι 1 μεν ύπο της συγκλείσεως 2 δυσκίνητοι δὲ ύπὸ τῆς πυκνότητος έγίγνοντο, καὶ οὕτε ἔδρων οὐδὲν οὕτε ἔπασγον. 50 Οί οὖν 'Ρωμαῖοι, ἐπειδὴ μήτε ἐκεῖνοι ἀντεπήεσάν σφισιν ή καὶ έφευγον, άλλ' ἐν ταὐτῷ μένοντες ώσπερ εν πύργοις είστήκεσαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ τά τε δοράτια κατὰ πρώτας εὐθὺς ἄτε μηδεμίαν 2 χρησιν έχοντα ἀπετέθειντο, καὶ τοῖς ξίφεσιν οὐκ έδύναντο οὔτε συστάδην μάχεσθαι οὔτε τῶν κεφαλών αὐτών, ήπερ καὶ μόνον άλωτοὶ οἶά που γυμναίς αὐταίς μαχόμενοι ήσαν, έφικνείσθαι, τάς τε ἀσπίδας ἀπέρριψαν, καὶ προσπίπτοντές σφισιν, οί μεν έξ έπιδρομής οί δε καὶ έγγύθεν, ενήλλοντο 3 3 τρόπου τινά καὶ έκοπτου αὐτούς, κάκ τούτου

πολλοὶ μὲν εὐθὺς ἄτε καὶ μιᾶς ἐπικοπῆς ὄντες ἔπιπτον, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πρὶν πεσεῖν ἀπέθνησκον· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς πυκνότητος τῆς συστάσεως καὶ

⁴ τεθνηκότες όρθοι ἀνείχοντο. τοῦ μὲν οὖν πεζοῦ τὸ πλεῖστον οὕτω καὶ ἐκεῖ καὶ πρὸς ταῖς άμάξαις, ὅσον γε καὶ ἐξωσθὲν ἐς αὐτὰς ἐτύγχανε, σύν τε ταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ σὺν τοῖς παισὶν αὐτῶν ἐφθάρησαν· ὁ δὲ ¹ ᾿Αριόουιστος μεθ' ἱππέων . . . τήν τε χώραν παραχρῆμα ἐξέλιπε, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ՝ Ῥῆνον

¹ απρόσμικτοι Xyl., πρόσμικτοι L.
2 συγκλείσεως Leunel., συγκλίσεως L.

³ ἐνήλλοντο Cobet, ἀνήλλοντο L.

⁴ δ δè R. Steph., δ δè δ L.

did not turn to flight—not that they lacked the B.C. 58 wish, but simply because they were unable to flee through helplessness and exhaustion. Gathering, therefore, in groups of three hundred, more or less, they would hold their shields before them on all sides, and standing erect, they proved unassailable by reason of their solid front and difficult to dislodge on account of their denseness; thus they neither inflicted nor suffered any harm.

The Romans, when their foes neither advanced against them nor yet fled, but stood immovable in the same spot, as if in towers, had likewise put aside their spears at the very outset, since these were of no use; and as they could not with their swords either fight in close combat or reach the others' heads, where alone they were vulnerable, since they fought with their heads unprotected, they threw aside their shields and rushed upon the foe. Some by taking a running start and others from close at hand leaped up as it were upon the tower-like groups and rained blows upon them. Thereupon many fell immediately, victims of a single blow, and many died even before they fell; for they were kept upright even when dead by the closeness of their formation. In this way most of the infantry perished either there or near the waggons, back to which some had been driven; and with them perished their wives and children. Ariovistus with [a few]2 horsemen straightway left the country and set out for the

A word of this meaning seems required.

305

Apparently the solid walls of shields, as the men stood in groups facing outward, are conceived of as the towers of a city wall.

- 5 όρμήσας 1 ἐπεδιώχθη μέν, οὐ κατελήφθη δέ. ἀλλ' ό μὲν ἐπὶ πλοίου προεξέφυγε, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τοὺς μὲν οἱ 'Ρωμαῖοι ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐσβαίνοντες ² ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ὑπολαβὼν ἀπήνεγκεν.
 - όρμήσας Rk., παραχρῆμα όρμήσας L.
 ἐσβαίνοντες Bk., ἐσβαίνοντας L.

Rhine. He was pursued, but not overtaken, and B.C 58 escaped on a boat ahead of his followers; of the rest some were killed by the Romans who advanced into the river, while others were seized and borne away by the river itself.

BOOK XXXIX

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τριακοστῷ ἐνάτφ τῶν Δίωνος 'Ρωμαϊκῶν.

- α. 'Ως Καΐσαρ Βελγικοίς επολέμησεν.
- β. 'Ως Κικέρων κατηλθεν.
- γ. 'Ως Πτολεμαίος έκπεσων έξ Αἰγύπτου ές 'Ρώμην ἀνῆλθεν.
- δ. 'Ως Κάτων τὰ ἐν Κύπρφ κατεστήσατο.
- · Ωs Πομπήιος καὶ Κράσσος ὕπατοι ἡρέθησαν.
- ζ. 'Ως τὸ θέατρον τὸ Πομπηίου καθιερώθη.
- η. 'Ως Δέκιμος² Βροῦτος Καίσαρος ὑποστράτηγος Οὐενετοὺς ναυμαχία ἐνίκησεν.
- θ. 'Ως Πούπλιος Κράσσος Καίσαρος ὑποστράτηγος 'Ακυἴτανοῖς ἐπολέμησεν.
- . 'Ως Καῖσαρ Κελτῶν τισι πολεμήσας τὸν 'Ρῆνον διέβη· καὶ περὶ τοῦ 'Ρήνου.
- κ. 'Ως Καΐσαρ ες Βρεττανίαν επεραιώθη και περί της νήσου.
- 'Ως Πτολεμαῖος ὑπὸ Γαβινίου ἐς Αἴγυπτον κατήχθη, καὶ ὡς ὁ Γαβίνιος ἐπὶ τοὑτφ ἐκρίθη.

Χρόνου πληθος έτη τέτταρα εν οίς άρχοντες οι αριθμούμενοι οίδε εγένοντο

Π. Κορνήλιος Π. υί. Λεντοῦλος Σπινθήρ ύπ.

Κ. Καικίλιος Κ. υἱ Μέτελλος Νέπως

Γν. Κορνήλιος Π. υί. Λεντοῦλος Μαρκελλίνος

Λ. Μάρκιος 3 Λ. υί. Φίλιππος

Γν. Πομπήιος Γν. υί. Μάγνος τὸ Β ._

Μ. Λικίννιος Π. υί. Κράσσος τὸ Β ύπ.

Λ. Δομίτιος Γν. υί. 'Αηνόβαρβος4

'Αππ. Κλαύδιος 'Αππ. υί. Ποῦλχρος

Οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνα διεπολεμήθη· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐν ῷ Κορνήλιός τε Σπινθὴρ καὶ ὁ Μέτελλος ὁ Νέπως ὑπατεύειν ἤρξαντο

¹ Βελγικοΐς Leuncl., βελτικοΐς L, and so just below.

² Δέκιμος R. Steph., δεκίμιος L.

BOOK XXXIX

The following is contained in the Thirty-ninth of Dio's Rome:-

How Caesar fought the Belgae (chaps. 1-5).

How Cicero came back from exile (chaps. 6-11).

How Ptolemy, expelled from Egypt, came to Rome (chaps. 12-16).

How Cato settled matters in Cyprus (chaps. 22-23).

How Pompey and Crassus were chosen consuls (chaps, 27-37).

How Pompey's Theatre was dedicated (chap. 38).

How Decimus Brutus, Caesar's lieutenant, conquered the Veneti in a sea-fight (chaps. 40-43).

How Publius Crassus, Caesar's lieutenant, fought the Aquitani (chap. 46).

How Caesar, after warring with some of the Germans, crossed the Rhine; and concerning the Rhine (chaps. 47-49).

How Caesar crossed over into Britain; and concerning the island (chaps. 50-53).

How Ptolemy was restored to Egypt by Gabinius, and how Gabinius was brought to trial for this (chaps. 55-63).

Duration of time, four years, in which there were the magistrates (consuls), here enumerated:—

57 P. Cornelius P. F. Lentulus Spinther, C. Caecilius C. F. Metellus Nepos.

56 Cn. Cornelius P. F. Lentulus Marcellinus, L. Marcius L. F. Philippus.

55 Cn. Pompeius Cn. F. Magnus (II), M. Licinius P. F. Crassus (II).

54 L. Domitius Cn. F. Ahenobarbus, App. Claudius App. F. Pulcher.

Such was the end of this war. Later, at the end B.C. 57 of the winter in which Cornelius Spinther and Metellus Nepos began their consulship, a third war

³ Μάρκιος Xyl., μάρκος L.

^{4 &#}x27;Αηνόβαρβος R. Steph., αννόβαρβος L.

διελθόντος, τρίτος τις πόλεμος αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο. οἱ γὰρ Βελγικοὶ τῷ τε Ὑήνῳ πολλοῖς καὶ συμμίκτοις 2 γένεσι προσοικοῦντες, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀκεανὸν τὸν κατὰ Βρεττανίαν καθήκοντες, ἐν μὲν τῷ πρὶν οἱ μὲν ἔνσπονδοι τοῖς Ὑωμαίοις ἢσαν οἱ δὲ ἐφρόντιζον αὐτῶν οὐδέν, τότε δὲ τὸν Καίσαρα εὖ φερόμενον ἰδόντες, καὶ δείσαντες μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς ὁρμήση, συνεστράφησαν, καὶ κοινῷ πλὴν Ὑημῶν¹ λόγῳ χρησάμενοι συνεβουλεύσαντό τε ἐπὶ τοῖς Ὑωμαίοις καὶ συνώμοσαν, Γάλβαν² προστησάμενοι.

Ταῦτ' οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ παρὰ τῶν 'Ρημῶν ' μαθὼν έν φρουρά τε αὐτοὺς ἐποιήσατο, κάνταθθα πρὸς τῶ Αὐξούννω ποταμῷ στρατοπεδευσάμενος ήθροιζέ τε άμα τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ ἐξήσκει. οὐδὲ έτόλμησε πρότερον τοις πολεμίοις, καίτοι την χώραν σφῶν κατατρέχουσιν, ἐς χείρας ἐλθείν, 4 πρίν ώς και δεδιότος αὐτοῦ καταφρονήσαντες έπεχείρησαν τήν τε γέφυραν καταλαβείν καὶ τὴν σιτοπομπίαν, ην δι' αὐτης παρά τῶν συμμάχων έποιείτο, ἀφελέσθαι. τοῦτο γὰρ έξ αὐτομόλων προγνοὺς ἐσόμενον, ἔπεμψεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς νυκτὸς 2 τούς τε ψιλούς καὶ τούς ίππέας. καὶ οί μὲν προσπεσόντες τοις βαρβάροις άπροσδόκητοι πολλούς ἀπέκτειναν, ὥστε πάντας της ἐπιούσης νυκτός ές την οίκείαν, άλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδη οί Αἴδουοι ἐσβεβληκότες ἐς αὐτὴν ἠγγέλλοντο, άπαναστήναι Καΐσαρ δὲ ήσθετο μὲν τὸ γιγνόμενον, οὐκ ἐτόλμησε δέ σφας εὐθύς, ἀγνοία τῶν

Υημών Xyl., ρηνών L.
 συνώμοσαν Γάλβαν Bk., συνωμόσαντο άδραν L.

BOOK XXXIX

arose. The Belgae, who dwelt near the Rhine in B.C. 57 many mixed tribes and extended even to the ocean opposite Britain, though they had previously been at peace with the Romans, or, in the case of some, had paid no heed to them, observing now Caesar's success and fearing that he might advance against them also, came together and by common agreement, except on the part of the Remi, devised plans against the Romans and formed a league, placing Galba at their head.

Caesar learned this from the Remi and stationed outposts to watch them; later he encamped beside the river Axona, where he concentrated his troops and drilled them. Yet he did not venture to come to close quarters with the enemy, though they were overrunning Roman territory, until in their contempt for him, believing him to be afraid, they undertook to occupy the bridge and to put a stop to the conveyance of grain, which the allies brought across it. He was apprised beforehand by deserters that this was to be done, and so at night sent against the foe the light-armed troops and the cavalry. These fell upon the barbarians, taking them by surprise, and killed many of them, so that the following night they all withdrew to their own land, especially since the Aedui were reported to have invaded it. Caesar perceived what was going on, but through ignorance of the country did not venture to pursue

2 χωρίων, $\epsilon \pi \iota \delta \iota \hat{\omega} \xi a \iota$. $\dot{a} \lambda \lambda$ $\ddot{a} \mu a \, \xi \omega^{1} \, \tau \dot{\eta} \nu \, \tau \epsilon \, \ddot{\iota} \pi \pi \sigma \nu$ λαβών και τούς πεζούς ἐπακολουθείν κελεύσας κατέλαβεν αὐτούς, καὶ ὑποστάντας ἐς μάχην (ἐνομίζετο γὰρ σὺν μόνη τῆ ἴππω εἶναι) διέτριψε μέχρις οδ και ο πεζος ήλθε, και οδτω παντί τώ στρατφ περισχών τούς τε πλείους κατέκοψε καὶ τούς περιλοίπους όμολογία παρεστήσατο. κάκ τούτου καὶ τῶν δήμων τοὺς μὲν ἀμαχεὶ προσηγάγετο τοὺς δὲ πολέμφ.

Νέρουιοι οὖν τῆς μὲν πεδιάδος (οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν άξιόμαχοι) έκόντες αὐτῷ ἐξέστησαν, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὰ όρη τὰ ὑλωδέστατα ἀνακομισθέντες, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐκεῖθεν² ἐπικατέδραμον ἀνέλπιστοι, καὶ καθ' δ μεν αὐτος ο Καίσαρ ην ετράποντο και έφυγον, τῷ δὲ δὴ πλείονι τοῦ στρατοῦ καθυπέρτεροί τε έγενοντο καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοβοεὶ είλον.

2 αἰσθόμενος δὲ τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνος (προεκεχωρήκει³ γὰρ4 έπί τι⁵ τους τετραμμένους διώκων) ανέστρεψε, καὶ καταλαβών αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ ἐρύματι άρπαγὴν ποιουμένους περιεστοιχίσατο καὶ κατεφόνευσε. πράξας δὲ ταῦτα, οὐδὲν ἔτι β μέγα ἔργον τοὺς

λοιπούς Νερουίους χειρούμενος έσχε.

Κάν τούτω 'Ατουατικοί, πλησιόχωροί τε αὐτοῖς όντες καὶ τὸ γένος τό τε φρόνημα τὸ τῶν Κίμ-βρων ἔχοντες, ὥρμησαν μὲν ὡς καὶ βοηθήσοντές σφισιν, έπειδη δε έφθησαν προαλόντες, άνεχώρησαν, καὶ πάντα τάλλα χωρία ἐκλιπόντες ἐς ἐν 2 τείχος τὸ κράτιστον ἀνεσκευάσαντο. καὶ αὐτῷ

¹ εω supplied by Bk.

³ προεκεχωρήκει Oddey, προσεχωρήκει L.

6 έτι Xvl., 8τι L.

The text is corrupt here, some words having fallen out.

⁴ γàρ added by Oddey. ⁵ ἐπί τι Rk., ἐπί τε L.

BOOK XXXIX

them immediately. At daybreak, however, taking B.C. 57 the cavalry, and bidding the infantry follow on behind, he came up with the fugitives; and when they offered battle, supposing he had come with his cavalry alone, he delayed them until his infantry arrived. In this way, having his whole army, he surrounded them, cut down the larger part, and received the surrender of the remainder. Thereupon he won over a number of their towns, some without fighting and some by war.

The Nervii voluntarily retired before him from the level country, as they were no match for his forces, and betook themselves into the most densely wooded mountains; then, when they charged down upon them unexpectedly.\(^1\) In the part of the battle where Caesar himself was they soon turned and fled, but with the larger part of their army they proved superior and captured the camp without a blow. When Caesar, who had advanced a little way in pursuit of those he had routed, became aware of this, he turned back and came upon them as they were engaged in pillage within the entrenchments, where he surrounded and slaughtered them. After this success he found it no great task to subdue the rest of the Nervii.

Meanwhile the Aduatuci, near neighbours of theirs, who belonged to the Cimbri by race and temperament, set out to assist them, but were overpowered before they accomplished anything, whereupon they withdrew, and leaving all their other sites, established themselves in one fortified town, the strongest they had. Caesar assaulted it, but was

 $^{^{1}}$ Cf. Caesar B.G. ii. 19. Editors have filled the lacuna with a variety of readings.

τον Καίσαρα προσβαλόντα ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας άπεκρούσαντο, μέχρις ού πρός μηχανών ποίησιν έτράπετο. τότε γάρ, τέως μεν τήν τε ύλην τέμνοντας καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα συμπηγνύντας τοὺς 'Ρωμαίους εώρων, γέλωτα τη ἀπειρία των γιγνο-3 μένων 1 ἐποιοῦντο, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνά τε ἐξειργάσθη καὶ ὁπλιταί σφισι πανταχόθεν ἄμα ἔπ' αὐτῶν προσήγοντο, κατεπλάγησαν άτε μηπώποτε τοιοῦτό τι ἐορακότες, καὶ διεκηρυκεύσαντο, τά τε έπιτήδεια τοίς στρατιώταις πέμψαντες καὶ ὅπλα 4 τινὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ῥίψαντες. ὡς μέντοι τά τε μηχανήματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν γυμνωθέντα αὖθις εἶδον καὶ ἐκείνους πρὸς θυμηδίαν οἶα ² ἐπὶ νίκη τετραμμένους ήσθοντο, μετέγνωσαν, καὶ ἀναθαρσήσαντες της νυκτός επέξοδον ώς και ανελπίστους σφας κατακόψοντες έποιήσαντο. περιπεσόντες δὲ τοῖς προφύλαξιν (ὁ γὰρ Καισαρ ἀκριβῶς πάντα ἀεὶ διφκει) ἐσφάλησαν. και οὐδὲ τῶν λοιπῶν οὐδεὶς ἔτι συγγνώμης ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἐπράθησαν.³ Έπειδη δὲ οὖτοί τε κατεστράφατο, καὶ ἄλλοι οί μεν ύπ' αὐτοῦ οί δε καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑποστρατήγων συχνοὶ ἐκεχείρωντο, ὅ τε χειμών ἐνέστη, ἀνεχώ-

ρησεν ες τὰ χειμάδια. μαθόντες δὲ ταῦθ΄ οἰ οἴκοι το Ῥωμαῖοι εθαύμασαν ὅτι ἔθνη τοσαῦτα, ὧν οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα πρότερον ἠκρίβουν, ἡρήκει, καὶ εψηφίσαντο πεντεκαίδεκα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἡμέρας

θῦσαι, ὅπερ οὔπω ὁ πρότερον ἐγεγόνει.

⁶ ούπω R. Steph., οὖν πω L.

¹ γιγνομένων Η. Steph., γενομένων L.

² πρδς θυμηδίαν οία Βκ., προθυμηιδιανοιαι L.

 ³ ἐπράθησαν R. Steph., ἐπράχθησαν L.
 ⁴ οῦτοι κατεστράφατο Leuncl. (τε added by Rk.), οὕτ'
 ἐστράφατο L.
 ⁵ οἴκοι supplied by Bk.

•

for many days repulsed, until he turned to the B.C. 57 construction of engines. Then for a time they gazed at the Romans cutting wood and constructing the machines and in their ignorance of what was taking place, scoffed at them. But when the machines were finished and heavy-armed soldiers upon them were advanced from all sides at once, they became panic-stricken, since they never before had seen anything of the kind; so they made overtures. supplied the soldiers with provisions, and threw some of their arms from the wall. When, however, they saw the machines stripped of men again and noticed that the latter had given themselves over to pleasure, as after a victory, they changed their minds, and recovering courage, made a sortie by night, thinking to cut them down unawares. But Caesar was carefully managing everything all the while, and when they fell on the outposts from every side, they were beaten back. Not one of the survivors could any longer obtain pardon, and they were all sold.

When these had been subjugated and others, too, some by him and many by his lieutenants, and winter had now set in, he retired to winter-quarters. The Romans at home when they learned of these achievements, were astonished that he had seized so many nations, whose names they had known but imperfectly before, and voted a thanksgiving of fifteen days because of his achievements—a thing that had never before occurred.

Κάν τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ χρόνῳ Γάλβας ὁ Σέρουιος1 ύποστρατηγών αὐτώ, μέχρι μεν ή τε ώραία ην² καὶ τὸ στράτευμα συνεστὸς είχεν, Οὐαράγρους³ παρά τε τη Λεμμάνω λίμνη καί προς τοις 'Αλλόβριξι μέχρι τῶν "Αλπεων οἰκοῦντας, τοὺς μὲν βία τους δὲ καὶ ὁμολογία παρεστήσατο, ώστε καὶ 3 χειμάσαι κατὰ χώραν παρασκευάσασθαι. μέντοι οί πλείους των στρατιωτών οί μέν παρέμενοι ⁴ οἶα μὴ πόρρω της Ἰταλίας ὄντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἄλλοσε ἀπεχώρησαν, καὶ αὐτῷ ἀπροσδόκητοι κατὰ τοῦτο οἱ ἐπιχώριοι 4 ἐπέθεντο, πρὸς ἀπόνοιαν ὑπ' ἀπογνώσεως προήχθη, καὶ ἐκπηδήσας ἐκ τοῦ χειμαδίου ἄφνω τούς τε προσκειμένους οἱ τῷ παραδόξῷ τοῦ τολμήματος έξέπληξε, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα διέπεσε. γενόμενος δὲ ἐν τῶ ἀσφαλεῖ ημύνατο μεν αὐτούς μετά τοῦτο καὶ εδουλώσατο, οὐ μὴν καὶ έγείμασεν αὐτόθι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τὴν τῶν ἀλλοβρίγων μετέστη.

6 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῆ Γαλατία δ ἐγένετο, Πομπήιος δὲ ἐν τούτφ τὴν κάθοδον τῷ Κικέρωνι ψηφισθηναι διεπράξατο. δν γὰρ διὰ τοῦ Κλωδίου ἐξεληλάκει, τοῦτον ἐπ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐπανήγαγενοῦτω που τὸ ἀνθρώπειον δι ὀλίγου τε ἔστιν ὅτε μεταβάλλεται, καὶ ἀφ' ὧν ὡφελήσεσθαί τινες ἡ καὶ βλαβήσεσθαι νομίζουσι, τὰ ἐναντιώτατα ἀντιλαμβάνουσι. συνέπραττον δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν δημάρχων ἄλλοι τε καὶ Τίτος ᾿Αννιος Μίλων, οἵπερ που καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἐς τὸ

Γάλβας δ Σέρουιος R. Steph., γαρβαροσερουιος L.
 ἢν added by Oddey.
 Οὐαράγρους Rk., ὀαράγρους L.

 ² ἢν added by Oddey.
 ³ Οὐαράγρους Rk., ὀαράγρους L.
 ⁴ παρέμενοι Bs., παρέμενον L.
 ⁵ Γαλατία R. Steph., ἐταλίαι L.

During the same period Servius Galba, who was B.C. 57 serving as his lieutenant, had, while the season lasted and his army remained a unit, brought to terms the Veragri, who dwelt along Lake Leman and beside the Allobroges as far as the Alps; some he had gained by force and others through surrender, and he was even preparing to winter where he was. When, however, the majority of the soldiers had departed, some on furlough because they were not far from Italy, and others elsewhere for reasons of their own, the natives took advantage of this situation and unexpectedly attacked him. Galba, driven mad by despair, suddenly dashed out of the winter camp, astounding his besiegers by the incredible boldness of his move, and passing through them, gained the heights. On reaching safety he fought them off and later subjugated them; he did not winter there, however, but transferred his quarters to the territory of the Allobroges. These were the events in Gaul.

Pompey meanwhile had brought about a vote for the recall of Cicero. Thus, the man whom he had expelled through Clodius, he now brought back to help him against that very individual. So quickly does human nature sometimes change, and from the persons by whom people are expecting to be helped or injured, as the case may be, they receive the very opposite treatment. Assisting him were Titus Annius Milo and others of the praetors and tribunes, who also brought the measure before the populace.

πλήθος ἐσήνεγκαν ὁ γὰρ Σπινθήρ ὁ ὕπατος τὸ μέν τι καὶ τῷ Πομπηίφ χαριζόμενος, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐξ ίδίας έχθρας τὸν Κλώδιον ἀμυνόμενος, ὑφ' ἡς καὶ τὴν μοιγείαν αὐτοῦ δικάζων κατεγνώκει, καὶ . . . 3 ἐκείνω δὲ ἄλλοι τε των ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὄντων ύπηργον καὶ ὁ άδελφὸς "Αππιος Κλαύδιος στρατηγών, ό τε Νέπως ό ύπατος απ' οἰκείας τινὸς 7 έχθρας τὸν Κικέρωνα μισῶν. οὖτοί τε οὖν ἐπὶ πλέον ἡ πρίν, ἄτε καὶ ἡγεμόνας τοὺς ὑπάτους έχοντες, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐν τῆ πόλει διαστάντες πρὸς έκατέρους έθορύβουν. καὶ ἄλλα τε έκ 2 τούτου οὐκ ἐν κόσμω πολλὰ ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἐν αὐτῆ τη διαψηφίσει ο Κλώδιος γνούς το πλήθος προς τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἐσόμενον, τοὺς μονομάχους οὺς ὁ άδελφὸς αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἀγῶνας ἐπιταφίους ἐπὶ τῷ Μάρκφ τῷ συγγενεῖ προπαρεσκεύαστο λαβών έσεπήδησεν ές τὸν σύλλογον καὶ πολλούς μὲν 3 έτρωσε πολλούς δὲ καὶ ἔκτεινεν. οὔτ' οὖν ἡ γνώμη εκυρώθη, καὶ εκείνοις ώς δορυφόροις συνών φοβερὸς καὶ ἐς τάλλα πᾶσιν ἡν, ἀγορανομίαν τε ήτει ώς και την δίκην της βίας, αν αποδειχθή, 4 διαφευξόμενος. Εγράψατο γαρ αὐτὸν ὁ Μίλων καὶ οὐκ ἐσήγαγε μέν (οὔτε γὰρ οἱ ταμίαι, δι' ὧν τὴν ἀποκλήρωσιν τῶν δικαστῶν γενέσθαι ἐχρῆν, ηρηντο, καὶ ὁ Νέπως ἀπεῖπε τῷ στρατηγῷ μηδεμίαν πρὸ τῆς κληρώσεως αὐτῶν δίκην προσέσθαι· ἔδει δὲ ἄρα τοὺς ἀγορανόμους πρὸ τῶν ταμιῶν καταστῆναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὅτι μάλιστα 8 ή διατριβή εγένετο), μαχόμενος δε καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ

¹ διαφευξόμενος Dind , διαφευξούμενος L.

Spinther, the consul, [aided Cicero's cause in the B.C. 57 senate 1(?), partly as a favour to Pompey and partly to avenge himself upon Clodius, by reason of a private enmity which had led him as a juror to vote to condemn Clodius for adultery. Clodius, on the other hand, was supported by various magistrates, including Appius Claudius, his brother, who was praetor, and Nepos, the consul, who had a private grudge against Cicero. These men, accordingly, now that they had the consuls as leaders, made more disturbance than before, and the same was true of the others in the city, as they championed one side or the other. Many disorderly proceedings were the result, chief of which was that during the very taking of the vote on the measure Clodius, knowing that the multitude would be on Cicero's side, took the gladiators that his brother held in readiness for the funeral games in honour of Marcus,2 his relative, and rushing into the assemblage, wounded many and killed many others. Consequently the measure was not passed, and Clodius, both as the companion of those armed champions and otherwise, was dreaded by all. He then stood for the aedileship, thinking he would escape the penalty of his violence if he were elected. Milo did, indeed, indict him, but did not succeed in bringing him to trial, since the quaestors, by whom the allotment of jurors had to be made, had not been elected, and Nepos forbade the practor to allow any trial before their allotment. Now it was necessary for the aediles to be chosen before the quaestors, and this proved the principal cause of delay. While contesting this very point Milo caused much dis-

¹ Cf. Cicero post red ad Quir. 5, 11; Pis. 15, 34; Sest. 33.

² Perhaps Marcius should be read, as Bs. suggests.

τούτου πολλὰ ἐτάραττε, καὶ τέλος μονομάχους τινὰς καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ἄλλους τῶν τὰ αὐτά οἱ βουλομένων ἀθροίσας ἐς χεῖρας τῷ Κλωδίῷ συνεχῶς ἤει, καὶ σφαγαὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν ὡς εἰπεῖν τὴν πόλιν 2 ἐγίγνοντο. ὁ οὖν Νέπως φοβηθεὶς πρός τε τοῦ συνάρχοντος καὶ πρὸς τοῦ Πομπηίου τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν πρώτων μετεβάλετο, 1 καὶ οὕτως ἤ τε γερουσία κατελθεῖν τὸν Κικέρωνα τοῦ Σπινθῆρος ἐσηγησαμένου προεβούλευσε, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ὑπάτων ἐσενεγκόντων ἐψηφίσατο. 3 ἀντέλεγε μὲν γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς Κλώδιος, ἀλλὰ ἐκείνῷ τε ὁ Μίλων ἀντέκειτο ὥστε μηδὲν βίαιον δρᾶσαι, καὶ τῷ νόμῷ ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος συνεῖπον ὥστε πολὺ κρείττους αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι.

9 Κατηλθέτε οὖν ὁ Κικέρων καὶ χάριν τῆ τε βουλῆ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, παρασχόντων αὐτῷ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ ² τὸ συνέδριον καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἔγνω. τῷ τε Πομπηίῳ τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν ἐπὶ τῆ φυγῆ μεθεὶς συνηλλάγη, καὶ τήν γε³ εὐεργεσίαν παραχρῆμα 2 ἀπέδωκε· λιμοῦ γὰρ ἐν τῆ πόλει ἰσχυροῦ γενομένου, καὶ τοῦ ὁμίλου παντὸς ἔς τε τὸ θέατρον (†οἵῳ δὲ δὴ καὶ τότε ἔτι θεάτρῳ ἐς τὰς πανηγύρεις ἐχρῶντο) καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐπὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς συνεδρεύοντας ἐσπηδήσαντος, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ἐν χερσὶν αὐτοὺς ἀποσφάξειν τοτὲ δὲ καὶ καταπρήσειν αὐτοῖς ⁴ τοῖς ναοῖς ἀπειλοῦν-3 τος, ἔπεισέ σφας ἐπιμελητὴν τοῦ σίτου τὸν

 $^{^1}$ μετεβάλετο Bk., μετεβάλλετο L. 2 καὶ Bs., καὶ κατὰ L. 3 γε R. Steph., τε L. 4 αὐτοῖς Bs., σὺν αὐτοῖς L.

turbance, and at last himself collected some gladiators and others like-minded with himself and kept continually coming to blows with Clodius, so that bloodshed occurred throughout practically the whole city. Nepos, accordingly, inspired with fear by his colleague and by Pompey and by the other leading men, changed his attitude; and thus the senate decreed, on the motion of Spinther, that Cicero should be restored, and the populace, on the motion of both consuls, passed the measure. Clodius, to be sure, spoke in opposition to the others, but he had Milo as an opponent, so that he could commit no violence, and Pompey, among others, spoke in favour of the enactment, so that that side proved much the stronger.

Cicero accordingly came home from exile and expressed his gratitude to both the senate and the people, the consuls having given him the opportunity of appearing before both bodies. He put aside the hatred he bore Pompey on account of his banishment, became reconciled with him, and immediately repaid his kindness. A sore famine had arisen in the city and the entire populace rushed into the theatre (they were then still using a temporary ¹(?) theatre for public games) and afterwards to the Capitol where the senators were in session, threatening at first to slay them with their own hands, and later to burn them alive, temples and all. Cicero now persuaded them to elect Pompey as

32 I

J.

¹ A word of this meaning seems required in place of "such a theatre as," the reading of L. Dio alludes to the fact that Pompey's theatre had not yet been erected; see chap. 38 below.

Πομπήιον προχειρίσασθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ άρχην αὐτῷ ἀνθυπάτου καὶ ἐν τῆ Ἰταλία καὶ ἔξω ἐπὶ πέντε ἔτη δοῦναι· καὶ ὁ μέν, ὥσπερ έπὶ τοῖς καταποντισταῖς πρότερον οὕτω καὶ τότε έπὶ τῷ σίτω πάσης αὖθις τῆς οἰκουμένης τῆς ύπὸ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τότε οὔσης ἄρξειν ἔμελλε· 10 Καῖσαρ δὲ καὶ Κράσσος ἄλλως μὲν ἤχθοντο τῷ Κικέρωνι, σπουδὴν δ' οὖν τινα αὐτοῦ ἔσχον, έπειδη πάντως καθήξοντα αὐτὸν ἤσθοντο (καὶ γὰρ ό Καίσαρ καὶ ἀπών εὔνοιάν τινα αὐτῷ ἐνεδείξατο), οὐ μέντοι καὶ χάριν οὐδεμίαν ἀντέλαβον. 2 έκεινος γάρ τοῦτό τε οὐκ ἀπὸ γνώμης σφας πεποιηκότας είδώς, και της φυγης αίτιωτάτους γεγονέναι νομίζων, έκ μεν τοῦ προφανοῦς οὐ πάνυ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐθρασύνετο, ἄτε καὶ τῶν τῆς άκράτου παρρησίας ἐπικαρπιῶν νεωστὶ πεπειραμένος, βιβλίον μέντοι τι ἀπόρρητον συνέθηκε. καὶ 2 ἐπέγραψεν αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ 3 βουλευμάτων ἀπολογισμόν τινα ἔχοντι, πολλά δὲ δὴ καὶ δεινὰ ἐς αὐτὸ καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων καὶ περὶ άλλων τινών συνένησε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φοβηθείς μη καὶ ζωντος αὐτοῦ ἐκφοιτήση, κατεσημήνατό τε αύτο και παρέδωκε τῷ παιδί, προστάξας οι μήτ' άναγνωναι μήτε δημοσιεύσαι τὰ γεγραμμένα πρίν ầν μεταλλάξη.

11 Κικέρων μέν οὖν αὖθις ἀνεβλάστανε, καὶ τήν τε ἄλλην οὐσίαν καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος τῆς οἰκίας, καίτοι τῆ Ἐλευθερία ἀνειμένον, καὶ τοῦ Κλωδίου καὶ ἐπιθειάζοντος καὶ ἐς ἐνθυμίαν αὐτῷ⁴ προβάλ-

¹ σίτω supplied by Rk. 2 και Leuncl., και ἐπει L.

³ συνένησε Leuncl., συνήινεσε L.

⁴ ές ενθυμίαν αὐτῶ Wesseling, ές ενθύμιον αὐτοῦ L.

commissioner of the grain supply and to give him B.C. 57 also on this account the office of proconsul for five years both in Italy and outside. So now in the case of the grain supply, as previously in the case of the pirates, he was once more to hold sway over the entire world then under Roman power. Caesar and Crassus really disliked Cicero, but showed some interest in him when they perceived that he would return in any case, Caesar even while absent displaying some good-will toward him; but they received no thanks for their pains. For Cicero knew that they had not done this in accordance with their real inclination, and he regarded them as having been most to blame for his banishment. And though he did not openly act toward them with marked insolence, since he had recently tasted the fruits of unrestrained free speech, nevertheless he secretly composed a little book to which he gave a title indicating that it contained a defence of his policies, and in it he heaped together many denunciations against them and certain other men. Fearing, therefore, that these statements might get out during his lifetime, he sealed up the volume and delivered it to his son with the injunction not to read or publish what was written until his death.1

Cicero, accordingly, was thriving once more; and he recovered his property and likewise the site of his house, although the latter had been dedicated to Liberty, and though Clodius both called the gods to witness and placed religious scruples in his way.

¹ Cf. Cicero ad Att. ii. 6; xiv. 17, 6.

2 λοντος, ἐκομίσατο. τὴν γὰρ ἐσφορὰν τοῦ φρατριατικοῦ νόμου, παρ' ἢν ἐκ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἐπεποίητο, διαβάλλων ὡς οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ὡρισμένοις ἐκ τῶν πατρίων χρόνοις ἐκτεθέντος αὐτοῦ, τήν τε δημαρχίαν τοῦ Κλωδίου πᾶσαν, ἐν ἢ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐδέδοκτο, κατέλυε, λέγων οὐχ οἷόν τ' εἶναι, τῆς μεταστάσεως αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐς τὸν ὅμιλον παρανόμως γεγενημένης, ὑγιές τι τῶν ἐν αὐτῆ πραχθέντων νομίζεσθαι, καὶ ἔπεισε διὰ τούτου τοὺς ποντίφικας τὸ ἔδαφός οἱ ὡς καὶ ὅσιον καὶ βέβηλον ὂν ἀποδοῦναι. καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἐκεῖνο καὶ χρήματα ἔς τε τὴν τῆς οἰκίας κατασκευήν, καὶ εἰ δή τι ἄλλο τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ ἐλελύμαντο, ἔλαβε.

12 Μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο¹ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως ἕνεκα αὖθις ἐκινήθησαν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πολλά τισι τῶν Ῥωμαίων χρήματα, τὰ μὲν οἴκοθεν τὰ δὲ καὶ δανεισάμενος, ὅπως τήν τε ἀρχὴν βεβαιώσηται καὶ φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος ὀνομασθῆ, καταναλώκει, καὶ αὐτὰ παρὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βιαίως ἠργυρο-

2 λόγει, καὶ διά τε τοῦτο ἐχαλεπαίνετο καὶ ὅτι τὴν Κύπρον ἀπαιτῆσαι παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἢ καὶ τὴν φιλίαν τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπειπεῖν κελευόντων αὐτῶν οὐκ ἠθέλησε, καὶ οὔτε πεῖσαί σφας ἡσυχάζειν οὔτ αῦ βιάσασθαι (ξενικὸν γὰρ οὐκ 3 εἰσεν) ἀδινώθη λέδος πο ἐκ πῶς Αἰσύππου καὶ

3 είχεν) ήδυνήθη, διέδρα τε έκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, καὶ ές τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλθὼν κατηγόρησέ τε αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτὸν ἐκβεβληκότων, καὶ ἔτυχεν ὥστε ὑπὸ τοῦ Σπινθῆρος, ῷ ἡ Κιλικία

1 τοῦτο supplied by Reim.

But Cicero attacked the *lex curiata* by which the B.C. 57 other had been transferred from the patricians to the plebs, on the ground that it had not been proposed at the time established by ancestral custom. Thus he tried to render null and void the entire tribuneship of Clodius, during which the decree regarding his house had been passed, claiming that inasmuch as his transfer to the common people had taken place unlawfully, it was not possible for any one of his acts while in office to be considered binding. By this means he persuaded the pontifices to give back to him the site, on the ground that it was profane and unconsecrated. Thus he obtained not only that but also money for restoring his house and any other property of his that had been injured.

After this there was further disturbance on account of King Ptolemy. He had spent large amounts upon some of the Romans, part of it out of his own purse and part borrowed, in order to have his rule confirmed and to receive the name of friend and ally; and he was now collecting this sum forcibly from the Egyptians. They were accordingly angry at him both on this account and also because when they had bidden him demand back Cyprus from the Romans or else renounce his friendship for them, he had been unwilling to do so. And since he could neither persuade nor yet compel them to be quiet, as he had no foreign troops, he fled from Egypt, and coming to Rome, accused his countrymen of having expelled him from his kingdom. He was successful in having his restoration entrusted to Spinther,

13 ἐπετέτραπτο, καταχθηναι. ἐν ιδ δὲ ταῦτα έγένετο, οί 'Αλεξανδρείς τέως μεν άγνοήσαντες ὅτι ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπηρκως ³ ἢν, ἢ τεθνηκέναι αὐτὸν νομίσαντες, Βερενίκην τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ ές την βασιλείαν άντικατέστησαν, έπειτα δὲ τάληθες μαθόντες ἄνδρας έκατὸν ές την 'Ρώμην ἔπεμψαν πρός τε τὰ ἐγκλήματα αὐτοῦ ἀπολογησομένους καὶ ἀντικατηγορήσοντας ὅσα ἠδί-2 κηντο. προμαθών οὖν ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνος (ἔτι δὲ ἐν τη Γωμη ήν) ενήδρευσε τους πρέσβεις, πρίν έλθειν, άλλους άλλη διαπέμψας, και τους μέν πλείους αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν όδὸν ἔφθειρε, τῶν δὲ δὴ λοιπῶν τοὺς μὲν εν τῷ ἄστει αὐτῷ ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ καταφοβήσας ἐκ τούτων ἡ χρήμασί διαφθείρας έπεισε μήτε ταις άρχαις ύπερ ων έστάλατο 5 έντυχείν μήθ' όλως μνείαν τινα περί 14 των απολωλότων ποιήσασθαι. καίτοι τὸ πράγμα ούτω περιβόητον έγένετο ώστε καὶ τὴν βουλὴν άγανακτήσαι δεινώς, ενάγοντός σφας ὅτι μάλιστα Φαουωνίου τοῦ Μάρκου καθ' ἐκάτερον, 6 ὅτι τε πολλοί παρά των συμμάχων πρέσβεις πεμφθέντες βιαίως ἀπωλώλεσαν, καὶ ὅτι συχνοὶ καὶ 2 τότε των 'Ρωμαίων έδεδωροδοκήκεσαν. καὶ οί μεν του Δίωνα του της πρεσβείας αὐτοκράτορα (περιην γάρ) μετεπέμψαντο ώς καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν παρ' αὐτοῦ μαθησόμενοι οὕτω δὲ ἄρα καὶ τότε

³ ἀπηρκὼs Leuncl., ἀπηιρηκὼs L.
 ⁴ μεν St., μεν αὐτῶν L.
 ⁵ ἐστάλατο St., ἐστάλαντο L.
 ⁶ ἐκάτερον Reim., ἔτερον L.

¹ The reading of L is: ἔτυχεν ὅστε ὅστε ὑπάτου σπινθῆρος ὡι ἡ κιλία ἐπετράπετο καταχθῆναι. ὅστε (once only) and Κιλικία are correctly given in the later Mss. ὑπὸ τοῦ for ὑπάτου is due to Reim., ἐπετέτραπτο to St. Perhaps some words have fallen out after ἔτυχεν. $^2 ἐγένετο supplied by Reim.$

to whom Cilicia had been assigned. While this B.C. 57 was going on, the people of Alexandria, who for a while did not know that he had departed for Italy, or supposed he was dead, placed Berenice, his daughter, on the throne in his place. Then, learning the truth, they sent a hundred men to Rome to defend them against his charges and to bring countercomplaints of all the wrongs they had suffered. Now he heard of it in season, while still in Rome. and sent men out in various directions to lie in wait for the envoys before they could arrive. Thus he caused the majority of them to perish by the way, while of the survivors he had some slain in the city itself, and others he either terrified by what had happened or by administering bribes persuaded them neither to consult the magistrates touching the matters for which they had been sent nor to make any mention at all of those who had been killed. The affair, however, became so noised abroad that even the senate was mightily displeased; it was urged to action chiefly by Marcus Favonius, on the double ground that many envoys sent by their allies had perished by violence and that numerous Romans had again on this occasion taken bribes. So they summoned Dio, the leader of the envoys, who survived, in order to learn the truth from him. But this time, too, Ptolemy had such influence with his

ἔθ' ὁ Πτολεμαῖος τοῖς χρήμασι κατεκράτει ὥστε μήτε τὸν Δίωνα ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσελθεῖν μήτε μνήμην τινὰ τοῦ φόνου τῶν τεθνηκότων, ἔως γε 3 καὶ αὐτὸς παρῆν, γενέσθαι. καὶ μέντοι τοῦ Δίωνος μετὰ ταῦτα δολοφονηθέντος οὐδεμίαν οὐδ' ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ δίκην ἔδωκε· 1 τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος τῆ τε οἰκία αὐτὸν ὑπεδέδεκτο καὶ 4 ἰσχυρῶς οἱ συνήρετο.² τῶν γε μὴν ἄλλων τῶν αὐτόθεν ἐνεκλήθησαν μὲν ἐν ὑστέρῳ συχνοί, ἑάλωσαν δὲ ὀλίγοι· τό τε γὰρ δεδωροδοκηκὸς πολὺ ἦν, καὶ ἀλλήλοις διὰ τὸ ἴδιον ἕκαστος δέος συνεμάχουν.

15 Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄνθρωποι τοιαῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν χρημάτων ἐποίουν, τὸ δὲ δὴ θεῖον κεραυνῷ κατ ἀρχὰς εὐθὺς τοῦ ἐχομένου ἔτους τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἐν τῷ ᾿Αλβανῷ³ ἱδρυμένου βαλὸν τὴν κάθοδον τοῦ Πτολεμαίου χρόνον τινὰ ἐπέσχε. 2 τοῖς γὰρ Σιβυλλείοις ἔπεσιν ἐντυχόντες εὖρον ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐγγεγραμμένον αὐτὸ τοῦτο " ὰν ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς βοηθείας τινὸς δεόμενος ἔλθη, τὴν μὲν φιλίαν οἱ μὴ ἀπαρνήσασθαι, μὴ μέντοι καὶ πλήθει τινὶ ἐπικουρήσητε· εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ πόνους καὶ κινδύνους ἔξετε." κἀκ τούτου τὴν συντυχίαν τῶν ἐπῶν πρὸς τὰ τότε γενόμενα θαυμάσαντες ἀπεψηφίσαντο πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐγνωσμένα, Γαίφ Κάτωνι πεισθέντες δημάρχῳ. ταῦτα δὲ ἐχρήσθη μὲν οὕτως, ἐδημοσιεύθη δέ (οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν οὐδὲν τῶν Σιβυλλείων, εἰ μὴ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσαιτο, ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἐξαγγέλλεσθαι) διὰ τοῦ

3 'Αλβανφ R. Steph., λαβανωι L.

¹ έδωκε Pflugk, δέδωκε L.

² οἱ συνήρετο, Βκ.. συνήρετο Xyl., ἠίρετο L.

money that not only did Dio fail to enter the B.C. 57 senate-house, but there was not even any mention made of the murder of the dead men, so long at least as Ptolemy was there. Furthermore, even after Dio had later been assassinated, he suffered no punishment for that deed either, largely owing to the fact that Pompey had entertained him in his house and continued to render him powerful assistance. Of the other Alexandrines, however, many were accused at a later time, yet few were convicted; for those who had taken bribes were many, and each cooperated with the others because of his own fear.

While mortals were acting thus under the influence B.C. 56 of money, Heaven at the very beginning of the next year struck with a thunderbolt the statue of Jupiter erected on the Alban Mount, and so delayed the return of Ptolemy for some time. For when they read the Sibylline verses, they found written in them this very passage: "If the king of Egypt come requesting any aid, refuse him not friendship, nor yet succour him with any great force; else you shall have both toils and dangers." Thereupon, amazed at the coincidence between the verses and the events of the time, they rescinded all their action in his case, following the advice of Gaius Cato, a tribune. Such was the nature of the oracle; and it was made public through Cato. Now it was unlawful to announce to the populace any of the Sibylline verses, unless the senate voted it; vet as soon

4 Κάτωνος. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τάχιστα ὁ νοῦς τῶν ἐπῶν διεθρυλήθη, ὥσπερ εἴωθε γίγνεσθαι, ἔδεισε μὴ συγκρυφθείη, καὶ ἔς τε τὸν ὅμιλον τοὺς ἱερέας έσήγαγε, κάνταθθα, πρὶν ότιοθν τὴν γερουσίαν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς γρηματίσαι, ἐξεβιάσατό σφας ἐκλαλῆσαι τὸ λόγιον ὅσφ γάρ τοι μᾶλλον οὐκ ἐδόκει σφίσιν

16 έξειναι τούτο, . . . τὸ πλήθος ἔσχε. και ἐκείνο μεν έσχεν ούτως, καὶ ες την των Λατίνων γλώσσαν μεταγραφεν² ἀνεκηρύχθη· γνώμας δε αὐτῶν μετὰ τοῦτο ποιουμένων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄνευ στρατοῦ τῷ Σπινθῆρι τὴν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου κάθοδον προσταττόντων, των δὲ δὴ καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον μετὰ

2 ραβδούχων δύο καταγαγείν αὐτὸν κελευόντων (δ τε γὰρ Πτολεμαΐος μαθών τὸ χρησθεν ήξίωσε τούτου τυχείν, καὶ τὰ γράμματα αὐτοῦ Αὖλος Πλαύτιος 3 ές τὸ κοινὸν δημαρχῶν ἀνέγνω), δείσαντες οί βουλευταὶ μὴ μείζων ἔθ' ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ άπ' ἐκείνου γένηται, ἀντέπραξαν αὐτῶ τῆ τοῦ

σίτου προφάσει χρησάμενοι.

Ταῦτα μὲν ἐπί τε Λουκίου Φιλίππου καὶ ἐπὶ Γναίου Μαρκελλίνου υπάτων εγένετο καὶ αυτά ό Πτολεμαίος μαθών την τε κάθοδον ἀπέγνω, καὶ

ές "Εφεσον έλθων παρά τη θεώ διητάτο.

Τῷ δὲ δὴ προτέρω ἔτει καὶ τοιόνδε τι, ίδιον μέν, φέρον δέ πως ές την συγγραφήν, επράχθη. τοῦ γαρ νόμου διαρρήδην απαγορεύοντος μηδένας δύο αμα έκ της αὐτης συγγενείας την αὐτην ἱερατείαν έγειν, δ Σπινθήρ δ υπατος έπιθυμήσας Κορνήλιον Σπινθήρα τὸν υίὸν ἐς τοὺς οἰωνιστὰς ἐσαγαγεῖν, 2 έπειτ' έπειδη ο Φαῦστος ο τοῦ Σύλλου παῖς έκ

¹ kal added by R. Steph. 2 μεταγραφέν Rk , γραφέν L. 3 Πλαύτιος Xvl., πλατυιος L. 4 μηδένας Rk., μηδένα L.

as the sense of the verses, as usually happens, B.C. 56 began to be talked about, he became afraid that it might be suppressed, and so brought the priests before the populace and there compelled them to utter the oracle before the senate had taken any action at all in the matter. The more scruples they had against doing so, [the more insistent] was the multitude. Such, then, was the oracle, and it was translated into the Latin tongue and proclaimed. When later the senate discussed the matter, some were for assigning to Spinther the restoration of Ptolemy without an army, and others urged that Pompey with two lictors should escort him home. Ptolemy, on learning of the oracle, had asked for the latter arrangement, and his letter was read in public by Aulus Plautius, a tribune. But the senators, fearing that Pompey would by this means obtain still greater power, opposed it, using his connection with the corn-supply as an excuse.

All this happened in the consulship of Lucius Philippus and Gnaeus Marcellinus. Ptolemy, when he heard of it, despaired of his restoration, and going to Ephesus, passed his time in the temple of the

goddess.

The year before there had occurred an incident of 8.0.57 a private nature which, however, has some bearing upon our history. It was this. Although the law expressly forbade any two persons of the same gens to hold the same priesthood at the same time, Spinther, the consul, was anxious to place his son Cornelius Spinther among the augurs, and since Faustus, the son of Sulla, of the Cornelian gens, had

331

τοῦ τῶν Κορνηλίων ¹ φύλου ὢν προενεγέγραπτο, ἐξεποίησεν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ Μαλλίου Τορκουάτου γένος, καὶ οὕτως ὁ νόμος ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἡήμασι

μείνας ἔργφ κατελύθη. Μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο ὁ Κλώδιος ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα

ές την αγορανομίαν έπί τε του Φιλίππου και έπι τοῦ Μαρκελλίνου παρεληλύθει 2 (πρὸς γὰρ τὴν ἀπόδρασιν τῆς δίκης παρακελευστὸς ἡρέθη), γραφὴν κατὰ 3 τοῦ Μίλωνος τῆς τῶν μονομάχων παρασκευής ἀπήνεγκε à γάρ αὐτὸς ἔπραττε καὶ 2 εφ' οίς εκρίνετο, ταθτ' εκείνω αντενεκάλει. εποίει δὲ τοῦτο οὐχ ὅτι τὸν Μίλωνα προσεδόκα 4 αίρήσειν άτε καί συναγωνιστάς ίσχυρούς άλλους τε καὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα τόν τε Πομπήιον ἔχοντα, ἀλλ' ίνα ἐπὶ τῆ προφάσει ταύτη τῶ τε Μίλωνι προσ-19 πολεμοίη καὶ ἐκείνους ὑβρίζοι. πρὸς γοῦν τοῖς άλλοις τοιόνδε τι έμεμηχάνητο παρασκευάσας τοὺς εταίρους 5 ἵν', ὁπότε πύθοιτο αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς συλλόγοις "τίς ὁ 6 ποιῶν ἡ καὶ λέγων τοιόνδε τι 8 ήν, 9 " συνεκβοφεν ότι Πομπήιος, έπηρώτα πολλάκις έξαίφνης πάνθ' ὅσα ἐπαίτια περὶ αὐτὸν ἢ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ἢ κατ' ἄλλο τι ἦν, ἰδία καὶ καθ' 2 έκαστον, ώς οὐ περὶ ἐκείνου δὴ λέγων κάκ τούτου τῶν μὲν ἐξαρχόντων τῶν δὲ συνεπηχούντων σφίσιν, οία φιλεί έν τοις τοιούτοις γίγνεσθαι, καὶ λεγόντων ὅτι Πομπήιος, χλευασία πολλή συνέβαινεν, ὥστε ἐκεῖνον μήτε τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν

¹ Κορνηλίων Leunel., κορνηλίου L. 2 παρεληλύθει Bk., παρελήλυθε L.

³ κατά Leunel., καί L. 4 προσεδόκα Βk., προσδοκών L.

⁵ έταίρουs R. Steph., έτέρους L. ⁶ δ added by Bk.

τίς . . . και λέγων Leunel., τί . . . καταλέγων L. 8 τοιόνδε τι St., τοιόσδε τις L. 9 ἢν Rk., δν L.

been enrolled before him, he transferred his son to B.C. 57 the gens of Manlius Torquatus; thus, though the letter of the law was observed, its spirit was broken.

After this Clodius attained the aedileship in the B.C. 56 year of Philippus and Marcellinus; for, being anxious to avoid the lawsuit, he had got himself elected by a political combination. He immediately instituted proceedings against Milo for providing himself with gladiators, actually charging him with the very thing he was doing himself and for which he was likely to be brought to trial. He did this, not in the expectation of convicting Milo, inasmuch as the latter had many strong champions, among them Cicero and Pompey. but in order that under this pretext he might not only carry on a campaign against Milo but also insult his backers. For example, the following was one of his devices. He had instructed his clique that whenever he should ask them in the assemblies: "Who was it that did or said so-and-so?" they should all cry out: "Pompey!" Then on several occasions he would suddenly ask about everything that could be taken amiss in Pompey, either in the way of physical peculiarities or any other respect, touching upon such topics individually, one at a time, as if he were not speaking of him particularly. Thereupon, as usually happens in such cases, some would start up and others would join in with them, crying "Pompey!" and there was much jeering. Now Pompey could not control himself and keep

καρτερούντα μήθ' ὅμοιόν τι ποιείν αὐτῷ ὑπο-μένοντα περιοργῆ τε γίγνεσθαι καὶ ἐν ἀμηχανία καθίστασθαι, καὶ λόγφ μὲν τὸν Μίλωνα κατακρίνεσθαι, έργω δε αὐτον μηδ' ἀπολογούμενον άλί-3 σκεσθαι. ὁ γὰρ Κλώδιος, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλείον άποροίη, οὐκ εἴα τὸν φρατριατικὸν νόμον ἐσενεχθηναι πρὶν γὰρ ἐκεῖνον τεθηναι οὔτ' ἄλλο τι τῶν σπουδαίων ἐν τῷ κοινῷ πραχθῆναι οὕτε δίκην

οὐδεμίαν ἐσαχθῆναι ἐξῆν.

Τέως μεν οὖν ὁ Μίλων τῶν λοιδοριῶν καὶ τῶν 20 σφαγών πρόσχημα αὐτοῖς ἢν τεράτων τέ τινων έν τούτω γενομένων (ἔν τε γὰρ τῷ ᾿Αλβανῶ νεως "Ηρας βραχύς έπι τραπέζης τινός πρός ανατολών ίδρυμένος πρός την ἄρκτον μετεστράφη, καὶ λαμπας από της μεσημβρίας όρμηθείσα πρός βορέαν 2 διήξε, λύκος τε ές την πόλιν εσήλθε, καὶ σεισμός έγένετο, των τε πολιτών τινες κεραυνοίς έφθάρησαν, καὶ θόρυβος ἐν τῷ Λατίνω ὑπὸ γῆς ἐξηκούσθη καὶ αὐτὰ οἱ μάντεις ἀκέσασθαι ε ἐθελήσαντες ὀργίζεσθαί σφισι δαιμόνιόν τι ώς καὶ ἱερῶν τινων ἢ χωρίων οὐχ όσίων ἐποικουμένων 3 έφασαν) ενταθθα ο Κλώδιος τον Κικέρωνα μεταλαβων τῷ τε λόγω πολὺς³ ἐνέκειτο, ὅτι τὸ ἔδαφος της οικίας ιερωμένον τη Έλευθερία κατφκοδόμησε, καὶ ἐπῆλθέ ποτε ἐπ' αὐτὸ ώς καὶ ἐκ θεμελίων αὖθις αὐτὴν ἀναιρήσων, καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησε μὲν 21 τοῦτο, ὁ γὰρ Μίλων ἐκώλυσεν ὁ δ' οὖν Κικέρων ώς καὶ παθών αὐτὸ ὀργήν τε εἰχε καὶ κατηγορίας έποιείτο, καὶ τέλος τόν τε Μίλωνα καὶ δημάρχους τινας παραλαβών ανηλθέ τε ές το Καπιτώλιον

 $^{^1}$ ἀποροίη Bk., ποιοίη L. 2 ἀκόσασθαι Xyl., ἀκούσασθαι L. 3 πολὺs Rk., πολὸ L.

quiet, nor would he stoop to a trick like that of B.C. 56 Clodius, and so he grew exceedingly angry, yet could not stir; thus nominally Milo was the defendant, but in reality Pompey was being convicted without even offering a defence. For Clodius, in order to embarrass him the more, would not allow the *lex curiata* to be introduced; and until that was enacted no other serious business could be transacted in the state or any suit instituted.

For a season, then, Milo served as an excuse for their taunts and assassinations. But about this time some portents occurred: on the Alban Mount a small temple of Juno, set on a kind of table facing the east, was turned around toward the north; a blaze of light darted from the south across to the north; a wolf entered the city; an earthquake occurred; some of the citizens were killed by thunderbolts; in the Latin territory a subterranean tumult was heard; and the soothsayers, being anxious to find a remedy, said that some divinity was angry with them because some temples or consecrated sites were being used for residence. Then Clodius substituted Cicero for Milo and not only attacked him vigorously in a speech because the site of the house he had built upon was dedicated to Liberty, but even went to it once, with the intention of razing it anew to the ground; but he did not do so, as he was prevented by Milo. Cicero, however, was as angry with him as if he had actually accomplished his purpose, and kept making accusations. Finally, taking with him Milo and some tribunes, he ascended

καὶ τὰς στήλας τὰς ¹ ἐπὶ τῆ ἑαυτοῦ φυγη ὑπὸ ² 2 τοῦ Κλωδίου σταθείσας καθείλε. καὶ τότε μὲν αὐτὰς ἐκείνου σὺν Γαίφ τῷ ³ ἀδελφῷ στρατηγοῦντι ἐπελθόντος ἀφηρέθη, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο φυλάξας ἐκδημοῦντα τὸν Κλώδιον ἀνέβη τε αὖθις ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὰς ⁴ οἴκαδε ἀπεκόμισε. 3 γενομένου δὲ τούτου οὐδὲν ἔτ' ἀπώμοτον οὐδετέρῳ ⁵ αὐτῶν ἢν, ἀλλὰ ἐλοιδόρουν ἀλλήλους καὶ διέβαλλον ἄλλα τε ὅσα ἐδύναντο, μηδενὸς τῶν αἰσχίστων 4 ἀπεχόμενοι, καὶ ὁ μὲν τήν τε δημαρχίαν τὴν τοῦ Κλωδίου ὡς καὶ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους γενομένην καὶ τὰ πραχθέντα ἐν αὐτῆ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ ἄκυρα ὄντα, ὁ δὲ τήν τε φυγὴν τὴν τοῦ Κικέρωνος ὡς καὶ δικαίως ἐγνωσμένην καὶ τὴν κάθοδον αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ παρανόμως ἐψηφισμένην.

2 Μαχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῦ Κλωδίου πολὺ τῆ στάσει ἐλαττουμένου, ὁ Κάτων ὁ Μᾶρκος ἐπελθῶν ἀνίσωσεν ⁶ αὐτούς: τῷ τε γὰρ Κικέρωνι ἀχθόμενος, καὶ φοβηθεὶς ἄμα μὴ καὶ ὅσα αὐτὸς ἐν τῆ Κύπρω ἐπεποιήκει καταλυθείη, ὅτι πρὸς τοῦ Κλωδίου δημαρχοῦντος ἐπέπεμπτο, προθύμως 2 αὐτῷ συνήρατο. μέγα γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐφρόνει, καὶ περὶ παντὸς τὸ βεβαιωθῆναι αὐτὰ ἐποιεῖτο. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τὴν νῆσον τότε κατέχων, ἐπειδὴ τά τε ἐψηφισμένα ἤσθετο καὶ μήτ' ἀντᾶραι τοῖς 'Ρωμαίοις ἐτόλμησε μήτ' αὖ στερηθεὶς τῆς 3 ἀρχῆς ζῆν ὑπέμεινε, ἡ φάρμακον πιὼν ἀπέθανε, καὶ οἱ Κύπριοι τὸν Κάτωνα οὐκ ἀκουσίως, ἄτε καὶ

τàs added by Pflugk.
 ὑπὸ Leuncl., ἐπὶ Ι.
 τῷ added by Rk.
 ἀντὰs R. Steph., αὐτὰ L.

⁵ οὐδετέρω Βκ., οὐδε ετέρωι L. 6 ἀνίσωσεν Oddey, ἀνέσωσεν L.

⁷ ὑπέμεινε R. Steph., ὑπέμενε L.

the Capitol and took down the tablets set up by 8.C. 56 Clodius to commemorate his exile. This time Clodius came up with his brother Gaius, a praetor, and took them away from him, but later he watched for a time when Clodius was out of town, and going up to the Capitol again, took them and carried them home. After this occurrence no quarter was shown on either side, but they abused and slandered each other as much as they could, without refraining even from the basest means. The one declared that the tribuneship of Clodius had been contrary to the laws and that therefore his official acts were invalid, and the other that Cicero's exile had been justly decreed and his restoration unlawfully voted.

While they were contending, and Clodius was getting much the worst of it, Marcus Cato came upon the scene and restored their balance. He had a grudge against Cicero and was likewise afraid that all his acts in Cyprus would be annulled, because he had been sent out under Clodius as tribune; hence he eagerly took the latter's side. For he was very proud of his deeds and anxious above all things that they should be confirmed. For Ptolemy, who at the time had been master of the island, when he learned of the vote that had been passed, and neither dared to rise against the Romans nor could endure to live deprived of his kingdom, had taken his life by drinking poison.\(^1\) Then the Cypriotes readily received Cato, expecting to be friends and allies of the

¹ This was a younger brother of the Ptolemy (Auletes) who was expelled from Egypt and subsequently restored (see chap. 55), and is the same one mentioned in Book xxxviii. 30.

φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι τῶν 'Ρωμαίων ἀντὶ δούλων 4 έσεσθαι προσδοκήσαντες, εσεδέξαντο ό δε Κάτων έπὶ μὲν τούτοις οὐδὲν εἶχε σεμνύνεσθαι, ὅτι δὲ δὴ τά τε ἄλλα ἄριστα διώκησε, καὶ δούλους καὶ χρήματα πολλά έκ των βασιλικών άθροίσας οὐδὲν ητιάθη άλλα άνεπικλήτως πάντα απέδειξεν, άνδραγαθίας οὐδὲν ἦττον ἢ εἰ¹ πολέμω τινὶ ἐνενικήκει μετεποιείτο ύπὸ γὰρ τοῦ πολλοὺς δωροδοκείν σπανιώτερον τὸ τῶν χρημάτων καταφρονεῖν τινα τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων κρατεῖν ἐνόμιζε.

23 Τότε οὖν ὁ Κάτων ἐν δόξη τινὶ ἐπινικίων διὰ ταθτ' αἰσίων ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ ὖπατοι γνώμην ἐν τῷ συνεδρίω εποιήσαντο στρατηγίαν αὐτῶ δοθηναι καίπερ μηδέπω έκ των νόμων προσήκουσαν. οὐκ ἀπεδείχθη μέν (αὐτὸς γὰρ ἀντεῖπε), τὴν δὲ δὴ 2 εὔκλειαν καὶ ἐκ τούτου μείζονα ἔσχε. Κλώδιος δὲ ἐπεχείρησε μὲν τοὺς οἰκέτας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Κύπρου άχθέντας Κλωδίους, ὅτι αὐτὸς τὸν Κάτωνα ἐκεῖσε έπεπόμφει, ονομόσαι, ούκ ήδυνήθη δε εναντιωθέντος αὐτοῦ. καὶ οἱ μὲν Κύπριοι ἐπεκλήθησαν, καίτοι τινών Πορκίους σφάς προσειπεῖν έθελη-3 σάντων (ὁ γὰρ Κάτων καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκώλυσεν) οργῆ δ' οὖν ο Κλώδιος την ἐναντίωσιν αὐτοῦ φέρων, τά τε διοικηθέντα ύπ' αὐτοῦ διέβαλλε καὶ τοὺς λογισμούς τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπήτει, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ διελέγξαι τι αὐτὸν ἀδικοῦντα ἐδύνατο, ἀλλ' ὅτι ύπὸ ναυαγίας ² τὰ γράμματα σχεδόν τι πάντα διέφθαρτο, καὶ ἐδόκει κατὰ τοῦτό τι ἰσχύσειν. 4 έβοήθει δὲ καὶ τότε τῷ Κλωδίω ὁ Καῖσαρ καίτοι μὴ παρών, καὶ τάς γε κατηγορίας αὐτῷ τὰς κατὰ τοῦ Κάτωνος ἐπιστολιμαίους, ώς γέ τινές φασιν,

¹ el added by Leuncl. 2 vavayías Bk., vavayíou L.

Romans instead of slaves. Over this fact, however, B.C. 56 Cato had no reason to vaunt himself; but because he had administered everything in the best possible manner, and after collecting slaves and large amounts of money from the royal treasury, had incurred no reproach but had turned over everything unchallenged, for these reasons he laid claim to valour no less than if he had conquered in some war. So many men were accepting bribes that he thought it more unusual for a man to despise money than to conquer the enemy.

So at that time Cato for these reasons had created some expectation that he would receive a regular triumph, and the consuls proposed in the senate that he be given the practorship, although by law he could not yet hold it. And though he was not appointed, for he spoke against the measure himself, vet he obtained greater renown from this very circumstance. Clodius undertook to name the slaves brought from Cyprus Clodians, because he himself had sent Cato there; but he failed because the latter opposed it. So they received the title of Cyprians, although some wished to call them Porcians; but Cato prevented this too. So Clodius became angry at his opposition and proceeded to attack his administration; he demanded the accounts of the transactions, not because he could prove him guilty of any wrongdoing, but because nearly all of the documents had been destroyed by shipwreck and he expected to gain some advantage from this circumstance. And Caesar, although not present, was again aiding Clodius at this time, and according to some was sending him in

ἔπεμπεν. ἐπεφέρετο 1 δὲ τῷ Κάτωνι ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι τὴν στρατηγίαν οἱ αὐτὸς τοὺς ὑπάτους πείσας, ὡς γε ἔλεγον, ἐσηγήσασθαι, προσεποιήσατο ἐθελοντής, ἵνα καὶ μὴ ἄκων ἀποτετυχηκέναι αὐτῆς

δόξη, παρείσθαι.

- 24 Οὖτοί τε οὖν ἐμάχοντο, καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἔσχε μὲν καὶ ἐν τῆ τοῦ σίτου διαδόσει τριβήν τινα· πολλῶν γὰρ πρὸς τὰς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐλπίδας ἔλευθερωθέντων, ἀπογραφήν σφων, ὅπως ἔν τε κόσμω καὶ ἐν τάξει τινὶ σιτοδοτηθῶσιν, ἡθέλησε² ποιήσασθαι· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν τῆ τε ἑαυτοῦ σοφία καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ σίτου ῥάόν πως διώκησε, τὴν δὲ δὴ ὑπατείαν αἰτῶν πράγματα³ ἔσχε καὶ αἰτίαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ [‡] ἔλαβεν. ἐλύπει μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλωδίου γιγνόμενα, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερεωρᾶτο ὧν διέφερε, διά τε τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ διὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ἰδιωτεύων ὑπὲρ πάντας
- 4 άλλὰ τούτων μὲν ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ κατεφρόνει: παραχρημα μὲν γὰρ κακῶς ἀκούων εδυσχέραινεν, διαλιπων δὲ καὶ ες ἀναλογισμὸν της τε ε΄ εαυτοῦ ἀρετης καὶ της τῶν ε΄ ναντίων κακίας ἀφικνούμενος 25 οὐκέτ αὐτῶν προετίμα ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ αὐξανό-

αὐτοὺς τιμηθήσεσθαι προσεδόκησεν ὑβριζόμενος.

23 ουκετ αυτων προετιμα· ο δε δη Καισαρ αυξανομενος, καὶ ὁ δημος τά τε κατειργασμένα αὐτῷ θαυμάζων ὅστε καὶ ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἄνδρας ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ δεδουλωμένοις παντελῶς τοῖς Γαλάταις

¹ επεφέρετο St., επεφέροντο L.

² ἠθέλησε Leuncl., ἐθελῆσαι L.

³ ὑπατείαν αἰτῶν πράγματα Χyl., ὑπατείαν τῶν πραγμάτων L.

 ⁴ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Bs , ἀπ' αὐτῶν L.
 ⁵ In place of καὶ ἐκ Cobet plausibly suggested καὶ ὶ ἐκ ("ten men").

letters the accusations brought against Cato. One of BC. 56 the attacks upon Cato consisted in the charge that he himself had persuaded the consuls (so they affirmed) to propose the praetorship for him, and that he had then pretended to give it up voluntarily, in order

not to appear to have lost it unwillingly.

While these men kept up their conflict, Pompey, too, encountered some delay in the distribution of the grain. For since many slaves had been freed in anticipation of the event, he wished to take a census of them in order that the grain might be supplied to them with some order and system. This, to be sure, he managed fairly easily through his own wisdom and because of the large supply of grain; but in seeking the consulship he met with annoyances and incurred some censure. Clodius' behaviour, for one thing, irritated him, but especially the fact that he was treated slightingly by the others, whose superior he was; and he felt outraged both on account of his reputation and on account of the hopes by reason of which while still a private citizen he had thought to be honoured above them all. Yet sometimes he could bring himself to scorn these; at the moment when people were speaking ill of him he was vexed, but after a time, when he came to consider carefully his own excellence and their baseness, he paid no further attention to them. The fact, however, that Caesar's influence was increasing and the people admired his achievements so much that they dispatched men1 from the senate, on the supposition that the Gauls had been completely subjugated, and that they were

¹ Perhaps we should read "ten men" with Cobet; cf. Cicero, *Prov. cons.* 11, 28; *Balb.* 27, 61; ad *Fam.* I, 7, 10. Dio is wrong in attributing this action to the people instead of to the senate.

ἀποστείλαι, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐλπίδας έπαιρόμενος ὥστε καὶ χρήματά οἱ πολλὰ ψηφί-2 σασθαι, δεινώς αὐτὸν ἡνία. ἐπεγείρησε μὲν γὰρ τούς ύπάτους άναπείσαι μήτε τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῦ εὐθὺς ἀναγιγνώσκειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, μέχρις αν αντόματος ή δόξα των πραττομένων εκνικήση, συγκρύπτειν, καὶ διάδοχον τινα αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος καιροῦ πέμψαι. 3 τοσαύτη γὰρ φιλοτιμία έχρητο ὥσθ' ὅσα αὐτὸς Καίσαρι συνέπραξε καὶ βασκαίνειν καὶ καταλύειν, καὶ ἐκείνω τε 1 ἄλλως τε μεγάλως ἐπαινουμένω 2 καὶ τὰ ἐαυτοῦ συσκιάζοντι ἄχθεσθαι, καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἐγκαλεῖν ὅτι αὐτόν τε ἐν όλιγωρία ἐποιεῖτο καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ὑπερ-4 εσπούδαζε.3 τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ἢγανάκτει ὁρῶν αὐτοὺς τῶν τε προποιηθέντων 4 τινὶ 5 ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον μνημονεύοντας έφ' ὅσον μηδὲν ἄλλο ἐπιγένοιτο, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀεὶ καθιστάμενον, κὰν ἔλαττον τοῦ προτέρου ή, προχειρότατα τῷ τε τοῦ συνήθους κόρφ καὶ τῆ τοῦ ξένου ἡδονῆ φερομένους, καὶ τὸ μέν προευδοκιμούν πάν καταλύοντας ύπὸ τοῦ φθόνου, τὸ δ' ἄρτι προφαινόμενον συνεπαύξοντας 26 ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλπίδων. δι' οὖν ταῦτα δυσχεραίνων, καὶ μήτε τι διὰ τῶν ὑπάτων διαπράξασθαι δυνηθείς καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα μείζω της πρὸς έαυτὸν πίστεως γιγνόμενον όρων, οὐκ ἐν ἐλαφρώ τὸ πράγμα ἐποιήσατο, καὶ γὰρ ἐνόμιζε δύο τε

¹ ἐκείνφ τε Rk., ἐκείνωι γε L.

ἐπαινουμένφ Rk., ταινιουμένφ L.
 ὑπερεσπούδαζε Reim., ὑπεσπούδαζε L.

⁴ προποιηθέντων Rk., πρός ποιηθέντων L.

⁵ τινὶ Bk., τινὰ L.

so elated by their hopes based on him as to vote him R.C. 56 large sums of money, was a cruel thorn in Pompey's side. He attempted to persuade the consuls not to read Caesar's letters immediately but to conceal the facts as long as possible, until the glory of his deeds should win its own way abroad, and furthermore to send some one to relieve him even before the regular time. So jealous was he that he undertook to disparage and undo all that he himself had helped to gain for Caesar, and that he was displeased with him both because he was greatly praised and because he was overshadowing his own exploits, and he blamed the people because they slighted him and were excessively enthusiastic over Caesar. Especially was he vexed to see that they remembered the former achievements of a man just so long as nothing new occurred, that they rushed with the greatest haste to each new achievement, even if it were inferior to that which had preceded, because they became tired of the usual and liked the novel, and that, actuated by envy, they overthrew everyone who had once been in high repute, but, urged on by their hopes, helped to exalt one who was just emerging. Because of this he was vexed, and being unable to accomplish anything through the consuls and seeing that Caesar had passed beyond the need of keeping faith with him, he regarded the situation as grave. For he held that there were two things which

είναι τὰ τὰς φιλίας τινῶν συγχέοντα,1 τό τε δέος 2 καὶ τὸν φθόνον, καὶ ταῦτα ἀπ' ἀντιπάλου καὶ της δόξης καὶ της ισχύος μόνως μη 3 συμβαίνειν 2 έως μεν γὰρ ἂν ἰσομοιρῶσί τινες αὐτῶν, καὶ έκείνας 4 έρρωσθαι, έπειδαν δ' ύπεράρωσί τι οί ετεροι, ενταθθα τό τε ελαττούμενον φθονήσαν μισείν 5 τον κρείττονα καὶ τὸ κρατοῦν καταφρονησαν έξυβρίζειν 5 ές τον χείρονα, καὶ οὕτως ἀπ' αμφοτέρων τον μεν τη ελαττώσει αγανακτούντα τον δε τη πλεονεξία επαιρόμενον, πρός τε διαφοράς καὶ πρὸς πολέμους έκ της πρὶν φιλίας 3 αφικνείσθαι. τοιούτοις οθν δή τισι λογισμοίς ό Πομπήιος έπι τον Καίσαρα ωπλίζετο. και έδόκει γάρ οὐκ ἂν ἡαδίως μόνος αὐτὸν καταλῦσαι, τὸν Κράσσον, ως καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ τοῦτο 6 ποιήσων, ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἀνηρτήσατο.

Τυμφρονήσαντες οὖν ἄλλως μὲν οὐδὲν δίωτεύοντες πράξειν ἤλπισαν, ἂν δ΄ ὑπατεύσωσι κἀκ τούτου καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ πράγματα τῆ ἐκείνου ζηλώσει διαλάβωσι, καὶ ἀντίρροποί οἱ ἔσεσθαι καὶ ταχὰ αὐτοῦ, ἄτε καὶ δύο ἐνός, περιγενήσεσθαι προσεδόκησαν. καὶ οὕτω πᾶσαν τὴν προσποίησιν ἀφ΄ ἡς, εἰ καί τις τῶν ἐταίρων σφῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοὺς προῆγεν, ἀπηρνοῦντο μηκέτι βούλεσθαι ὑπατεῦσαι, ἀποθέμενοι, ἄντικρυς αὐτῆς, καίπερ ἐτέροις τισὶ πρότερον συναγωνιζόμενοι, μετεποιή σαντο. ἐπειδή τε ἔξω τῶν χρόνων τῶν ἐν τοῖς

¹ συγχέοντα R. Steph., συνέχοντα L.

² δέος R. Steph , δέλος L. ³ μη supplied by Bk.

⁴ čkeívas Reim., čkeíva L.

μισεῖν . . . ἐξυβρίζειν Reim., μισεῖ . . . ἐξυβρίζει L.
 τοῦτο supplied by Bs.
 σόδὲν Dind., οὐδὲν &ν L.

^{*} àφ' ĥs εi Rk., σφίσι L.

destroy people's friendship, fear and envy, and that B.C. 56 these can be prevented by nothing except an equality in fame and strength. For as long as persons possess these last in equal shares, their friendship is firm, but when one or the other excels at all, then the inferior party becomes jealous and hates the superior, while the stronger despises and insults the weaker; and thus, with such feelings on both sides, the one being vexed by his inferiority, the other elated by his advantage, they come to strife and war in place of their former friendship. On the basis of some such reasoning Pompey began to arm himself against Caesar. And because he thought he alone could not easily overthrow him, he attached Crassus to himself even more than before. that he might accomplish his purpose with his aid.

After reaching an understanding, they decided that they could not hope to accomplish anything as private citizens, but that if they should become consuls and devote themselves to public affairs, in imitation of Caesar, they would not only be a match for him but would quickly triumph over him, being two against one. So they gave up all their dissimulation, whereby, whenever any of their associates urged them to seek the consulship, they had been claiming that they no longer cared to take the office; and they now openly sought it, in spite of the fact that they had previously been assisting some of the other candidates. When they began to canvass for

νόμοις διειρημένων 1 ἐπήγγειλαν αὐτήν, καὶ δῆλοι ησαν άλλοι τε καὶ αὐτοὶ οι ὕπατοι (καὶ γάρ τι καὶ ῥώμης ὁ Μαρκελλίνος εἶχεν) οὐκ ἐπιτρέψοντές σφισιν ἀποδειχθήναι, διεπράσσοντο τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐκείνῷ μὴ γενέσθαι, ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν Κάτωνα τὸν Γάιον ἐνιέντες, ἵνα μεσοβασιλέως αίρεθέντος καὶ αἰτήσωσι κατά

, τοὺς νόμους τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ λάβωσι.

28 Καὶ ἐγίγνετο γὰρ τοῦτο λόγφ μὲν² ὑπὸ τῶν³ παρεσκευασμένων άλλοτε κατ' άλλην πρόφασιν, ἔργφ δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ⁴ (τοῖς γοῦν ἐναντιουμένοις σφίσι φανερώς ήχθοντο), δεινώς ή γερουσία ήγανάκτησεν, ώστε ποτε μεταξύ μαχομένων αὐτῶν 2 εξαναστῆναι. καὶ τότε μεν οὕτω διελύθησαν, αὖθις δὲ ἐπειδὴ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐγίγνετο, τὰς στολὰς καθάπερ εν συμφορά τινι μετεκδύναι εψηφίσαντο, καίτοι του Κάτωνος έκ τε του συνεδρίου, έπειδήπερ αντιλέγων οὐδεν ήνυσεν, εκπηδήσαντος . . ., 3 ὅπως μηδὲν τελεσθείη: εἰ γάρ τις τῶν μὴ βουλευόντων ἔνδον ἢν, οὐδεμία ψῆφος αὐτοῖς ἐδίδοτο. έκείνους τε γὰρ προαπαντήσαντες έτεροι δήμαρχοι εκώλυσαν εσελθείν, καὶ οὕτω τοῦτό τε τὸ δόγμα έκυρώθη, καὶ έχρηματίζετο ὅπως καὶ ἐς τὴν πανήγυριν την τότε ουσαν οί βουλευται μη δ θεωρήέπει δε και προς εκείνο ο Κάτων ανθίστατο, έξεπήδησαν άθρόοι, καὶ τὰ ἐσθήματα άλλαξάμενοι ἐπανῆλθον ὡς καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' αὐτὸν καταπλήξοντες, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μηδ' ὡς ἐμετρίαζεν,

¹ διειρημένων Rk., διηρημένων L.

² τοῦτο λόγω μὲν Rk., λόγωι τοῦτο μὲν L.

 ³ ὑπὸ τῶν " N" in Reimar's ed., ὑπάτων L.
 ⁴ ἐκείνων Reim., ἐκείνοις L.
 ⁵ μὴ supplied by Rk.

the office outside of the period specified by law, and, B.C. 56 among others the consuls themselves (for Marcellinus had some little influence) made it plain that they would not allow them to be elected, they tried to bring it about, through the agency of Gaius Cato and others, that the elections should not be held that year, in order that an interrex might be chosen and they might then seek and secure the office in accordance with the laws.

This result, now, was being achieved, to all appearances, by the men employed on different pretexts, but in reality by these candidates themselves; at all events they openly showed dislike of those who opposed them. The senators, therefore, became highly indignant and once rose up and departed while these men were wrangling. Thus their strife was stopped for the time being; but when the same disturbance happened again, the senators voted to change their dress, as if for some calamity, in spite of the fact that Cato, when he gained nothing by speaking against the proposed step, rushed out of the gathering [and called in any one he met in the marketplace (?) in order that no decision might be reached; for, if any person not a senator were inside, they might not give their vote. But other tribunes were ahead of him and prevented the outsiders from entering; and so this decree was passed, and it was also decided that the senators should not be spectators at the games then going on. When Cato opposed this measure, too, they rushed out in a body, and after changing their dress returned, hoping thus to frighten him. When even then he would

προήλθον ές τὴν ἀγορὰν ᾶμα πάντες, καὶ συνδραμόντος ἐπὶ τούτφ τοῦ πλήθους ἐς πᾶν κατηφείας 5 αὐτοὺς κατέστησαν, δημηγορῶν μὲν ὁ Μαρκελλίνος και τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν ὀδυρόμενος, ἐπιδακρύοντες δε οι άλλοι και επιστένοντες. ώστε μηδένα μηδεν ἀντιφθέγξασθαι. καὶ οί μεν τοῦτο πράξαντες ές το βουλευτήριον εύθυς έσηλθον, γνώμην έχοντες ές τους υπαιτίους την οργην 29 ἀφείναι Κλώδιος δὲ ἐν τούτω μεταπηδήσας αδθις πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον, καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου πάλιν ἀνθελόμενος έλπίδι 1 τοῦ, εἴ τί οἱ τῶν τότε πραττομένων συγκατεργάσαιτο, πάνυ αὐτὸν ἰδιώσεσθαι, παρηλθέ τε ές τὸν ὅμιλον ἐν τῆ καθηκούση στολή, μηδεν αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸ δόγμα μεταλλάξας, καὶ κατά τε τοῦ Μαρκελλίνου καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων έδημη-2 γόρει. πολλής οθν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτω ἀγανακτήσεως ύπὸ τῶν βουλευτῶν γενομένης τὸ μὲν πληθος μεταξὺ λέγων ἐγκατέλιπε, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὸ συνέδριον ἄξας 2 ολίγου διεφθάρη της γαρ γερουσίας ἀπαντησάσης αὐτῷ εἴσω τε ἐσελθεῖν ἐκωλύθη, 3 κάν τούτω ύπὸ ίππέων περιστοιχισθείς διεσπάσθη ἄν, εἰ μὴ ἀνακραγόντος αὖτοῦ καὶ τὸν ομιλον επιβοησαμένου προσέδραμον πολλοί πῦρ φέροντες, ώς καὶ μετὰ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου σφάς καταπρήσοντες εί τι αὐτὸν έξεργάσαιντο.

Καί ό μεν παρά τοσοῦτον ελθων ἀπολέσθαι 30 οὕτως ἐσώθη· Πομπήιος δε οὐδεν τούτοις ἐκπλαγεὶς ἔς τε τὸ συνέδριόν ποτε ἐσεπήδησεν, ὑπεναντιούμενος αὐτῷ ψηφιεῖσθαι μέλλοντι,³ καὶ ἐκεῖνό τε κυρωθῆναι ἐκώλυσε, καὶ τοῦ Μαρκελ-

 $^{^1}$ ἐλπίδι R. Steph., ἐλπίδα L. 2 ἄξαs Wesseling, ἄρξαs L. 3 μέλλοντι R. Steph., μέλλοντοs L.

not moderate his behaviour, they all proceeded to the B.C. 56 Forum together and brought the multitude, which had thereupon rushed together, to a state of extreme sorrow; for Marcellinus addressed them, lamenting their present situation, while the rest wept and groaned, so that no one had a word to say against After doing this the senators entered the senate-house immediately, intending to vent their wrath upon those who were responsible. Clodius had meanwhile leaped over to the side of Pompey and espoused his cause again, in the hope that if he should give him any help in securing his present objects, he would make him thoroughly his friend. So he came before the populace in his ordinary garb, without having made any change as the decree required, and went to inveighing against Marcellinus and the rest. As great indignation was shown by the senators at this, he left the people in the midst of his speech and rushed to the senate-house, where he came near perishing. For the senate confronted him and prevented his going in, while at that moment he was surrounded by the knights and would have been torn limb from limb, had he not raised an outcry, calling upon the people for aid; whereupon many ran to the scene bringing fire and threatening to burn his oppressors along with the senate-house if they should do him any violence. Thus Clodius was saved after coming so near perishing.

But Pompey, not alarmed at all by this, on one occasion rushed into the senate, thwarting them as they were just about to vote, and prevented the measure from being carried. When Marcellinus

λίνου μετά τοῦτο πυθομένου δημοσία αὐτοῦ εἰ όντως ἐπιθυμεῖ ὑπατεῦσαι, ἐλπίδι τοῦ κατοκνήσειν αὐτὸν σπουδαργείν όμολογησαι, τῶν μέν δικαίων ανδρών ένεκα ούδεν της αρχης δείσθαι έφη, διὰ δὲ δὴ τοὺς ταραχώδεις καὶ σφόδρα αὐτῆς 2 ἀντιποιείσθαι. ώς οὖν τούτω 1 φανερώς ἐνέκειτο, καὶ ὁ Κράσσος ἐρωτηθεὶς καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ αὐτὰ οὐχ ώμολόγησε μέν, οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἀπηρνήσατο, ἀλλ' ωσπερ ειώθει δια μέσου έχώρησεν, είπων ὅτι πάνθ' όσα τῷ κοινῷ συμφέροι πράξοι, κατέδεισαν ο τε Μαρκελλίνος και άλλοι πολλοί τήν τε παρασκευὴν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἀντίταξιν, καὶ οὐδὲ ἀπήντων 3 έτι ές τὸ βουλευτήριον. μη συλλεγομένου δὲ τοῦ καθήκουτος έκ των νομίμων αριθμού πρός τὸ ψηφισθήναί τι περί των άρχαιρεσιών, οὐδὲ χρηματισθηναί τι ἀρχην περί αὐτῶν ήδυνήθη, ἀλλὰ ὁ 4 ενιαυτὸς ² οὕτω διέβη. οὐ μέντοι οὔτε τὴν ἐσθῆτα μετημπίσχοντο ούτε ές τὰς πανηγύρεις ἐφοίτων, οὐκ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίω τῆ τοῦ Διὸς ἑορτῆ είστιάθησαν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὰς ἄνοχὰς τὰς Λατίνας, δεύτερον τότε ὑπό τινος οὐκ ὀρθῶς πραχθέντος ποιουμένας,3 ές τὸ 'Αλβανὸν ἀφίκοντο, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ δεδουλωμένοι, καὶ μήτ' ἀρχὰς ἐλέσθαι μήτ' ἄλλο τι πολιτικον πράξαι 4 έξουσίαν έχοντες, το λοιπον τοῦ ἔτους διήγαγον.

31 Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὅ τε Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Κράσσος ὅπατοι ἐκ μεσοβασιλείας ἀπεδείχθησαν, οὕτ ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν προεπηγγελκότων ἀπαντήσαντος, καὶ Λουκίου Δομιτίου, δς μέγρι τῆς τελευταίας

¹ τούτφ R. Steph., τοῦτο L.

² ἀλλὰ ὁ ἐνιαυτδς Canter, ἀλλὰ θέσει αὐτὸς L.

³ ποιουμένας R. Steph., ποιούμενα L.

⁺ πρᾶξαι Bk., πράξασθαι L.

after that publicly asked him whether he really B.C. 56 desired to become consul, in the hope that he would shrink from admitting that he was a candidate, Pompey declared that he did not want the office because of the just men, but that on account of the seditious he was trying very hard to gain it. So Pompey now openly strove for the office, and Crassus on being interrogated gave the same impression himself, not admitting the fact, to be sure, but not denying it, either; instead, he took, as usual, a middle course and said that he would do whatever was advantageous for the republic. Consequently Marcellinus and many others were terrified, as they observed the preparations and opposing array of these men, and would no longer frequent the senatehouse. And since the number required by law for passing any vote concerning the elections did not assemble, it was impossible to have any business at all about them brought forward, and the year thus passed away. The senators, however, did not change back to their usual attire nor attend the games nor celebrate the feast of Jupiter on the Capitol nor go out to the Alban Mount for the Feriae Latinae, held there for the second time by reason of something not rightly done. Instead, they spent the rest of the year as if they were in bondage and possessed no authority to choose officials or carry on any other public business.

Later Crassus and Pompey were appointed consuls 8.c. 55 after an interregnum, as no one else of the earlier candidates opposed them. To be sure, Lucius Domitius,

ήμέρας έσπουδάρχησεν, όρμήσαντος μεν προς την έκκλησίαν οἴκοθεν ύπὸ νύκτα, ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ παῖς ὁ τὸν λύχνον οἱ προφέρων ἐσφάγη, δείσαντος καὶ 2 μηκέτι περαιτέρω προχωρήσαντος. αντιστάντος τινὸς την άρχην, καὶ προσέτι τοῦ Πουπλίου Κράσσου, δι υίος τε τοῦ Μάρκου ην καὶ τότε τῷ Καίσαρι ὑπεστρατήγει, στρατιώτας ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀγαγόντος, οὐ χαλεπῶς

ήρέθησαν.

32 Παραλαβόντες δ' 1 οὕτω τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τὰς λοιπάς άρχὰς τοῖς ἐπιτηδείως ² σφίσιν ἔχουσι δοθῆναι ἐποίησαν, τὸν Κάτωνα τὸν Μᾶρκον κωλύσαντες στρατηγον ἀποδειχθηναι ὑπώπτευόν τε γαρ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαι τὰ γιγνόμενα, καὶ οὐκ ηθέλησαν ισχύν αὐτῷ ἔννομον πρὸς τὰς ἀντι-

- 2 λογίας προσθείναι. καὶ ἡ μèν τῶν στρατηγῶν κατάστασις (ὁ γὰρ Κάτων οὐδèν βίαιον πρᾶξαι ηξίωσεν) εἰρηναία ἐγένετο, περὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀγορανόμους τους κουρουλίους σφαγαί συνέβησαν, ώστε καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον πολλοῦ αἵματος ἀναπλησθῆναι.
- 3 οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μέν, τούς τε ἄλλους τοὺς ύπὸ τοῦ δήμου αίρουμένους, πρὸς τρόπου³ σφίσιν (αὐτοὶ γὰρ τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας ἐποίουν) ἀπέδειξαν, τούς τε άγορανόμους τούς έτέρους καὶ τῶν δημάρχων τοὺς πλείους προσηταιρίσαντο δύο δὲ δήμαρχοι, Τάιός τε 'Ατέιος Καπίτων καὶ Πούπλιος Ακύλιος Γάλλος, οὐχ ώμολόγησαν αὐτοῖς. 33

΄ Ως οὖν αἱ ἀρχαὶ κατέστησαν, εἴχοντο ὧν

4 δήμαρχοι Xyl., δημοσίαι L.

¹ δ' added by Rk. ² ἐπιτηδείως R. Steph., ἐπιτηδείοις L.

³ πρός τρόπου Wesseling, προστρόπους L.

^{5&#}x27; Ατέιος Bs., following Leunel. ('Ατήιος), άτιος L (and so regularly). " Ακύλιος Rein., ἀκυίλιος Ι..

who canvassed for the office up to the very last 8.C. 55 day of the year, set out from his house for the assembly just after dark, but when the slave who carried the torch in front of him was slain, he became frightened and went no farther. Hence, since no one at all opposed them, and furthermore since Publius Crassus, who was a son of Marcus and at that time lieutenant under Caesar, brought soldiers to Rome for this very purpose, they were easily chosen.

When they had thus assumed the leadership of the state, they had the other offices given to such as were well disposed toward them and prevented Marcus Cato from being appointed practor; for they suspected that he would not submit to their régime and were unwilling to add any legal power to his protests. The election of the practors, now. was made in peace, for Cato did not see fit to offer any violence; in the matter of the curule aediles, however, there was some bloodshed, so that even Pompey was much bespattered with blood. Nevertheless, in the case of both these and the other officials elected by the people, they made appointments to please themselves, since they personally held the elections, and they made friends with the other aediles and most of the tribunes: but two tribunes, Gaius Ateius Capito and Publius Aquilius Gallus, did not come to terms with them.

Accordingly, when the magistrates had been appointed, they proceeded to lay hold on the objects

353

έφιεντο. καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν οὐδένα οὕτε ἐν τῆ βουλῆ οὕτε ἐν τῷ δήμφ λόγον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐποιήσαντο, άλλα καὶ πάνυ ἐπλάττοντο μηδενός σφων προσ-2 δείσθαι· Γάιος δὲ δὴ Τρεβώνιος δημαρχῶν ἔγραψε τῷ μὲν τήν τε Συρίαν καὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα αὐτῆς, τῷ δὲ τὰς Ἰβηρίας¹ (καὶ γάρ τι καὶ ἔναγχος ἐκεκίνηντο²) ἄρχειν ἐπὶ πέντε ἔτη δοθῆναι, στρατιώταις τε ὅσοις ἂν ἐθελήσωσι καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων χρωμένοις, καὶ πόλεμον καὶ εἰρήνην προς ους αν βουληθωσι ποιουμένοις. 3 χαλεπώς οὖν ἐπὶ τούτω πολλών, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος φίλων, ἐχόντων, ὅτι ἤμελλον ἐκεῖνοι, τυχόντες ὧν διφκοῦντο, τὸν Καίσαρα μηκέτ' έπὶ πολύ την ἀρχην έξοντα καθείρξειν, καὶ παρασκευαζομένων διὰ τοῦτο ἀντειπεῖν τινων τοῖς γεγραμμένοις, φοβηθέντες οι υπατοι μη διαμάρτωσιν ὧν ἔπραττον, προσεποιήσαντο αὐτοὺς ὥστε την ηγεμονίαν καὶ ἐκείνω τρία ἔτη πλείω, ώς γε 4 τάληθες ευρίσκεται, μηκύναι. ου μέντοι καὶ ές τον δημόν τι υπερ αυτού πρότερον εσήνεγκαν πρίν τὰ σφέτερα βεβαιώσασθαι. οί τε γάρ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπιτήδειοι προκαταληφθέντες οὕτως ἡσύχασαν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὸ μὲν πολύ δουλωθὲν ύπὸ τοῦ φόβου ήσυχίαν ἤγαγον, ἀγαπῶντες εἰ καὶ 34 ως περισωθείεν, ο δέ δη Κάτων και ο Φαουώνιος ηναντιοῦντο μὲν πᾶσι τοῖς πρασσομένοις ὑπ' αὐτών, συνεργοὺς ἄλλους τέ τινας καὶ τοὺς δύο δημάρχους έχοντες, άτε δὲ ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς 2 άγωνιζόμενοι μάτην επαρρησιάζοντο. καὶ ὁ μεν Φαουώνιος μίαν ώραν μόνην παρά τοῦ Τρεβωνίου

 ^{&#}x27;Ιβηρίας R. Steph., ''βηρας L.
 ἐκεκίνηντο Βk., ἐκεκίνητο L.

of their striving. They made no mention of these B.C. 55 matters themselves before either the senate or the people, but gravely pretended that they wanted nothing further. Gaius Trebonius, however, a tribune, presented a measure, that to the one Syria and the neighbouring lands should be given as a province for five years, and to the other the two Spains, where there had recently been disturbances, for the same period; they should employ as many soldiers as they wished, both citizens and allies, and should make peace and war with whomsoever they pleased. took offence at this, especially the friends of Caesar, because these men were bound after gaining their present ends to restrict Caesar's power and keep him from holding his position much longer, and therefore some prepared to speak against the measure. Then the consuls, fearing that they might fail utterly of the projects they had in hand, won over their opponents on the condition of extending Caesar's command also for three 1 years more to state the actual fact. However, they submitted nothing to the people in regard to him until their own arrangements had been confirmed. For Caesar's friends, having been gained over in the manner stated, remained quiet, and the majority of the others, in bondage to fear and satisfied if even so they might save their lives, kept still. On the other hand, Cato and Favonius resisted all their schemes, having the two tribunes and others to help them; but since they were fighting a few against many, their outspokenness was of no avail. Favonius, who obtained from Trebonius only one hour for his

355

¹ The same period is adopted by Dio in Book xliv. 43, 2. Suetonius, Plutarch, and Appian say five years.

πρὸς τὴν ἀντιλογίαν λαβών, κατέτριψεν αὐτὴν ύπερ αὐτης της τοῦ καιροῦ στενοχωρίας εἰκη Βοῶν ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάτων ἔτυχε μὲν ἐν δύο ἄραις 3 δημηγορήσαι, τραπόμενος δὲ πρὸς κατηγορίαν τῶν τε εν χερσί και της όλης καταστάσεως, ώσπερ εἰώθει, κατανάλωσε τὸν καιρὸν πρὶν καὶ ὁτιοῦν των προκειμένων είπειν, ούν ότι οὐκ ἐνεδέχετό τι καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων λεχθηναι, άλλ' ἵν' ἔτι τί δημηγορησαι δοκών έχειν ύπό τε του Τρεβωνίου σιγασθη και αὐτῷ και τοῦτ' αὐτὸ ἐγκαλη, ἐπεὶ εὖ γε ηπίστατο ὅτι οὐδ' εἰ πάση τῆ ημέρα ἐκέχρητο, πεισαί τι ων έβούλετο ψηφίσασθαί σφας εδύνατο. 4 οὐκοῦν οὔτε 2 παραχρημα σιωπησαι 3 κελευσθεὶς έπαύσατο, άλλα καὶ έξωσθεὶς καὶ έλκυσθεὶς έκ τοῦ συλλόγου ἐπανῆλθε, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον καὶ ἐς τὸ οἴκημα ἐσαχθῆναι προσταχθεὶς οὐκ ἐμετρίασεν. 35 Καὶ ἐκείνη μὲν ἡ ἡμέρα οὕτω κατετρίβη ώστε μηδ' εἰπεῖν ἀρχὴν μηδέν τοὺς δημάρχους δυνηθηναι εν γάρ τοι ταίς συνόδοις ταίς του δήμου, έν αίς γε καὶ έβουλεύοντο, πάσαις τοῖς διώταις 2 πρὸ τῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐχόντων ὁ λόγος ἐδίδοτο, τοῦ μηδένα αὐτῶν, ὡς ἔοικε, τῆ τοῦ κρείττονος γνώμη προκαταλαμβανόμενον ύποστέλλεσθαί τι ών φρονοίη, άλλ' έπὶ πάσης παρρησίας τὰ δοκοῦντα 3 αὐτῷ λέγειν. Φοβηθεὶς οὖν ὁ Γάλλος μή τις αὐτὸν έκ της άγορας τη ύστεραία έξείρξη η και δεινότερόν τι έργάσηται, ές τε τὸ συνέδριον ἀφ' έσπέρας έσηλθε καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνυκτέρευσε, τῆς τε ἀσφαλείας

ενεκα της παρά τοῦ χωρίου, καὶ ὅπως ἐκείθεν ἄμα

¹ προκειμένων είπεῖν Rk., ἐονουμένων L.

² ούτε Bk., οὐδὲ L. ³ σιωπησαι Reim., σιωπήσειν L.

speech in opposition, used it up in uttering vain pro- B.C. 55 tests against this very limitation of his time. Cato. for his part, received the privilege of speaking for two hours. but devoted his efforts to criticizing present conditions and the general state of affairs, as was his wont, and so exhausted his time before he touched upon any of the matters before them. took this course, not because he had not the privilege of speaking on those matters as well, but in order that he might be silenced by Trebonius while still appearing to have something more to say and might thus obtain this additional grievance to bring against him. For he well understood that even if he employed the whole day, he could not persuade them to vote anything that he wished. Hence, when bidden to be silent, he did not stop immediately, but had to be pushed and dragged from the assembly. whereupon he came back, and though finally ordered to be taken to prison, he did not moderate his behaviour.

That day was used up in such wise that the tribunes could not speak at all. For in all the meetings of the people in which they deliberated, the right to speak was given to the private citizens ahead of the magistrates, to the end apparently that none of them, captivated beforehand by the opinion of a superior, should conceal any of his own ideas, but should speak out his mind with entire frankness. Hence Gallus, fearing that some one might on the next day keep him from the Forum or do something worse still, went into the senate-house in the evening and passed the night there, both for the sake of the safety afforded by the place, and for the purpose of leaving there at dawn to join

4 εω πρὸς τὸ πλήθος ἐξέλθη. καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ὁ Τρεβώνιος μάτην ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὴν νύκτα καὶ τῆς ἡμέριις τὸ πλεῖον ἐνδιατρῖψαι ἐποίησε, πάσας τὰς θύρας τοῦ βουλευτηρίου κλείσας· τὸν δὲ ᾿Ατέιον τόν τε Κάτωνα καὶ τὸν Φαουώνιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ὄντας ἔτεροι, προκαταλαβόντες τῆς νυκτὸς τὸ τοῦ συλλόγου χωρίον, ἐξεῖργον. 5 καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ μὲν Φαουώνιος καὶ ὁ Νίννιος διαλαθόντες πως ἔνδον ἐγένοντο, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάτων καὶ ὁ ᾿Ατέιος ἐπαναβάντες τισὶ τῶν περιεστηκότων καὶ μετεωρισθέντες ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν διοσημίαν, ὡς καὶ διαλύσοντές σφας, ἐπεφήμιζον,¹ τούτους μὲν ἑκατέρους οἱ ὑπηρέται τῶν δημάρχων ἐξήλασαν, τοὺς δ᾽ ἄλλους τοὺς σὰν αὐτοῖς ὄντας κατετραυμάτισαν, καί τινας καὶ ἀπέκτειναν.

36 Κυρωθέντος δὲ οὕτω τοῦ νόμου, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἀπαλλαττομένου ἤδη ἐκ τοῦ συλλόγου, παραλαβών ὁ Ατέιος τὸν Γάλλον αἵματος ἀνάπλεων (ἐκβιαζόμενος γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐπλήγη) παρήγαγέ τε ἐς τοὺς ἔτι παρόντας, καὶ ἐπιδείξας αὐτόν, καὶ ἐπειπών ὅσα εἰκὸς ἦν, 2 δεινῶς σφας ἐξετάραξεν. αἰσθόμενοι οὖν τοῦθ οἱ ὕπατοι ἦλθόν τε διὰ ταχέων (ἐγγύθεν γάρ ποθεν τοῦς πραττομένοις ἐφήδρευου) καὶ καταφοβήσαντες αὐτούς, ἄτε καὶ χεῖρα οὐκ ὀλίγην ἔχοντες, εὐθύς τε ἐκκλησίαν συνήγαγον καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπεψήφισαν, ἀντειπεῖν μὲν καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνα τῶν αὐτῶν πειραθέντων, οὐ μέντοι καὶ δυνηθέντων τι πρᾶξαι.

37 Ταῦτά τε οὖν κυρωθηναι ἐποίησαν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πικρότερα ἐπιτίμια τοῖς δεκάζουσί τινας

1 επεφήμιζον Rk., εψηφίζοντο L.

the populace outside. But Trebonius, by locking all BLC. 55 the doors of the senate-house, caused him to spend not only the night there but most of the day as well, all in vain. Others occupied the meeting-place of the assembly by night and barred out Ateius, Cato, Favonius, and the others with them. When Favonius and Ninnius got in somehow unobserved, and Cato and Ateius climbed upon the shoulders of some of those standing around, and being lifted up by them, declared an omen with the purpose of breaking up the meeting, the attendants of the tribunes drove them both out, wounded the rest who were with them, and actually killed a few.

After the law had been passed in this way and the crowd was already departing from the assembly, Ateius took Gallus, who had been struck in being forced out of the gathering, and led him, all covered with blood, into the presence of those still on the spot, showed him to them, and by making such remarks as might be expected, stirred them mightily. The consuls quickly arrived upon becoming aware of this; for they had been watching developments from somewhere near at hand. And as they had a considerable bodyguard they intimidated the men, immediately called a meeting, and put to vote the additional measures relating to Caesar. The same persons tried to speak in opposition to these, too, but were unable to accomplish anything.

The consuls, accordingly, had these measures passed, and next they laid heavier penalties upon

έπέταξαν, ὥσπερ τι αὐτοὶ ἔλαττον, ὅτι οὐ χρήμασιν άλλὰ βία τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰλήφεσαν, άμαρτόντες. 2 ἐπεχείρησαν μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἀναλώματα τὰ κατὰ την ί δίαιταν ἐπὶ μακρότατον προηγμένα 2 συστείλαι, καίπερ ές παν αὐτοὶ καὶ τρυφής καὶ άβρότητος προκεχωρηκότες, έκωλύθησαν δὲ ὑπὸ 3 αὐτοῦ τούτου διανομοθετῆσαι. ὁ γὰρ 'Ορτήσιος φιλαναλωτής 3 εν τοις μάλιστα ων έπεισεν αὐτούς. τό τε μέγεθος της πόλεως ἐπεξιών, καὶ αὐτοὺς 4 έπί τε τη οἴκοι πολυτελεία καὶ ἐπὶ τη ἐς τοὺς άλλους μεγαλοφροσύνη έπαινων, καταβαλείν 5 τὴν γνώμην, ἄτε καὶ συναγωνιστῆ 6 τῶν λόγων τῷ 4 βίω σφων χρώμενος. τήν τε γαρ εναντίωσιν αίδεσθέντες, καὶ προσέτι καὶ κατοκνήσαντες $\phi\theta$ όνω τινὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὧν αὐτοὶ ἐποίουν, δοκεῖν άπείργειν, έκόντες άφηκαν την έσηγησιν.

Κάν ταις αὐταις ήμέραις ὁ Πομπήιος τὸ θέατρον, ὧ καὶ νῦν λαμπρυνόμεθα, καθιέρωσε, καὶ ἔν τε ἐκείνω θέαν καὶ μουσικής καὶ ἀγῶνος γυμνικοῦ κάν τῷ ἱπποδρόμω καὶ ἵππων ἄμιλλαν καὶ θηρίων πολλών καὶ παντοδαπών σφαγάς 2 έποίησεν. λέοντές τε γαρ πεντακόσιοι έν πέντε ημέραις ἀναλώθησαν, καὶ ἐλέφαντες ὀκτωκαίδεκα πρός όπλίτας έμαχέσαντο. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν παραχρημα ἀπέθανου, οι δε ου πολλώ υστερου. ηλεήθησαν γάρ τινες υπό του δήμου παρὰ την τοῦ Πομπηίου γνώμην, ἐπειδή τραυματισθέντες

38

¹ ἀναλώματα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Rk. (κατὰ supplied by Leuncl.), ἀναλώτατα τὴν L. ² προηγμένα Leuncl., προσηγμένα L.

³ φιλαναλωτής Pflugk, φιλανάλωτος L.

⁴ αὐτοὺς added by Leunel. 5 καταβαλεῖν Xyl., καταλαβεῖν L. 6 συναγωνιστή R. Steph., συναγωνιστήν L.

⁷ ἐποίουν Βk., ἐποιοῦντο L.

those offering bribes, as if their own offence were B.C. 55 any less because they had secured their office by force instead of by money. They even undertook to curtail personal expenditures, which had increased to an enormous extent, although they themselves went to every length of luxury and indulgence; but they were prevented by this very circumstance from enacting the law. For Hortensius, one of the men fondest of expensive living, by reviewing the great size of the city and praising the costliness of their homes as well as their generosity toward others, thus making use of their own mode of life to support his arguments, persuaded them to give up their intention. They were brought to shame by his opposition and also shrank from appearing to debar others through jealousy from privileges that they themselves enjoyed; and so they voluntarily withdrew their motion.

During these same days Pompey dedicated the theatre in which we take pride even at the present time. In it he provided an entertainment consisting of music and gymnastic contests, and in the Circus a horse-race and the slaughter of many wild beasts of all kinds. Indeed, five hundred lions were used up in five days, and eighteen elephants fought against men in heavy armour. Some of these beasts were killed at the time and others a little later. For some of them, contrary to Pompey's wish, were pitied by the people when, after being

3 της μάχης ἐπαύσαντο, καὶ περιιόντες τάς τε προβοσκίδας ές του ουρανου ανέτεινου καὶ ώλοφύρουτο ούτως ώστε καὶ λόγον παρασχείν ὅτι οὐκ άλλως εκ συντυχίας αὐτὸ εποίησαν, άλλα τούς τε δρκους οίς πίστεύσαντες έκ της Λιβύης έπεπεραίωντο επιβοώμενοι καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον πρὸς 4 τιμωρίαν σφών επικαλούμενοι. λέγεται γάρ ότι ού πρότερον των νεών έπέβησαν πρίν πίστιν παρὰ τῶν ἀγόντων σφᾶς ἔνορκον λαβεῖν, ἢ μὴν μηδεν κακον πείσεσθαι. και τούτο μεν είτ' όντως 5 ούτως είτε καὶ ἄλλως πως έχει, οὐκ οίδα ήδη γάρ τινες καὶ ἐκεῖνο εἶπον, ὅτι πρὸς τῷ τῆς φωνῆς της πατριώτιδος αὐτοὺς ἐπαίειν καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ γιγνομένων συνιᾶσιν, ὥστε καὶ ἐν ταίς νουμηνίαις, πρίν ές όψιν τοις άνθρώποις την σελήνην έλθειν, πρός τε ύδωρ ἀείνων 2 ἀφικνείσθαι 6 κάνταθθα καθαρμόν τινά σφων ποιείσθαι. ήκουσα μεν δη ταῦτα, ήκουσα δε καὶ ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι τὸ θέατρον τοῦτο οὐχ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Δημήτριός τις ἀπελεύθερος αὐτοῦ, ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων ων συστρατευόμενος οι επεπόριστο. όθεν-, περ καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τοῦ ἔργου δικαιότατα αὐτῷ ἀνέθηκεν, ἵνα μὴ μάτην 3 κακῶς ἀκούη ὅτι έξελεύθερος αὐτοῦ ήργυρολόγησεν ώστε καὶ ές τηλικοῦτον ἀνάλωμα ἐξικέσθαι.

39 ΄Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν τούτοις οὐ σμικρὰ τῷ δήμφ ο Πομπήιος έχαρίσατο, τους δε δη καταλόγους μετὰ τοῦ Κράσσου πρὸς τὰ ἐψηφισμένα σφίσι ποιούμενος πλείστον αὐτοὺς ἐλύπησε. καὶ τότε δη οί πολλοί μετεμέλοντο και τόν τε Κάτωνα καί

ἐπατειν R. Steph. (so Xiph.), ἐπαίσειν L.
 ἀείνων Βk., ἀεινὸν L.
 μὴ μάτην Polak, μὴ τὴν L.

wounded and ceasing to fight, they walked about B.C. 55 with their trunks raised toward heaven, lamenting so bitterly as to give rise to the report that they did so not by mere chance, but were crying out against the oaths in which they had trusted when they crossed over from Africa, and were calling upon Heaven to avenge them. For it is said that they would not set foot upon the ships before they received a pledge under oath from their drivers that they should suffer no harm. Whether this is really so or not I do not know; for some in time past have further declared that in addition to understanding the language of their native country they also comprehend what is going on in the sky, so that at the time of the new moon, before that luminary comes within the gaze of men, they reach running water and there perform a kind of purification of themselves. These things I have heard; I have heard also that this theatre was not erected by Pompey, but by one Demetrius, a freedman of his, with the money he had gained while making campaigns with the general. Most justly, therefore, did he give his master's name to the structure, so that Pompey might not incur needless reproach because of the fact that his freedman had collected money enough to suffice for so huge an expenditure.

At all events Pompey in these matters afforded the populace no little delight; but in making with Crassus the levies for the campaigns assigned to them he displeased them exceedingly. Then, indeed, the majority repented of their course and praised Cato and the rest. Both on this account,

τους άλλους ἐπήνουν, ὥστε καὶ ἐκείνους διά τε 2 τοῦτο, καὶ ὅτι δίκη τις λόγω μὲν τοῖς ὑποστρατήγοις σφῶν, ἔργω δὲ αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὰ γιγνόμενα παρὰ δημάρχων τινῶν ἐπήχθη, βίαιον μὲν μηδὲν τολμήσαι, την δε έσθητα ώς έπι συμφορά μετά τῶν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς στασιωτῶν ἀλλάξασθαι. 3 καὶ ταύτην μὲν εὐθὺς μεταγνόντες καὶ μηδὲ προφάσεως τινος επιλαβόμενοι μετεσκευάσαντο των δὲ δημάρχων τούς τε καταλόγους διαλῦσαι καὶ τὰς στρατείας αὐτῶν ἀναψηφίσαι ἐπιχειρούντων 4 ο μεν Πομπήιος οὐκ ήγανάκτει (τούς τε γὰρ ὑπάρχους παραχρημα έξεπεπόμφει, καὶ αὐτὸς κατά χώραν, ως καὶ κωλυόμενος έξελθεῖν, άλλως διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ σίτου παρεῖναι ὀφείλων, ἡδέως ἔμενεν, ἴνα τάς τ' Ἰβηρίας ¹ ἄμα δι' ἐκείνων κατάσχη καὶ τὰ ἐν τῆ Ὑρώμη τῆ τε ἄλλη Ἰταλία δι' δ ἐαυτοῦ ποιήσηται), ὁ δὲ δὴ Κράσσος, ἐπειδὴ μηδέτερον αὐτῷ τούτων ὑπῆρχεν, ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν οπλων ισχύν ετράπετο. οί ουν δήμαρχοι ιδόντες ότι ή παρρησία αὐτῶν ἄοπλος οὖσα ἀσθενης πρὸς τὸ κωλῦσαί τι πραχθηναι ήν, άλλως μὲν ἐσιώπων, έπεφήμιζον δὲ αὐτῷ πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα, ὅσπερ οὐ 6 καί 3 τῷ δημοσίω δι' ἐκείνου καταρώμενοι, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίφ τὰς εὐχὰς αὐτοῦ τὰς νομιζομένας έπὶ τῆ στρατεία ποιουμένου 4 καὶ διοσημίας τινάς καὶ τέρατα διεθρόουν, τοῦτο δὲ έξορμωμένω οί πολλά καὶ δεινὰ ἐπηράσαντο. ἐπεχείρησε μέν γαρ ο 'Ατέιος και ές το δεσμωτήριον 7 αὐτὸν ἐμβαλεῖν ἀντιστάντων δὲ ἐτέρων δημάρχων

¹ τάς τ' 'Ιβηρίας Βk., τας ιβερια L.

² ην added by Bk. ³ οὐ καὶ Xyl., οὐκ ἐν L.

⁴ ποιουμένου Leuncl., ποιούμενοι L.

therefore, and because of a suit instituted by some B.C. 55 of the tribunes, nominally against the lieutenants of the consuls, but really against these themselves and their acts, the consuls, although they did not dare to use any violence, did, however, along with their partisans in the senate, change their clothing as if for a calamity. They immediately repented, and without offering any excuse went back to their accustomed dress; but the tribunes endeavoured to annul the levies and rescind the vote for the proposed campaigns. At this, Pompey, for his part, showed no anger, as he had sent out his lieutenants promptly and was glad to remain himself where he was on the plea that he was prevented from leaving the city, and ought in any case to be in Rome on account of his superintendence of the cornsupply; his plan was to let his officers subdue the Spains while he took in his own hands the affairs at Rome and in the rest of Italy. Crassus, however, since neither of these considerations applied to his case, looked to the force of arms. The tribunes, then, seeing that their boldness, unsupported by arms, was too weak to hinder any of his undertakings, held their peace for the most part, but they uttered many dire imprecations against him, as if, indeed, they were not cursing the state through him. At one time as he was offering on the Capitol the customary prayers for his campaign, they spread a report of omens and portents, and again when he was setting out they called down many terrible curses upon him. Ateius even attempted to cast him into prison, but other tribunes resisted, and there was a conflict among them and a

μάχη τε αὐτῶν καὶ διατριβὴ ἐγένετο, κάν τούτω ὁ

Κράσσος έξω τοῦ πωμηρίου έξηλθε.

Καὶ ὁ μέν, εἴτε ἐκ συντυχίας εἴτε καὶ ἐκ τῶν 40 ἀρῶν αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐσφάλη, ὁ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρ έν τη του Μαρκελλίνου τη τε Φιλίππου ύπατεία έπὶ Οὐενέτους ἐστράτευσεν. οἰκοῦσι δὲ πρὸς τῷ ἀκεανῷ, καὶ στρατιώτας τινὰς Ῥωμαίους πεμφθέντας επί σίτον συνέλαβον, και μετά τούτο τους πρέσβεις τους υπέρ εκείνων ελθόντας κατέσχον, ὅπως ἀντ' αὐτῶν τοὺς ὁμήρους σφῶν ἀπο-2 λάβωσιν. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ τούτους μὲν οὐκ ἀπέδωκε, διαπέμψας δὲ ἄλλους ἄλλη, τοὺς μὲν τὰ τῶν συναφεστηκότων αὐτοῖς πορθείν, ίνα μη συμβοηθήσωσιν άλληλοις, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐνσπόνδων. 3 μη καὶ αὐτοί τι παρακινήσωσι, φρουρείν, αὐτὸς έπὶ τοὺς Οὐενέτους ήλασε, καὶ πλοῖα ἐν τῆ μεσογεία, α ήκουεν επιτήδεια προς την του ωκεανου παλίρροιαν είναι, κατασκευάσας διά τε τοῦ Λίγρου ποταμοῦ κατεκόμισε, καὶ πᾶσαν ὀλίγου τὴν 4 ώραίαν μάτην ἀνάλωσεν. αί τε γὰρ πόλεις ἐπ' έρυμνων χωρίων ίδρυμέναι άπρόσιτοι ήσαν, καὶ ό ώκεανος πάσας ώς είπειν αὐτὰς περικλύζων ἄπορον μεν τῷ πεζῷ ἄπορον δὲ καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ τὴν προσβολήν, καὶ πλημμύρων καὶ ἀναρρέων, εν τε 5 τη άμπωτιδι καὶ ἐν τῆ ραχία ἐποίει, ὥστε ἐν παντί τον Καίσαρα γενέσθαι, μέχρις οδ Δέκιμος * Βρούτος ταχείαις οι ναυσίν έκ της ένδοθε θαλάσσης ηλθεν. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ώς οὐδὲ ἐκείναις τι πράξων γνώμην είχεν, οι δε δη βάρβαροι κατα-

 $^{^1}$ συνέλαβον Bk., έλαβον L. 2 Λίγρου Leuncl., αΐγρου L. 3 καὶ πλημμύρων καὶ ἀναρρέων is probably a gloss on the following words. 4 Δέκιμος R. Steph., δεκίμιος L.

delay, in the midst of which Crassus went outside B.C. 55 the pomerium. Now he, whether by chance or as a result of these very curses, before long met with defeat.

Caesar in the consulship of Marcellinus and Philip- B.C. 56 pus made an expedition against the Veneti, who live near the ocean. They had seized some Roman soldiers sent out for grain and afterward detained the envoys who came in their behalf, in order that in exchange for these they might get back their own hostages. Caesar, instead of giving these back, sent out different bodies of troops in various directions, some to waste the possessions of those who had joined the revolt and thus to prevent the two bands from aiding each other, and others to guard the possessions of those who were under treaty, for fear they too might cause some disturbance; he himself proceeded against the Veneti. He constructed in the interior the kind of boats which he heard were of advantage for the tides of the ocean, and conveyed them down the river Liger, but in so doing used up almost the entire summer to no purpose. For their cities, established in strong positions, were inaccessible, and the ocean surging around practically all of them rendered an infantry attack out of the question, and a naval attack equally so in the midst of the ebb and flow of the tide. sequently Caesar was in despair until Decimus Brutus came to him with swift ships from the Mediterranean. And he was inclined to believe he would be unable to accomplish anything with those either, but the

φρονήσαντες της τε σμικρότητος καὶ της ἀσθενείας 41 των σκαφων ήττήθησαν. ταθτα μέν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ κουφότερον ύπερ του ταγυναυτείν ές τον της παρ' ήμιν ναυτιλίας τρόπον έσκεύαστο, τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἄτε ἐν τῆ συνεχεία τῆς τοῦ ώκεανοῦ παλιρροίας ἐπί τε τοῦ ξηροῦ πολλάκις ίστασθαι καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω αὐτοῦ διαρροὴν ἀντικαρτερεῖν ὀφείλοντα, πλεῖστόν σφων καὶ 2 τῶ μεγέθει καὶ τῆ παχύτητι προείχευ.2 δι' οὖν ταῦθ' οἱ βάρβαροι, οἱα μήπω πρότερον τοιούτου ναυτικοῦ πεπειραμένοι, πρός τε τὴν ὄψιν τῶν νεῶν καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγω ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ εὐθὺς ναυλοχούσαις 3 σφίσιν ἐπανήχθησαν ὡς καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου τοῖς κοντοῖς αὐτὰς καταποντώσοντες. ἐφέροντο δὲ ἀνέμω καὶ πολλῶ καὶ σφοδρῶ. καὶ γὰρ ἱστία δερμάτινα εἶχον, ὥστε πᾶσαν τἡν 42 τοῦ πνεύματος ἰσχὺν ἀπλήστως ἐσδέχεσθαι. ὁ οὖν Βροῦτος, τέως μὲν ἐκεῖνο ε ἐπέσπερχεν, οὐδ' άνταναχθήναι αὐτοῖς διά τε τὸ πλήθος καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος των νεων τήν τε έκ τοῦ πνεύματος φοράν καὶ τὴν ἐπιβολήν σφων ἐτόλμησεν, ἀλλὰ παρεσκευάζετο ώς καὶ πρὸς τῆ γῆ τὰς προσβολὰς αὐτῶν ἀμυνούμενος καὶ τὰ σκάφη παντελῶς ἐκ-2 λείψων, ἐπεὶ δ' ὅ τε ἄνεμος ἐξαπιναίως ἔπεσε καὶ τὸ κῦμα ἐστορέσθη, τά τε πλοῖα οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ύπὸ τῶν κωπῶν ἐκινεῖτο, ἀλλ' ἄτε 5 καὶ καταβαρῆ όντα κατά χώραν τρόπον τινά είστήκει, τότε δή θαρσήσας ἀντανήχθη, καὶ προσπεσών αὐτοῖς πολλά σφας καὶ δεινὰ άδεῶς καὶ περιπλέων καὶ

¹ ύπὲρ Rk., ὑπὸ L. 2 προεῖχεν Bk., προεῖχον L.

³ ναυλοχούσαις Rk., ναυλοχοῦσαί L.

⁴ έκεῖνο Leuncl., ἐκεῖνος L. 5 ἀλλ' ἄτε R. Steph., αλλατε L.

barbarians through their contempt for the small size B.C. 56 and frailty of the boats incurred defeat. For these boats had been built rather light in the interest of speed, after the manner of our naval construction, whereas those of the barbarians surpassed them very greatly both in size and stoutness, since amid the ever-shifting tides of the ocean they often needed to rest on dry ground and to hold out against the succession of ebb and flow. Accordingly, the barbarians, who had never had any experience of such a fleet, despised the ships as useless in view of their appearance; and as soon as they were lying in the harbour they set sail against them, thinking to sink them speedily by means of their boat-hooks. They were swept on by a great and violent wind, for their sails were of leather and so carried easily the full force of the wind. Now Brutus, as long as the wind raged, dared not sail out against them because of the number and size of their ships, the force with which they were driven by the wind, and their own attack, but he prepared to repel their attack near the land and to abandon the boats altogether. When, however, the wind suddenly fell, the waves were stilled, and the boats could no longer be propelled as they had been with the oars but because of their great bulk stopped motionless, as it were, then he took courage and sailed out to meet them. And falling upon them, he caused them many serious injuries with impunity, delivering both broadside and rear

369

3 διεκπλέων, ικαί τοτε μεν εμβάλλων τινί τοτε δε άνακρουόμενος, όπη τε καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον ἤθελεν, εἰργάσατο, πολλαίς τε πρὸς μίαν καὶ ετέρωθι ίσαις πρὸς ἴσας,² ἔστι δ' ή καὶ ἐλάσσοσι πρὸς πλείονας 4 ἀσφαλῶς προσφερόμενος. ὅπου μὲν γὰρ κρείττων αὐτῶν ἐν τῆ . . . προσηρτᾶτό 3 σφισι, καὶ τὰς μεν κατέδυεν άναρρηγνύς, ές δε τὰς πολλαγόθεν μετεκβαίνων ές τε χείρας τοίς επιβάταις ήει καί πολλούς εφόνευεν εί δε καὶ καθ' ότιοῦν ελαττοῖτο, ράστα ἀνεχώρει, ὥστε ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὴν πλεονεξίαν 43 ἀεὶ εἶναι. οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι μήτε τοξεία χρώμενοι, μήτε λίθους, ώς οὐδὲν αὐτῶν δεησόμενοι, προπαρασκευάσαντες, εί μέν τίς σφισιν όμόσε έχώρησε, τρόπον τινὰ ἀπεμάχοντο, τοὺς δ' ολίγον σφων άφεστηκότας οὐκ είγον δ τι ποιήσωσιν. 2 αὐτοί τε οὖν ἐτιτρώσκοντο καὶ ἀπέθνησκον καὶ οἱ μηδε αμύνασθαί τινα δυνάμενοι, και τὰ σκάφη τὰ μέν ἀνερρήγνυτο 5 έμβαλλόμενα τὰ δὲ κατεπίμπρατο 5 ύφαπτόμενα άλλα άναδούμενα 6 ώσπερ 3 κενὰ ἀνδρῶν είλκετο. 5 ορῶντες δὲ ταῦθ' οἱ λοιποὶ έπιβάται οἱ μὲν ἀπεκτίννυσάν σφας, μὴ καὶ ζῶντες άλωσιν, οί δὲ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐξεπήδων, ὡς καὶ δι' έκείνης ήτοι των πολεμίων νεων έπιβησόμενοι η πάντως γε οὐχ το ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπολούμενοι. 4 προθυμία μεν γαρ καὶ τόλμη οὐδεν αὐτῶν διέφερον, τῷ δὲ δὴ σταδίω τῶν σκαφῶν προδιδόμενοι δεινῶς

² πρδς ίσας supplied by Rk.

6 ἀναδούμενα Rk., ἀναδύομενα L. 7 οὐχ added by Bk.

¹ διεκπλέων v. Herw., διαπλέων L.

³ ἐν τῆ . . . προσηρτᾶτό Rk., ἐν τῆ προσήρατό L.

⁴ λίθους R. Steph., λίθοις L.

δ ἀνερρήγνυτο, κατεπίμπρατο, είλκετο St., ἀνερρήγνυντο, κατεπίμπραντο, είλκοντο L.

attacks, now ramming one of them, now backing B.C. 56 water, in whatever way and as often as he liked, sometimes with many vessels against one and again with equal numbers opposed, occasionally even approaching safely with a few against many. At whatever point he was superior to them in . . . he stuck to them closely; he sank some by ripping them open, and boarding others from all sides, he engaged in a hand-to-hand conflict with the crews and slew many. If he found himself inferior anywhere, he very easily retired, so that the advantage rested with him in any case. For the barbarians did not use archery and had not provided themselves beforehand with stones, not expecting to have any need of them; hence, if any one came into close quarters with them, they fought him off after a fashion, but with those who stood at a little distance from them they knew not how to cope. So the men were being wounded and killed, even those who were unable to repel any one, while the boats were in some cases rammed and ripped open, in other cases were set on fire and burned: still others were towed away, as if empty of men. When the remaining crews saw this, some killed themselves to avoid being captured alive and others leaped into the sea with the idea that they would thus either board the hostile ships or in any event not perish at the hands of the Romans. in zeal and daring they were not at all behind their opponents, but they were terribly angry at finding themselves betrayed by the sluggishness of

ἤσχαλλον. ὅπως γὰρ δὴ μηδ' αὖθίς ποτε πνεῦμα τι ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπιγενόμενον κινήσειεν αὐτάς, δορυδρέπανα πόρρωθέν σφισιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπέφερον, καὶ τά τε σχοινία αὐτῶν διέτεμνον καὶ τὰ ἰστία διέσχιζον. πεζομαχεῖν δὲ τρόπον τινὰ ἐν πλοίοις πρὸς ναυμαχοῦντας ἀναγκαζόμενοι πάμπολλοι μὲν αὐτοῦ ταύτη ἐφθάρησαν, πάντες δὲ οἱ περιλιπεῖς ἑάλωσαν καὶ αὐτῶν τοὺς λογιμωτάτους ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀποσφάξας τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπώλησε.

44 Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπί τε Μωρίνους καὶ ἐπὶ Μεναπίους ὁμόρους σφίσιν ὄντας ἐστράτευσε, προσκαταπλήξειν τε αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν προκατειργασμένων καὶ ἡαδίως αἰρήσειν ἐλπίσας. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐχει2 ρώσατό τινας οὔτε γὰρ πόλεις ἔχοντες ἀλλὶ ἐν καλύβαις διαιτώμενοι, καὶ τὰ τιμιώτατα ἐς τὰ λασιώτατα τῶν ὀρῶν ἀνασκευασάμενοι, πολὺ πλείω τοὺς προσμίξαντάς σφισι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκάκωσαν ἢ αὐτοὶ ἔπαθον. ἐπεχείρησε μὲν γὰρ ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ τὰ ὅρη τὴν ὕλην τέμνων προχωρῆσαι, ἀπειπὼν δὲ διά τε τὸ μέγεθος αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ τὸ πρὸς χειμῶνα εἶναι ἀπανέστη.

5 Έτι δ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῆ Οὐενετίᾳ ὄντος Κύιντος Τιτούριος Σαβῖνος ὑποστράτηγός τε ἐστάλη ἐπὶ Οὐενέλλους,¹ ὧν ἡγεῖτο Οὐιριδοῦιξ,² καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καὶ πάνυ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν κατεπλάγη,
2 ὥστ' ἀγαπᾶν ἂν τό γε³ ἔρυμα διασώσηται, ἔπειτα δὲ αἰσθόμενός σφας θρασύτερον μὲν ἀπὸ τούτου διακειμένους, οὐ μὴν καὶ τῷ ἔργῷ δεινοὺς ὄντας, οὖά που οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς

Οὐενέλλους Bs., οὐενεσίους L.
 Οὐιριδοῦιξ R. Steph., ἰδουὶξ L.

³ ωστ άγαπῶν αν τό γε St., ωστ άγαπῶν εἰ τὸ Leunel., ώς τὰ πάντοτε L.

their vessels. The Romans, to make sure that the B.C. 56 wind when it sprang up again should not move the ships, employed from a distance long poles fitted with knives, by means of which they cut the ropes and split the sails. And since the barbarians were compelled to fight in their boats as if on land, while the foe could use his ships as at sea, great numbers perished then and there, and all the remainder were captured. Of these Caesar slew the most prominent and sold the rest.

Next he made a campaign against the Morini and Menapii, their neighbours, hoping to terrify them by what he had already accomplished and capture them easily. He failed, however, to subdue any of them; for having no cities, and living only in huts, they conveyed their chief treasures to the most densely wooded parts of the mountains, so that they did the attacking parties of the Romans much more harm than they themselves suffered. Caesar attempted by cutting down the forests to make his way into the mountains themselves, but renounced his plan on account of their size and the nearness of winter, and retired.

While he was still among the Veneti, Quintus Titurius Sabinus, his lieutenant, was dispatched against the Venelli [Unelli], whose leader was Viridovix. At first he was greatly terrified at their numbers and would have been satisfied if only he could save the camp, but later he perceived that though this advantage made them bolder, they were not really dangerous, and he accordingly took courage. Most barbarians, in fact, in their threats make all

παν τὸ φοβερὸν διὰ κενής ἐπικομποῦσιν, ἀνεθάρσησε. καὶ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ προφανοῦς οὐδ' οὕτως ἐτόλμησέ σφισι συνενεχθηναι (τῷ γὰρ πλήθει πολὺ 3 κατείργετο), πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὸ τάφρευμα τὸ ἐαυτοῦ μετεώρου 1 τοῦ χωρίου ὄντος ὑπηγάγετο αὐτοὺς άπερισκέπτως προσβαλείν των γάρ συμμάγων τινα δμοφωνοῦντά σφισιν ύπο την έσπέραν ώς αὐτόμολον πέμψας, ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς ὅτι ὅ τε Καῖ-4 σαρ ἐπταικώς εἴη . . . καὶ οὕτω ² πιστεύσαντες άπερισκέπτως έκείνοι (πάνυ γάρ τι 3 διακορείς καὶ της τροφης καὶ τοῦ ποτοῦ ήσαν) εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ύωμαίους, μη και φθάσωσί σφας φυγόντες, ὥρμησαν, και ἔδει γὰρ μηδὲ πυρφόρον τῷ λόγῳ αὐτῶν σωθῆναι, Φρύγανα καὶ ξύλα τὰ μὲν ἀράμενοι τὰ δὲ ἐφελκόμενοι ὡς καὶ καταπρήσοντες 5 αὐτούς, πρός τε τὸ ὄρθιον προσέβαλον καὶ σπουδῆ προσανέβαινον, μηδενός σφισιν έναντιουμένου δ γαρ Σαβίνος οὐκ ἐκινήθη πρὶν ἐντὸς τῆς ἐπικρατείας αὐτοῦ τοὺς πλείους αὐτῶν γενέσθαι. δὲ ἐπικατέδραμέ σφισιν ἀπανταχόθεν ἄμα ἀπροσδόκητος, καὶ τοὺς πρώτους ἐκπλήξας κατήραξε 6 κατὰ τοῦ πρανοῦς ἄπαντας, κάνταῦθα αὐτοὺς ἐν τη ἀναστροφη περί τε ἀλλήλοις καὶ περὶ τοῖς ξύλοις 4 σφαλλομένους κατέκοψεν ουτως ώστε 7 μηδένα αὐτῶν μηδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἔτ' ἀντᾶραι. ἄπληστοι γὰρ ἀλογίστως οἱ Γαλάται ἐς πάνθ' ὁμοίως όντες οὖτε τὸ θαρσοῦν σφων οὔτε τὸ δεδιὸς μετριά-ζουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἔκ τε τούτου 5 πρὸς δειλίαν ἀνέλ-

¹ μετεώρου Reim., ή μετεώρου L.

 ² οὕτω R. Steph., οὕτως L.
 3 τι Βκ., τοι L.
 4 ξύλοις Rk., ξυλίνοις L.
 5 τούτου Rk., τοῦ L.

sorts of terrible boasts that are without foundation. B.C. 56 Nevertheless he did not venture to fight openly with them even then, as he was seriously hampered by their great numbers; but he induced them to make a reckless assault upon his camp, although it was on high ground. He did this by sending out towards evening, in the guise of a deserter, one of his allies who spoke their language, and thus persuaded them that Caesar had met with reverses . . . Trusting this report, they straightway started out heedlessly against the Romans, being gorged with food and drink, in the fear that they might flee before their arrival. Moreover, since it was their avowed purpose that not a single soul 1 should escape, they carried along fagots and dragged logs after them with the intention of burning the enemy alive. Thus they made their attack up-hill and came climbing up eagerly, meeting with no resistance. Sabinus did not move until the most of them were within his reach. Then he charged down upon them unexpectedly from all sides at once, and terrifying those in front, he dashed them all headlong down the hill, and while they were tumbling over one another and the logs in their retreat, he cut them to pieces so thoroughly that none of them or even of the others rose against him again. For the Gauls, who are unreasonably insatiate in all their passions, know no moderation in either courage or fear, but plunge

¹ Literally "not even the fire-bearer." This was a proverbial expression (cf. Herodotus viii, 6), based on the Spartan custom which required the presence in their army of a priest carrying a lamp lighted at the shrine of Zeus in Sparta; as this flame was never to be extinguished, the priest would naturally be guarded most carefully so long as any others survived.

πιστον καὶ έξ ἐκείνου πρὸς θάρσος προπετὲς ἐκπίπτουσιν.

Υπὸ δὲ δὴ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας καὶ ὁ Κράσσος ὁ 46 Πούπλιος, του Κράσσου του Μάρκου παις, την 'Ακυιτανίαν ολίγου πᾶσαν κατεστρέψατο Γαλάται γάρ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὄντες τῆ τε Κελτικῆ προσοικοθσί καλ παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Πυρηναίον ἐς τὸν ὡκεανὸν 2 καθήκουσιν. ἐπ' οὖν τούτους ὁ Κράσσος στρατεύσας Σωτιάτας² τε μάχη εκράτησε καὶ πολιορκία είλεν, ολίγους μεν εν δμολογία τινὶ εξ ἀπάτης ³ ἀποβαλών, ισχυρώς δε σφας καὶ περὶ 3 αὐτοῦ τούτου ἀμυνάμενος 4 καὶ ἐτέρους τινὰς ίδων ήθροισμένους τε καὶ στρατιώτας έκ τής 'Ιβηρίας Σερτωριείους 5 έχοντας, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν στρατηγικώτερον ἡ προπετέστερον τῷ πολέμῳ χρωμένους, ὡς καὶ τἢ ἀπορία τῶν τροφῶν δι' ὀλίγου σφων έκ της γης έκχωρησόντων, προσεποιήσατό τε αὐτοὺς δεδιέναι, καὶ καταφρονηθεὶς οὐχ ὑπηγάγετο μὲν οὐδ' ὡς ἐς χεῖράς οἱ ἐλθεῖν, ἀδεῶς δ' ἐς ύστερον έχουσί σφισί προσέβαλεν έξαίφνης άν-4 έλπιστος. και ταύτη μεν ή προσέμιξεν οὐδεν εἰργάσατο (ἐπεκδραμόντες γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι ἰσχυρῶς ημύνοντο), ἐνταῦθα δὲ δὴ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῖς ούσης περιέπεμψέ τινας ές τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ στρατοπέδου σφών, καὶ τοῦτό τε ἔρημον ἀνδρών κατέσχεν,6 και τοις μαχομένοις δι αὐτοῦ κατά νώτου ἐπεγένετο. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνοί τε πάντες έφθάρησαν, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πλὴν ὀλίγων ἀκονιτὶ ώμολόγησαν.

Κελτικῆ R. Steph., βελτικῆι L.
 Σωτιάτας Fabr., ἀπιάτας L.
 ἐξ ἀπάτης Xyl., ἐξαπάσης L.
 ἄμυνάμενος Bk., ἀμυνόμενος L.
 Σευτωριείους Xyl., σερτωρίους L.
 κατέσχεν Bk., κατέσχον L.

from the one into hopeless cowardice and from the B.C. 56 other into headstrong audacity.

About the same time Publius Crassus, the son of Marcus Crassus, subjugated nearly all of Aquitania. The people are themselves Gauls, and dwell next to Celtica, and their territory extends right along the Pyrenees to the ocean. Making a campaign, now, against these, Crassus conquered the Sotiates in battle and captured them by siege. He lost a few men, to be sure, by treachery in the course of a parley, but punished the enemy severely for this. On seeing some others who had banded together along with soldiers of Sertorius from Spain and were carrying on the war with skill, and not recklessly, since they believed that the Romans through lack of supplies would soon abandon the country, he pretended to be afraid of them. But although he incurred their contempt, he did not even then draw them into a conflict with him; and so, while they were feeling secure with regard to the future, he attacked them suddenly and unexpectedly. At the point where he met them he accomplished nothing, because the barbarians rushed out and repelled him vigorously; but while their main force was there, he sent some men around to the other side of their camp, got possession of this, which was destitute of men, and passing through it took the fighters in the rear. In this way they were all annihilated, and the rest with the exception of a few made terms without any contest.

47 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ θέρει ἐπράχθη, χειμαζόντων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐν τῆ φιλία Τέγκτηροί τε καὶ Οὐσιπέται, Κελτικὰ γένη, τὸ μέν τι καὶ πρὸς Σουήβων 1 έκβιασθέντες τὸ 2 δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῶν Γαλατών ἐπικληθέντες, τόν τε 'Ρηνον διέβησαν 2 καὶ ἐς τὴν τῶν Τρηουήρων 3 ἐνέβαλον. κἀνταῦθα τον Καίσαρα εύροντες και φοβηθέντες έπεμψαν πρός αὐτὸν σπονδάς τε ποιούμενοι καὶ χώραν αίτουντες, ή σφίσι γε επιτραπήναί τινα άξιουντες λαβεῖν. ὡς δ' οὐδενὸς ἔτυχον, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον έθελονται 4 οϊκαδε έπανήξειν υπέσχοντο και διο-3 κωχὴν ήτήσαντο· ἔπειτα δὲ ἱππέας αὐτοῦ ὀλίγους προσιόντας ίδόντες οἱ ἐν τῆ ἡλικία σφῶν ὄντες κατεφρόνησάν τε αὐτῶν καὶ μετέγνωσαν, κάκ 5 τούτου ἐπισχόντες τῆς πορείας εκείνους τε μη προσδεχομένους ἐκακωσαν, καὶ ἐπαρθέντες ἐπὶ 48 τούτω είγοντο τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καταγνόντες πρός τε τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ παρὰ τὴν γνώμην σφῶν ἦλθον, καὶ ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦ συγγνωναί σφισι, την αιτίαν ές ολίγους τρέποντες. ό δὲ τούτους τω μεν ώς καὶ ἀπόκρισίν τινα αὐτοῖς 2 οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν δώσων κατέσχεν, ὁρμήσας δὲ ἐπὶ τους άλλους έν ταις σκηναίς όντας έπέστη τέ σφισι μεσημβριάζουσι καὶ μηδέν πολέμιον, ἅτε έκείνων παρ' αὐτῷ ὄντων, ὑποτοπουμένοις, καὶ έσπηδήσας ές αὐτὰς παμπληθεῖς τῶν πεζῶν, οὐδὲ τὰ ὅπλα ἀνελέσθαι φθάσαντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ8 ταις άμάξαις ύπό τε των γυναικών και ύπο των

¹ Σουήβων R. Steph., οὐήβων L. ² τὸ added by Xyl. 3 Τρηουήρων Bs., τριήρων L (but τρηουήροις xl. 32, 1).

⁴ έθελουταί R. Steph., έθελουτάς L.

κὰκ Rk., καὶ L.
 πορείας Xyl., ἀπορίας L.
 τούτους R. Steph., τούτοις L.
 καὶ περὶ Rk., καίπερ L.

This was the work of the summer. But when the B.C. 55 Romans were in winter quarters in friendly territory, the Tencteri and Usipetes, German tribes, partly because they were forced out from their homes by the Suebi and partly because they were invited over by the Gauls, crossed the Rhine and invaded the country of the Treveri. Finding Caesar there, they became afraid and sent to him to make a truce, and to ask for land or at least the permission to take some. When they could obtain nothing, they at first promised voluntarily to return to their homes and requested an armistice. Later their young men, seeing a few horsemen of his approaching, despised them and changed their mind; thereupon they stopped their journey, harassed the small detachment, which was not expecting anything of the sort, and elated over this success, entered upon war. Their elders, condemning their action, came to Caesar contrary to their advice and asked him to pardon them, laying the responsibility upon a few. He detained these emissaries with the assurance that he would give them an answer before long, and setting out against the other members of the tribe, who were in their tents, he came upon them as they were taking their noonday rest and expecting no hostile move, inasmuch as their elders were with him. Rushing into the tents, he found great numbers of infantrymen who had not time even to pick up their weapons, and he cut them down amid the waggons where they were embarrassed by the presence of the women and the children scattered

παίδων ἀναμὶξ ὄντων ταραττομένους, 1 κατεφόνευσε. 3 τούς τε ίππέας ἀπόντας τότε, καὶ παραχρημα, ώς έπύθοντο τὸ γεγονός, πρός τε τὰ οἰκεῖα ήθη ὁρμήσαντας καὶ πρὸς Συγάμβρους ἀποχωρήσαντας, πέμψας έξήτησεν, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἐκδοθήσεσθαί σφας προσεδόκησεν (οὐ γάρ που οὕτως οἱ πέραν τοῦ Υρήνου τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐφοβοῦντο ὥστε καὶ τὰ τοιαθτα αὐτῶν ἀκούειν), ἀλλ' ὅπως ἐπὶ τῆ προ-4 φάσει ταύτη καὶ ἐκεῖνον διαβαίη. αὐτός τε γὰρ ο μηδείς πω πρότερον των ομοίων οι ἐπεποιήκει, δεινώς πράξαι έγλίχετο, και τους Κελτους πόρρωθεν έκ της Γαλατίας ανείρξειν, άτε καὶ ές την οἰκείαν αὐτῶν ἐσβαλών, προσεδόκησεν. ὡς οὖν ούτε οι ίππης εξεδίδοντο, και οι Ούβιοι 3 δμοροί τε τοις Συγάμβροις οἰκοῦντες καὶ διάφοροι αὐτοις ουτες επεκαλέσαντο αὐτόν, διέβη μεν τὸν ποταμὸν 5 γεφυρώσας, εύρων δε τούς τε Συγάμβρους ές τὰ έρυμνα άνακεκομισμένους και τούς Σουήβους συστρεφομένους ώς καὶ βοηθήσοντάς σφισιν ἀνεχώρησεν έντὸς ήμερῶν εἴκοσιν. Ὁ δὲ δὴ Ῥῆνος ἀναδίδωσι μὲν ἐκ τῶν Ἄλπεων

49 'Ο δὲ δὴ 'Ρῆνος ἀναδίδωσι μὲν ἐκ τῶν 'Αλπεων τῶν Κελτικῶν, ἀλίγον ἔξω τῆς 'Ραιτίας, προχωρῶν δὲ ἐπὶ δυσμῶν ἐν ἀριστερᾳ μὲν τήν τε Γαλατίαν καὶ τοὺς ἐποικοῦντας αὐτήν, ἐν δεξιᾳ δὲ τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἀποτέμνεται, καὶ τελευτῶν ἐς τὸν ἀκεανοὺν ἐμβάλλει. οὖτος γὰρ ὁ ὅρος, ἀφ' οὖ γε δεαὶς τὸ διάφορον τῶν ἐπικλήσεων ἀφίκοντο, ὁ δεῦρο ἀεὶ νομίζεται, ἐπεὶ τὸ γε πάνυ ἀρχαῖον Κελτοὶ

¹ ταραττομένους R. Steph., παραταττομένους L.

² ἐσβαλών Leuncl., ἐσβαλεῖν L.

³ οί Οὔβιοι Leunel., ἐούβιοι L.

 ⁴ Κελτικών Χyl., κελτιβήρων L.
 ⁵ γε H. Steph., τε L.
 ⁶ ἀρίκοντο H. Steph., ἀρίκονται L.
 ⁷ ἐπεὶ R. Steph., ἐπὶ L.

promiscuously about. The cavalry was absent at the B.C. 55 time, but as soon as they learned of the occurrence, they immediately set out for their homes and retired among the Sugambri. He sent and demanded their surrender, not because he expected them to be given up, since the people beyond the Rhine were not so afraid of the Romans as to listen to anything of the sort, but in order that on this excuse he might cross that river also. For he was exceedingly anxious on his own part to do something that no one of his predecessors had ever equalled, and he also expected to keep the Germans 1 at a distance from Gaul by invading their territory. When, therefore, the horsemen were not given up, and the Ubii, who dwelt alongside the Sugambri and who were at variance with them, invoked his aid, he crossed the river by bridging it. But on finding that the Sugambri had betaken themselves into their strongholds and that the Suebi were gathering to come to their aid, he retired within twenty days.

The Rhine issues from the Celtic Alps, a little outside of Rhaetia, and proceeding westward, bounds Gaul and its inhabitants on the left, and the Germans ¹ on the right, and finally empties into the ocean. This river has always down to the present time been considered the boundary, ever since these tribes gained their different names; for very anciently

¹ Literally Celts; see note on p. 269.

εκάτεροι οί επ' άμφότερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ οἰκοῦντες ἀνομάζοντο.

Ο οθν Καίσαρ τόν τε Γρηνον πρώτος τότε 50 ' Ρωμαίων διέβη, καὶ ές Βρεττανίαν μετὰ ταῦτα, τοῦ τε Πομπηίου καὶ τοῦ Κράσσου ὑπατευόντων, 2 ἐπεραιώθη. ἡ δὲ δὴ χώρα αὕτη ἀπέχει 1 μὲν τῆς ἡπείρου τῆς Βελγικῆς 2 κατὰ Μωρίνους σταδίους πεντήκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίους τὸ συντομώτατον, παρήκει δὲ παρά τε τὴν λοιπὴν Γαλατίαν καὶ παρὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ὀλίγου πᾶσαν, ἐς τὸ 3 πέλαγος 3 ανατείνουσα. καὶ τοῖς μὲν πάνυ πρώτοις καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ 'Ρωμαίων οὐδ' ὅτι ἔστιν ἐγιγνώσκετο, τοις δὲ ἔπειτα ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν είτε ἤπειρος είτε καὶ νησος είη ἀφίκετο καὶ πολλοῖς ἐφ' ἐκάτερον, είδοσι μεν οὐδεν άτε μήτ' αὐτόπταις μήτ' αὐτηκόοις των έπιχωρίων γενομένοις, τεκμαιρομένοις δε ως εκαστοι το σχολής ή και φιλολογίας είχον, 4 συγγέγραπται. προϊόντος δὲ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου πρότερόν τε ἐπ' Αγρικόλου ἀντιστρατήγου καὶ νῦν έπὶ Σεουήρου αὐτοκράτορος νήσος οὖσα σαφῶς έλήλεγκται.

51 Ές ταύτην οὖν τότε ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἐπειδὴ τά τε ἄλλα τὰ τῶν Γαλατῶν ἡσύχαζε καὶ τοὺς Μωρίνους προσεποιήσατο, ἐπεθύμησε διαβῆναι. καὶ τὸν μὲν διάπλουν καθ' ὁ μάλιστα ἐχρῆν μετὰ τῶν πεζῶν ἐποιήσατο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἢ ἔδει προσέσχεν οἱ γὰρ Βρεττανοὶ τὸν ἐπίπλουν αὐτοῦ προπυθόμενοι τὰς κατάρσεις ὑπάσας τὰς πρὸς τῆς ἤπείρου 2 οὕσας προκατέλαβον. ἄκραν οὖν τινα προέγουσαν

4 έκαστοι R. Steph., έκάστοις L.

¹ ἀπέχει Xyl. (and Xiph.), ἔχει L.

² Βελγικής Leuncl., βελτικής L. ³ ές το Xyl., ές τε το L.

both peoples dwelling on either side of the river $_{B,C,\,55}$ were called Celts.

Caesar, then, at this time was the first of the Romans to cross the Rhine, and later, in the consulship of Pompey and Crassus, he crossed over to Britain. This country is sixty miles 1 distant, by the shortest way, from the Belgic mainland. where the Morini dwell, and extends alongside the rest of Gaul and nearly all of Spain, reaching To the very earliest of the out into the sea. Greeks and Romans it was not even known to exist, while to their descendants it was a matter of dispute whether it was a continent or an island; and accounts of it have been written from both points of view by many who knew nothing about it, because they had not seen it with their own eyes nor heard about it from the natives with their own ears, but indulged in surmises according to the scholarly sect or the branch of learning to which they severally belonged. In the lapse of time, however, it has been clearly proved to be an island, first under Agricola, the propraetor, and now under the emperor Severus.

To this land, then, Caesar desired to cross, now that he had won over the Morini and the rest of Gaul was quiet. He made the passage with the infantry by the most desirable course, but did not select the best landing-place; for the Britons, apprised beforehand of his voyage, had secured all the landings on the coast facing the mainland. Accordingly, he sailed around a certain projecting headland, coasted

¹ Literally 450 stades; cf. note on p. 237. It is interesting to compare Caesar's estimate (B.G. v. 2, 3) of thirty miles.

περιπλεύσας έτέρωσε παρεκομίσθη κάνταθθα τους προσμίξαντάς οἱ ἐς τὰ τενάγη ἀποβαίνοντι νικήσας, έφθη τής γής κρατήσας πρὶν τὴν πλείω συμβοήθειαν έλθεῖν, καὶ μετά ταῦτα καὶ ἐκείνους 3 προσβαλόντας ἀπεώσατο. καὶ ἔπιπτον μὲν οὐ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων (άρματηλάται τε γὰρ ὄντες καὶ ἰππῆς ῥαδίως τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, μηδέπω τοῦ ίππικοῦ αὐτοῖς παρόντος, διέφυγον), ἐκπλαγέντες δὲ πρός τε τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου περὶ αὐτῶν ἀγγελλόμενα, καὶ ὅτι περαιωθῆναί τε ὅλως ἐτόλμησαν καὶ ἐπιβῆναι τῆς χώρας ἦδυνήθησαν, πέμπουσι πρὸς τὸν Καισαρα τῶν Μωρίνων τινάς, φίλων σφίσιν ὄντων, ἐπικηρυκευόμενοι. καὶ τότε μὲν 52 ομήρους αιτήσαντι αὐτῷ δοῦναι ἡθέλησαν, πονησάντων δὲ ἐν τούτω τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπὸ χειμῶνος καὶ τῷ παρόντι ναυτικῷ καὶ τῷ ἀφικνουμένῳ καὶ μετέγνωσαν, καὶ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ προφανοῦς οὐκ ἐπέθεντο αὐτοῖς (τὸ γὰρ στρατόπεδον ἰσχυρῶς ἐφυ-2 λάσσετο), δεξάμενοι δέ τινας ώς καὶ ἐς φιλίαν τὴν χώραν σφῶν πρὸς κομιδὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων πεμφθέντας, αὐτούς 1 τε πλην ολίγων ἔφθειραν (ὁ γὰρ Καίσαρ διὰ ταχέων τοίς λοιποίς ἐπήμυνε) καί μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ ἔρυμα αὐτῶν προσέ-Βαλον. καὶ ἔπραξαν μὲν οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κακῶς άπήλλαξαν οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς ὁμολογίαν ἢλθον 3 πρίν πολλάκις σφαλήναι. και γαρ ο Καίσαρ άλλως μεν ούκ είχε γνώμην σπείσασθαι σφίσιν έπεὶ δὲ ὅ τε χειμῶν προσήει, καὶ οὐχ ἰκανὴν τὴν παροῦσαν δύναμιν περιεβέβλητο ἄστε καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ πολεμῆσαι, ή τε κομιζομένη ἔσφαλτο, καὶ οί Γαλάται πρὸς την ἀπουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἐνεωτέρισαν,

along on the other side of it, and disembarking $_{\rm B.C.\,55}$ there in the shoals, conquered those who joined battle with him and gained a footing on dry land before more numerous assistance could come, after which he repulsed this attack also. Not many of the barbarians fell, for their forces consisted of chariot-drivers and cavalry and so easily escaped the Romans whose cavalry had not yet arrived; but alarmed at the reports about them from the mainland and because they had dared to cross at all and had managed to set foot upon the land, they sent to Caesar some of the Morini, who were friends of theirs, to see about terms of peace. Upon his demanding hostages, they were willing at the time to give them; but when the Romans in the meantime began to encounter difficulties by reason of a storm which damaged both the fleet that was present and also the one on the way, they changed their minds, and though not attacking the invaders openly, since their camp was strongly guarded, they took some men who had been sent out to forage for provisions on the assumption that the country was friendly, and destroyed them all, save a few, to whose rescue Caesar came in haste. After that they assaulted the camp itself of the Romans. Here they accomplished nothing, but fared badly; they would not make terms, however, until they had been defeated many times. Indeed, Caesar would have had no thought of making peace with them at all, except that the winter was approaching and that he was not equipped with a sufficient force to continue fighting at that season, since the additional force coming to his aid had met with mishap, and also that the Gauls in view of his absence had begun an uprising; so he

385

καὶ ἄκων αὐτοῖς συνηλλάγη, ὁμήρους καὶ τότε

πλείους αἰτήσας μέν, λαβων δὲ ὀλίγους.

53 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον ἀναπλεύσας τὰ ταραχθέντα καθίστατο, μηδὲν ¹ ἐκ τῆς Βρεττανίας μήτε ἑαυτῷ μήτε τῷ πόλει προσκτησάμενος πλὴν τοῦ ἐστρατευκέναι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ² δόξαι. τούτῷ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἰσχυρῶς ἐσεμνύνετο καὶ οἱ οἴκοι 'Ρωμαῖοι 2 θαυμαστῶς ἐμεγαλύνοντο· ἐμφανῆ τε γὰρ τὰ πρὶν ἄγνωστα καὶ ἐπιβατὰ τὰ πρόσθεν ἀνήκουστα ὁρῶντές σφισι γεγονότα, τήν τε μέλλουσαν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐλπίδα ὡς καὶ παροῦσαν ἔργῷ ἐλάμβανον, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα καταπράξειν προσεδέχοντο ὡς καὶ ἔχοντες ἤδη ἠγάλλοντο.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν διὰ ταῦτα ἱερομηνίας ἐπὶ εἴκοσιν 54 ἡμέρας ἀγαγεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο· ἐν ῷ δὲ ἐκεῖνα ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἡ Ἰβηρία ἐκινήθη, διὸ καὶ τῷ Πομπηίῳ προσετάχθη. ἐπαναστάντες ⁴ γάρ τινες καὶ Οὐακκαίους προστησάμενοι μάχη μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Νέπωτος τοῦ Μετέλλου, ἀπαράσκευοι ἔτ' ὄντες, ἡττήθησαν, 2 πολιορκοῦντι δ' αὐτῷ Κλουνίαν ἐπελθόντες ἀμείνους ἐγένοντο, καὶ ἐκείνην μὲν περιεποιήσαντο, ἐτέρωθι δὲ ἐσφάλησαν, οὐ μὴν ὥστε καὶ δι' ὀλίγου δουλωθῆναι. τῷ γὰρ πλήθει πολὺ τῶν ἐναντίων περιῆσαν, ὥστε τὸν Νέπωτα ἀγαπᾶν ἂν τὴν ἡσυ-

γίαν ἀκινδύνως ἄγη.

55 Κατὰ δὲ δὴ τόν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον καὶ ὁ Πτολεμαῖος, καίτοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων τήν τε ἐπικουρίαν ἀπεψηφισμένων καὶ πρὸς τὰς δωροδοκίας τὰς ὑπ³5 αὐτοῦ γενομένας δεινῶς ἔτι καὶ τότε δια-

 $^{^1}$ μηδὲν Leuncl., μηδὲν μήτε L. 2 αὐτοὺs Leuncl., αὐτὰs L. 3 καταπράξειν R. Steph., καταπρήξειν L.

^{*} ἐπαναστάντες Βk., προσαναστάντες L. 5 ὑπ' St., ἀπ' L.

reluctantly concluded a truce with them, demanding B.C. 55 many hostages this time also, but obtaining only a few.

So he sailed back to the mainland and put an end to the disturbances. From Britain he had won nothing for himself or for the state except the glory of having conducted an expedition against its inhabitants; but on this he prided himself greatly and the Romans at home likewise magnified it to a remarkable degree. For seeing that the formerly unknown had become certain and the previously unheard-of accessible, they regarded the hope for the future inspired by these facts as already actually realized and exulted over their expected acquisitions as if they were already within their grasp; hence they voted to celebrate a thanksgiving for twenty days.

While this was taking place there was an uprising in Spain, which was consequently assigned to Pompey's care. Some tribes had revolted and put themselves under the leadership of the Vaccaei. While still unprepared they were conquered by Metellus Nepos, but as he was besieging Clunia they assailed him, proved themselves his superiors, and won back the city; elsewhere they were defeated, though not sufficiently to cause their early enslavement. In fact, they so far surpassed their opponents in numbers that Nepos was glad to remain quiet and not run any risks.

About this same time Ptolemy, although the Romans had voted not to assist him and were even now highly indignant at the bribery he had

κειμένων, κατήχθη καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκομίσατο. 2 έπραξαν δὲ τοῦτο ὅ τε Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Γαβίνιος. τοσοῦτον γὰρ αί τε δυναστείαι καὶ αί τῶν χρημάτων περιουσίαι καὶ παρὰ τὰ ψηφίσματα τά τε 3 του δήμου καὶ τὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἴσχυσαν, ὥστε έπιστείλας μεν ο Πομπήιος τω Γαβινίω της Συρίας τότε ἄρχοντι, στρατεύσας δὲ ἐκεῖνος, ὁ μὲν τη χάριτι ὁ δὲ τη δωροληψία καὶ ἄκουτος αὐτὸν τοῦ κοινοῦ κατήγαγον, μηδεν μήτε εκείνου μήτε 4 των της Σιβύλλης χρησμών φροντίσαντες. καὶ έκρίθη μέν ὕστερον ἐπὶ τούτω ὁ Γαβίνιος, οὐχ εάλω δε διά τε τον Πομπήιον καὶ διὰ τὰ χρήματα. ούτω γάρ που τὰ πράγματα τοῖς τότε τωμαίοις συνεκέχυτο 1 ώστε άπο πολλων ών έδωροδόκησε σμικρά ἄττα τῶν τε ἀρχόντων τινὲς καὶ τῶν δικαστῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντες οὔτε τοῦ προσήκοντός τι προετίμησαν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους κακουργείν ὑπὲρ² χρημάτων ἐξεδίδαξαν ὡς καὶ 5 τὴν τιμωρίαν ῥαδίως ἐξωνεῖσθαι δυναμένους. τότε μέν οὖν διὰ ταῦτα ἀφείθη, αὖθις δὲ ἐπί τε ἐτέροις τισί, καὶ ὅτι πλέον ἡ μυρίας ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς μυριάδας ήρπασε, κριθείς έάλω. καὶ ἐκείνω τε τοῦτο παραδοξότατον συνέβη (της τε γαρ προτέρας δίκης δια τα χρήματα απελύθη, και επι τούτοις δί 6 έκείνην ότι μάλιστα κατεδικάσθη 3) καὶ τῷ Πομπηίω, ὅτι τὸ μὲν πρότερον, καίτοι πόρρω που ὤν, έρρύσατο τὸν Γαβίνιον διὰ τῶν ἐταίρων, τότε δὲ έν τε τῷ προαστείω ὢν καὶ τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίω αὐτῶ παρὼν οὐδὲν ἤνυσεν.

¹ συνεκέχυτο Oddey, συνέχυτο L. ² ύπὲρ Rk., ὑπὸ L. ³ κατεδικάσθη Rk., ἐδικάσθη L.

employed, was nevertheless restored and got back his B.C. 55 kingdom. Pompey and Gabinius accomplished this. So much power had official authority and abundant wealth as against the decrees of both the people and the senate, that when Pompey sent orders to Gabinius, then governor of Syria, and the latter made a campaign, the one acting out of kindness and the other as the result of a bribe, they restored the king contrary to the wish of the state, paying no heed either to it or to the oracles of the Sibyl. Gabinius was later brought to trial for this, but on account of Pompey's influence and the money at his command was not convicted. To such a state of confusion had affairs come with the Romans of that day, that when some of the magistrates and jurymen received from him but a very small part of the large bribes that he had received, they took no thought for their duty, and furthermore taught others to commit crimes for money, showing them that they could easily buy immunity from punishment. At this time, consequently, Gabinius was acquitted; but he was again brought to trial on some other charges-chiefly that he had plundered more than a hundred million [denarii] from the province-and was convicted. This was a matter of great surprise to him, seeing that by his wealth he had freed himself from the former suit, whereas he was now condemned for his wealth chiefly because of that suit. It was also a surprise to Pompey, because previously he had, through his friends, rescued Gabinius even at a distance, but now while in the suburbs of the city and, as you might say, in the very court-room, he accomplished nothing.

56 "Εσχε δὲ ὧδε. ὁ Γαβίνιος πολλὰ μὲν καὶ τὴν Συρίαν ἐκάκωσεν, ὥστε καὶ τῶν ληστικῶν, ἃ καὶ τύτε ήκμαζε, πολύ πλείω σφίσι λυμήνασθαι, πάντα δὲ δὴ τὰ αὐτόθεν λήμματα ἐλάχιστα εἶναι νομίσας το μέν πρώτον ένοει 1 και παρεσκευάζετο ώς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους τόν τε πλοῦτον αὐτῶν 2 στρατεύσων. τοῦ γὰρ Φραάτου ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων δολοφονηθέντος 'Ορώδης τήν τε βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ διεδέξατο, καὶ Μιθριδάτην τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐκ τῆς Μηδίας, ής ήρχεν, έξέβαλε. και δς καταφυγών πρὸς τὸν Γαβίνιον ἀνέπεισεν αὐτὸν συμπράξαί οί 3 την κάθοδον. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ὁ Πτολεμαῖος μετὰ τῶν τοῦ Πομπηίου γραμμάτων ἦλθε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν αὐτῷ πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῷ στρατῷ χρήματα τὰ μὲν ἤδη παρέξειν, τὰ δ' ἂν καταχθῆ δώσειν ὑπέσχετο, τά τε τῶν Πάρθων εἴασε καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον 4 ηπείχθη, καίπερ ἀπαγορεύοντος μεν τοῦ νόμου μήτε ές την υπερορίαν τους άρχοντάς τινων άποδημεῖν μήτε πολέμους ἀφ' ξάυτῶν ἀναιρεῖσθαι, ἀπειρηκότος δὲ καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῆς τε Σιβύλλης μὴ καταχθηναι τὸν ἄνδρα. άλλ' ὅσω γὰρ ἐκεκώλυτο 5 ταθτα, τόσω πλείονος αθτα άπημπόλησε, καταλιπων οὖν ἐν τῆ Συρία Σισένναν τε τὸν υίὸν κομιδῆ νέον ὄντα καὶ στρατιώτας μετ' αὐτοῦ πάνυ ὀλίγους, τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἐφ' ἡς ἐτέτακτο τοῖς λησταῖς 6 έτι καὶ μᾶλλον έξέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Παλαιστίνην έλθων τόν τε 'Αριστόβουλον (διαδράς γάρ έκ της 'Ρώμης ὑπετάραττέ τι) συνέλαβε καὶ τῷ Πομπηίφ ἔπεμψε, καὶ φόρον τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐπέταξε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ενέβαλε.

1 ἐνόει Χyl., ἐνόσει L.

This was the way of it. Gabinius had harried B.C. 55 Syria in many ways, even to the point of inflicting far more injury upon the people than did the pirates. who were flourishing even then. Still, he regarded all his gains from that source as mere trifles and was at first planning and preparing to make a camnaign against the Parthians and their wealth. Phraates, it seems, had been treacherously murdered by his sons, and Orodes after succeeding to the kingdom had expelled Mithridates, his brother, from Media, which he was governing. The latter took refuge with Gabinius and persuaded him to assist in his restoration. However, when Ptolemy came with Pompey's letter and promised that he would furnish large sums both to him and the army, some to be paid at once, and the rest when he should be restored. Gabinius abandoned the Parthian project and hastened to Egypt. This he did notwithstanding the law forbade governors to enter territory outside their own borders or to begin wars on their own responsibility, and although the people and the Sibyl had declared that the man should not be restored. But the only restraint these considerations imposed was to lead him to sell his assistance for a higher price. He left in Syria his son Sisenna, a mere boy, and a very few soldiers with him, thus exposing the province to which he had been assigned more than ever to the pirates. He himself then reached Palestine, arrested Aristobulus, who had escaped from Rome and was causing some disturbance, sent him to Pompey, imposed tribute upon the Jews, and after this invaded Egypt.

57 *Ηρχε δὲ τότε τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἡ Βερενίκη, καὶ έπιεικες μεν οὐδεν προς τον . . ., καίτοι φοβου-μένη τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ἔπραξε, Σέλευκον δέ τινα, ώς και έκ του βασιλείου γένους του ποτε έν τή Συρία ανθήσαντος ὄντα, μεταπέμψασα ἄνδρα τε έπεγράψατο καὶ κοινωνὸν τῆς τε βασιλείας καὶ 2 τοῦ πολέμου ἐποιήσατο. ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐν οὐδενὸς μοίρα ὢν έωρᾶτο, τοῦτον μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν, Αρχέλαον δὲ τὸν τοῦ ᾿Αρχελάου τοῦ πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν αὐτομολήσαντος, δραστήριόν τε ὄντα καὶ ἐν τῆ Συρία τὴν δίαιταν ἔχοντα, ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπηγάγετο. ὁ γὰρ Γαβίνιος ἐδύνατο μὲν ἀρχόμενον τὸ δεινὸν παῦσαι (τὸν γὰρ ᾿Αρχέλαον προϋποτοπήσας συνέλαβε, καὶ ἔμελλεν έκ τούτου μηδεν ἔτ' 3 ἔργον ἔξειν), φοβηθείς δὲ μὴ καὶ ἐλάττω διὰ τοῦτο παρά του Πτολεμαίου των ωμολογημένων οί χρημάτων, ως οὐδὲν ἀξιόλογον πεποιηκώς, λάβοι, καὶ ἐλπίσας ἔτι καὶ πλείω πρός τε την δεινότητα καὶ πρὸς τὴν δόξαν τὴν τοῦ ᾿Αρχελάου χρηματιεῖσθαι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἄλλα παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου συχνὰ λαβών, έθελοντης αὐτὸν ώς καὶ διαδράντα 58 ἀφῆκε. καὶ οὕτως ² ἐς ³ μὲν τὸ Πηλούσιον ἀφίκετο μηδενός εναντιουμένου, προϊών δε εντεύθεν δίχα διηρημένω τω στρατώ τους Αίγυπτίους ἀπαντήσαντάς οἱ τῆ αὐτῆ ἡμέρα ἐνίκησε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' αῦθις ἔν τε τῷ ποταμῷ ναυσὶ κἀν τῆ γῆ έκράτησεν οί γὰρ 'Αλεξανδρείς θρασύνασθαι μέν πρὸς πάντα ίκανώτατοι καὶ ἐκλαλῆσαι πᾶν ὅ τι ποτ' αν ἐπέλθη σφίσι προπετέστατοι πεφύκασι, 2 πρὸς δὲ δὴ πόλεμον τά τε δεινα αὐτοῦ φλαυρότα-

 $^{^1}$ ἐπηγάγετο Rk., ὑπηγάγετο L. 2 οὕτως Fabr., οὖτος L. 3 ἐς Reim., ὡς L.

Berenice was at this time ruling the Egyptians, B.C. 55 and though she feared the Romans, she took no steps suitable [to the emergency?]; instead, she sent for one Seleucus who claimed to belong to the royal race that once had flourished in Syria, formally recognized him as her husband, and made him a partner in the kingdom and in the war. When he was seen to be held in no esteem, she had him killed and joined to herself on the same terms Archelaus, son of that Archelaus who had deserted to Sulla: he was an energetic man, living in Syria. Now Gabinius could have stopped the mischief in its beginning; for he had arrested Archelaus, who had already aroused his suspicion, and he seemed likely to have no further trouble from him. He was afraid, however, that this course might cause him to receive from Ptolemy less money that had been stipulated, on the ground that he had done nothing of importance, and he hoped that he could exact even a larger amount in view of the cleverness and renown of Archelaus; moreover he received much money besides from the prisoner himself, and so voluntarily released him, pretending that he had escaped. Thus he reached Pelusium without encountering any opposition; and while advancing from there with his army in two divisions he encountered and conquered the Egyptians on the same day, and after this vanquished them again on the river with his ships and also on land. For the Alexandrines are most ready to assume a bold front everywhere and to speak out whatever may occur to them, but for war and its terrors they are utterly useless. This is true in

τοί εἰσι, καίπερ ἐν ταῖς στάσεσι, πλείσταις δὴ καὶ μεγίσταις παρ' αὐτοῖς γιγνομέναις, διὰ φόνων τε άεὶ χωροῦντες καὶ τὸ ζῆν παρ' οὐδὲν πρὸς τὴν αὐτίκα φιλονεικίαν τιθέμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥσπερ τι τῶν ἀρίστων ἢ ἀναγκαιοτάτων 1 τὸν ἐν αὐταῖς 3 όλεθρον διώκοντες. νικήσας οὖν αὐτοὺς ὁ Γαβίνιος, καὶ ἄλλους τε πολλούς καὶ τὸν 'Αρχέλαον φονεύσας, έγκρατής τε της Αίγύπτου πάσης παραχρημα έγένετο καὶ τῷ Πτολεμαίφ αὐτὴν παρέδωκε. Καὶ ὁ μὲν τήν τε θυγατέρα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς πρώτους καὶ πλουσιωτάτους, ἄτε καὶ χρημάτων 59 πολλών δεόμενος, απέκτεινε Γαβίνιος δε εκείνον μεν ούτω κατήγαγεν, ου μέντοι καὶ οἴκαδε περὶ τῶν πραχθέντων ἐπέστειλεν, ἵνα μη καὶ αὐτάγγελός 2 σφισιν ων παρηνομήκει γένηται. άλλ' οὐ γάρ

οδίον τε ἢν τηλικοῦτο πρᾶγμα κρυφθῆναι, εὐθύς τε αὐτὸ ³ ὁ δῆμος ἐπύθετο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ οἱ Σύροι ² πολλὰ τοῦ Γαβινίου, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν τῆ ἀπουσία αὐτοῦ δεινῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν κακωθέντες, κατεβόησαν, οἴ τε τελῶναι μὴ δυνηθέντες τὰ τέλη δἰ αὐτοὺς ἐσπρᾶξαι συχνὰ ἐπωφείλησαν, ὡργίζοντο καὶ γνώμας τε ἐποιοῦντο καὶ ἐτοίμως εἶχον κατα-³ ψηφίσασθαι αὐτοῦ. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κικέρων τά τε

άλλα ἰσχυρῶς ἐνῆγε, καὶ συνεβούλευέ σφισι τὰ Σιβύλλεια ἔπη αὐθις ἀναγνῶναι, προσδοκῶν ἐγγεγράφθαι τινὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς τιμωρίαν ἄν τι ⁴ παρα-

60 $\beta a \theta \hat{\eta}^{.5}$ ὁ οὖν Π ομπήιος ὅ τε Κράσσος ὑπάτευόν τε ἔτι, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἑαυτῷ β οηθῶν, ὁ δὲ τήν τε ἐκείνου

¹ ή αναγκαιστάτων Βκ., αναγκαιότατον L.

 ² αὐτάγγελος Xyl., αὐταί γέλος L.
 ³ αὐτὸ Rk., αὐτὸς L.
 ⁴ άν τι Bs., ὅτι L.
 ⁵ παραβαθῆ Bk., παρεβάνθη L.

spite of the fact that in seditions, which with them are very numerous and very serious, they always become involved in slaughter, setting no value upon life as compared with the rivalry of the moment, but pursuing destruction in such quarrels as if it were one of the best and dearest prizes. So Gabinius conquered them, and after slaying Archelaus and many others he promptly gained control of all Egypt and handed it over to Ptolemy. The latter put to death his daughter and also the foremost and richest of the citizens, because he had need of much money.

Gabinius after restoring him in this fashion sent no message home concerning what he had done, in order that he might not be the one to announce his own illegal acts. But it was not possible for an affair of such magnitude to be concealed, and the people straightway learned of it; for the Syrians cried out loudly against Gabinius, especially since in his absence they had been terribly abused by the pirates, and the tax-gatherers, being unable to collect the taxes on account of the marauders, were owing Angered at this, the people numerous sums. expressed their views and were ready to condemn him. For Cicero attacked him vigorously and advised them to read again the Sibylline verses, expecting that there was contained in them some punishment in case any of their injunctions should be violated. Pompey and Crassus, now, were still consuls, and the former acted as his own interests dictated, while the latter was for pleasing his colleague and also

χάριν καὶ ἄμα καὶ χρήματα παρὰ τοῦ Γαβινίου πεμφθέντα οι λαβών, έκ τε του προφανους ύπερ αὐτοῦ διεδικαίουν, καὶ άλλα τε καὶ φυγάδα τον Κικέρωνα αποκαλούντες οὐδεν επεψήφισαν. 2 ως μέντοι ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπηλλάγησαν καὶ αὐτοὺς ὅ τε Δομίτιος ὁ Λούκιος καὶ ᾿Αππιος Κλαύδιος διεδέξαντο, γνωμαι αθθις πολλαὶ έλέχθησαν, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Γαβινίου αι πλείους ἐγένον-3 το· ὅ τε γὰρ Δομίτιος ἐχθρὸς τῷ Πομπηίῳ διά τε τὸ σπουδαρχῆσαι καὶ διὰ ¹ τὸ παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῦ ἀποδειγθηναι ὤν, καὶ ὁ Κλαύδιος, καίπερ προσήκων οί, όμως τοίς τε πολλοίς χαρίσασθαί τι ύπὸ δημαγωγίας έθελήσας, καὶ παρὰ Γαβινίου δωροδοκήσειν, ἄν γέ τι συνταράξη, 4 προσδοκήσας, πάντα ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔπραξαν. καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκεῖνο δεινῶς ἐπίεσεν, ὅτι προπεμφθέντα τινὰ ύπὸ τοῦ Κράσσου ὑποστράτηγον ἐπὶ τη της ἀρχης αὐτοῦ διαδοχη οὐκ ἐδέξατο, ἀλλ' ώσπερ άθάνατον την ηγεμονίαν είληφως κατείχεν αὐτήν. ἔδοξεν οὖν σφισι τὰ τῆς Σιβύλλης ἔπη άναγνωσθηναι, καίπερ δ άντειπόντος τοῦ Πομ-

61 Κάν τούτω ὁ Τίβερις, εἴτ' οὖν ὅμβρων ἄνω που ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ἐξαισίων γενομένων, εἴτε καὶ σφοδροῦ πνεύματος ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης τὴν ἐκροὴν αὐτοῦ ἀνακόψαντος, εἴτε καὶ μᾶλλον, ὡς ὑπωπτεύετο, ἐκ παρασκευῆς δαιμονίου τινός, τοσοῦτος⁷ ἐξαπιναίως ἐρρύη ὥστ' ἐν πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς πεδίοις

πηίου.

¹ διὰ R. Steph., δα L. ² δμως R. Steph., ὅπως L.

πάντα ἐπ' Bs. (ἐπ' already inserted by Bk.), πᾶν L.
 ἐπίεσεν Leuncl., ἔπεισεν L.
 καίπερ Leuncl., διὸ καίπερ L.

⁶ αντείποντος Χyl., ανείποντος L.

⁷ τοσοῦτος Pflugk, τοσοῦτον L.

soon received money sent him by Gabinius. Thus B.C. 55 they openly justified his conduct, calling Cicero "exile" among other names, and would not put the question to a vote. When, however, they had laid B.C. 54 down their office, and Lucius Domitius and Appius Claudius became their successors, once more many opinions were expressed and the majority proved to be against Gabinius. Domitius was hostile to Pompey on account of the latter's canvass and because he had been appointed consul contrary to his wish; and Claudius, although a relative of Pompey's, still wished to play the game of politics and indulge the people, and furthermore he expected to get bribes from Gabinius, if he should cause any disturbance. So both worked in every way against him. There was a further fact that weighed strongly against him: he had not received a certain lieutenant sent ahead by Crassus to succeed him in the office, but held on to the position as if he had received it for all time. They decided, therefore, that the verses of the Sibyl should be read, in spite of Pompey's opposition.

Meantime the Tiber, either because excessive rains had occurred somewhere up the stream above the city, or because a violent wind from the sea had driven back its outgoing tide, or still more probably, as was surmised, by the act of some divinity, suddenly rose so high as to inundate all the lower levels in the

τοις έν τῷ ἄστει οὖσι πελαγίσαι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ 2 των μετεωροτέρων καταλαβείν. αί τε οὖν οἰκίαι1 (ἐκ πλίνθων γὰρ συνφκοδομημέναι ἦσαν) διάβροχοί τε έγένοντο καὶ κατερράγησαν, καὶ τὰ ύποζύγια πάντα ύποβρύχια έφθάρη. τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων όσοι μη έφθησαν προς τὰ πάνυ ύψηλὰ αναφυγόντες, οἱ μὲν ἐν² ταῖς τέγαις ³ οἱ δὲ καὶ έν όδοις έγκαταληφθέντες έξώλοντο. και γάρ αί λοιπαὶ οἰκίαι, ἄτε ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ δεινοῦ συμβάντος, σαθραί τε έγένοντο καὶ πολλοῖς 4 τοῖς 3 μèν εὐθὺς τοῖς δὲ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐλυμήναντο. οί 5 οὖν Ρωμαῖοι ἐπί τ' ἐκείνοις τοῖς παθήμασι λυπούμενοι, καὶ ἔτερα χαλεπώτερα ώς καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου κάθοδον δργήν σφισι τοῦ δαιμονίου πεποιημένου προσδεχόμενοι, ήπείγοντο καὶ ἀπόντα τὸν Γαβίνιον, ώς καὶ ἡττόν τι, ἂν φθάσωσιν αὐτὸν 4 ἀπολέσαντες, κακωθησόμενοι, θανατώσαι. ούτω γε εντόνως έσχον ώστε, καίτοι μηδενός τοιούτου έν τοις Σιβυλλείοις χρησμοίς εύρεθέντος, όμως την γερουσίαν πικρότατα καὶ τραχύτατα τούς τε άρχοντας καὶ τὸν δημον αὐτῷ χρήσασθαι προβουλεῦσαι.

Έν & δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, χρήματα ὑπὸ τοῦ 62 Γαβινίου προπεμφθέντα οὐχ ὅπως ἀπόντα ἀλλ' 6 οὐδὲ ἐπανελθόντα δεινόν τι παθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπί γε εκείνοις εποίησε.8 καίτοι ούτω καὶ αὐτὸς αἰσχρώς καὶ κακῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος διετέθη ὥστε καὶ χρόνιος ές τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφικέσθαι καὶ νυκτὸς ές

 ¹ οἰκίαι added by R. Steph., from Xiph.
 2 ἐν added by Leunel.
 3 τέγαις R. Steph., τέγναις L.

 ⁴ πολλοΐs Reim., πολλοί L.
 5 οί R. Steph., δ L.
 6 ἀλλ' added by Xyl.
 7 ἐπανελθόντα Rk., ἐπελθ 7 ἐπανελθόντα Rk., ἐπελθόντα L.

⁹ καίτοι Rk., καὶ L. 8 ἐποίησε St., ποιῆσαι L.

city and to overwhelm many even of the higher B.C. 54 portions. The houses, therefore, being constructed of brick, became soaked through and collapsed, while all the animals perished in the flood. And of the people all who did not take refuge in time on the highest points were caught, either in their dwellings, or in the streets, and lost their lives. The remaining houses, too, became weakened, since the mischief lasted for many days, and they caused injuries to many, either at the time or later. The Romans, distressed at these calamities and expecting others yet worse, because, as they thought, Heaven had become angry with them for the restoration of Ptolemy, were in haste to put Gabinius to death even while absent, believing that they would be harmed less if they should destroy him before his return. So insistent were they that although nothing about punishment was found in the Sibylline oracles, still the senate passed a decree that the magistrates and populace should accord him the bitterest and harshest treatment.

While this was going on, money sent ahead by Gabinius caused him to suffer no serious penalty either while absent or upon his return, at least for this affair. And yet he was brought by his own conscience to such a wretched and miserable state that he long delayed coming to Italy, and entered the

τὴν πόλιν ἐσκομισθῆναι, ἔξω τε τῆς οἰκίας 1 2 συχναίς πάνυ ήμέραις μη τολμήσαι φανήναι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐγκλήματα πολλὰ ἦν, καὶ κατηγόρους οὐκ ολίγους είγε. πρώτον δ' οὖν περὶ τῆς τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καθόδου, ἄτε καὶ μεγίστου, ἐδικάσθη. καὶ . δ γε δήμος σύμπας ώς εἰπεῖν πρός τε τὸ δικαστήριον συνερρύη καὶ διασπάσασθαι πολλάκις αὐτὸν ηθέλησεν, άλλως τε καὶ ὅτι οὔθ' ὁ Πομπήιος παρῆν καὶ ὁ Κικέρων δεινότατα αὐτοῦ κατηγόρησεν. 3 ούτω δὲ αὐτῶν διακειμένων ὅμως ἀφείθη. ² αὐτός τε γάρ, ἄτε ἐπὶ τηλικούτοις κρινόμενος, παμπληθῆ χρήματα ἀνάλωσε, καὶ οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου τοῦ τε Καίσαρος έταιροι προθυμότατα αὐτῷ συνήραντο, λέγοντες άλλον τέ τινα καιρον καὶ άλλον βασιλέα πρὸς τῆς Σιβύλλης εἰρῆσθαι, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ὅτι μηδεμία τῶν πραχθέντων τιμωρία ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν αὐτῆς ἐνεγέγραπτο.

63 ΄Ο δ' οὖν δημος όλίγου μὲν καὶ τοὺς δικαστὰς ἀπέκτεινε, διαφυγόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπετήρει τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτοῦ ἐγκλήματα, καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις 2 γοῦν αὐτὸν άλῶναι. οἱ γὰρ λαχόντες περὶ αὐτῶν κρίναι, τό τε πληθος ἄμα φοβηθέντες καὶ μηδὲν μέγα παρὰ τοῦ Γαβινίου εὑρόμενοι (ὡς ³ γὰρ ἐπί τε βραχυτέροις εὐθυνόμενος καὶ προσδοκῶν καὶ τότε κρατήσειν οὐ πολλὰ ἐδαπάνησε) κατεψηφίσαντο αὐτοῦ, καίτοι τοῦ τε Πομπηίου πλησίον ὄντος καὶ τοῦ Κικέρωνος συναγορεύοντος ⁴ αὐτῷ. 3 ὁ γὰρ Πομπήιος κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σίτου πρόνοιαν, ἐπειδὴ πολὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διέφθαρτο, ἐκδημήσας ὥρμησε μὲν ὡς καὶ ἐς τὸ πρότερον δικα-

οἰκίαs Leuncl., ἰταλίαs L.
 ὅμως ἀφείθη Rk., ἀφείθη L.
 ὡς Βk., δ L.
 συναγορεύοντος Χyl., ἀγορεύοντος L.

city by night, and for a considerable number of B.C. 54 days did not dare to appear outside of his house. For the complaints were many and he had an abundance of accusers. First, then, he was tried for the restoration of Ptolemy, as his greatest offence. Practically the whole populace surged into the court-house and often wished to tear him to pieces, particularly because Pompey was not present and Cicero accused him with all the force of his oratory. And yet, though this was their attitude, he was acquitted. For not only he himself, appreciating the gravity of the charges on which he was being tried, spent vast sums of money, but the associates of Pompey and Caesar also very willingly aided him, declaring that a different time and different king were meant by the Sibyl, and, most important of all, that no punishment for his deeds was contained in her verses.

The people accordingly were almost for putting the jurymen to death also, but, when they escaped, turned their attention to the remaining charges against him and caused him to be convicted on those at any rate. For the men who were chosen by lot to pass judgment on the charges both feared the people and likewise obtained but little from Gabinius; for he felt that he was being brought to book for minor matters only, and expecting to win this time also, he did not spend much. Hence they condemned him, even though Pompey was near at hand and Cicero acted as his counsel. For Pompey had been away from the city to provide for a supply of corn, since much had been ruined by the river, but hastened back to be present

401

στήριον ἀπαντήσων (ἐν γὰρ τῆ Ἰταλία ἢν), ὑστερήσας δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀπεχώρησεν ἐκ τοῦ 4 προαστείου πρὶν καὶ ἐκεῖνο τελεσθ ῆναι. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τοῦ δήμου ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου (τὴν γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἤδη τὴν τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου ἔχων οὐκ ἤδυνήθη ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθεῖν) ἀθροισθέντος πολλὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Γαβινίου ἐδημηγόρησε, καὶ γράμματά τέ τινα παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος πρὸς ἐαυτὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πεμ-τοῦ καὶ ἀνέγνω, καὶ τοὺς δικαστὰς ἱκέτευσε, τόν τε Κικέρωνα οὐχ ὅπως κατηγορῆσαι ἔτ' αὐτοῦ ἐκώλυσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπερδικῆσαι ἔπεισεν,¹ ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου τὸ τοῦ αὐτομόλου ἔγκλημα καὶ ὄνομα ἐπὶ πλεῖόν οἱ αὐξηθῆναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀφέλησέ τι τὸν Γαβίνιον, ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν ἔφυγεν άλούς, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ὕστερον δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος κατήχθη.

64 'Εν δέ τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ χρόνῳ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Πομπηίου γυνὴ θυγάτριόν τι τεκοῦσα ἀπέθανε· καὶ αὐτήν, εἴτε διαπραξαμένων τῶν τε ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος φίλων, ἡ καὶ ἄλλως πως χαρίσασθαὶ τινες αὐτοῖς ἐθελήσαντες συνήρπασαν, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τῶν ἐν τῷ ἀγορῷ ἐπαίνων ἔτυχε, καὶ ἐν τῷ ᾿Αρείῳ πεδίῳ ἔθαψαν, καίτοι τοῦ Δομιτίου ἀνθισταμένου καὶ λέγοντος ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι οῦχ ὁσίως ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τόπῳ ἄνευ τινὸς ψηφίσματος

θάπτοιτο.

Κάν τούτφ καὶ ὁ Πομπτῖιος ὁ Γάιος τὰ ἐπινίκια τὰ τῶν Γαλατῶν ἔπεμψεν ἐς γὰρ ἐκεῖνο τοῦ χρόνου, μηδενός οἱ διδόντος αὐτά, ἔξω τοῦ πω-2 μηρίου διέμεινε. καὶ τότε δ' ἃν αὐτῶν ἥμαρτεν, εἰ μὴ ὁ Γάλβας ὁ Σέρουιος συστρατευσάμενος

at the first trial (for he was in Italy); and when B.C. 54 he missed that, he did not retire from the suburbs until the other also was finished. In fact when the people assembled outside the pomerium (since, as he already held the office of proconsul, he was not allowed to enter the city), he addressed them at length in behalf of Gabinius, and not only read to them a letter sent to him by Caesar in the man's behalf, but also besought the jurymen, and not only prevented Cicero from accusing him again but actually persuaded him to plead for him; as a result the charge and epithet of "turn-coat" was applied to the orator more than ever. Gabinius, however, was not helped at all by Cicero, but was now convicted and exiled, as I have stated, though he was later restored by Caesar.

At this same time the wife of Pompey died, after giving birth to a baby girl. And whether by the arrangement of his friends and Caesar's or because there were some who wished in any case to do them a favour, they caught up the body, as soon as she had received proper eulogies in the Forum, and buried it in the Campus Martius. It was in vain that Domitius opposed them and declared among other things that it was sacrilegious for her to be buried in the sacred spot without a special decree.

At this time Gaius Pomptinus celebrated a triumph over the Gauls; for as no one granted him the right to hold it, he had up to that time remained outside the pomerium. And he would have missed it then, too, had not Servius Galba, a praetor, who had made

¹ Cf. xxxvi. 44, 2.

αὐτῷ, κρύφα καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ἔω στρατηγῶν τὴν ψῆφόν τισι (καίπερ οὐκ ἐξὸν ἐκ τῶν νόμων πρὶν πρώτην ὅραν γενέσθαι ἐν τῷ δήμῷ τι χρηματισθῆναι) ἔδωκε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶν δημάρχων τινὲς ἀπολειφθέντες τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν γοῦν τῆ πομπῆ πράγματα αὐτῷ παρέσχον, ὥστε καὶ σφαγὰς συμβῆναι.

the campaign with him, granted as practor to certain Bec. 54 persons secretly and just before dawn the privilege of voting—this, in spite of the fact that it is not permitted by law for any business to be brought before the people before the first hour. For this reason some of the tribunes, who had been left out of the assembly, caused him trouble in the procession, at any rate, so that there was some bloodshed.

BOOK XL

Τάδε ξνεστιν έν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ τῶν Δίωνος 'Ρωμαϊκῶν

- 'Ως Καΐσαρ τὸ δεύτερον ἐς Βρεττανίαν διέπλευσεν.
- 'Ως Καίσαρ ὑποστρέψας ἀπὸ Βρεττανίας τοῖς Γαλάταις αὖθις ß. έπολέμησεν.
- 'Ως Κράσσος Πάρθοις πολεμεῖν ήρξατο. γ.
- δ. Περὶ Πάρθων.
- 'Ως Κράσσος ήττηθείς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπώλετο.
- 'Ως Καίσαρ την Γαλατίαν την ύπερ τὰς Αλπεις πάσαν κατεστρέψατο.
- 'Ως Μίλων Κλώδιον ἀποκτείνας κατεδικάσθη. η.
- 'Ως Καΐσαρ καὶ Πομπήιος στασιάζειν ήρξαντο.

Χρόνου πληθος τὰ λοιπὰ της Δομιτίου και 'Αππίου Κλαυδίου ύπατείας καὶ ἄλλα ἔτη τέτταρα, ἐν οἶς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οίδε έγένοντο

Γν. Δομίτιος Μ. υί. Καλουίνος1

Μ. Οὐαλέριος . . . Μεσσάλας² ὑπ.

Γν. Πομπήιος δ Γν. υί. Μάγνος τό γ

Κ. Καικίλιος Μέτελλος Σκιπίων Νασικοῦ οἱ. ὑπ.

Σέρουιος Σουλπίκιος Κ. υί, 'Ροῦφος ύπ.

Μ. Κλαύδιος Μ. υί. Μάρκελλος

Λ. Αἰμίλιος 5 Μ. υί. Παῦλος

Γ. Κλαύδιος Γ. υί. Μάρκ \in λλος 6 $\mathring{v}\pi$.

'Εν μὲν δὴ τῆ Ῥώμη ταῦτα, τότε ἐπτακόσια ἔτη άγούση, εγένετο εν δε δη τη Γαλατία ο Καίσαρ έπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τοῦ Δομιτίου τοῦ Λουκίου καὶ τοῦ Κλαυδίου τοῦ ᾿Αππίου ὑπάτων τά τε

¹ Καλουίνος Xyl., καλουινιος L. 2 Μεσσάλας added by Xyl. " Γν. Πομπήιος added by Xyl. 4 Σέρουιος Xvl., σερπος L.

BOOK XL

The following is contained in the Fortieth of Dio's Rome:— How Caesar for the second time sailed across to Britain (chaps. 1-3).

How Caesar, returning from Britain, again engaged in war

with the Gauls (chaps. 4-11).

How Crassus began to carry on war with the Parthians (chaps. 12, 13).

About the Parthians (chaps. 14, 15).

How Crassus was defeated by them and perished (chaps. 16-30).

How Caesar subjugated the whole of Transalpine Gaul (chaps. 31-44).

How Milo killed Clodius and was condemned (chaps. 48 f., 54). How Caesar and Pompey began to be at variance (chaps. 59-66).

Duration of time, the remainder of the consulship of Domitius and Appius Claudius, together with four additional years, in which there were the magistrates (consuls) here enumerated :-

- B.C. Cn. Domitius M. F. Calvinus, M. Valerius . . . Messalla. 53
- Cn. Pompeius Cn. F. Magnus (III), C. Caecilius Metellus 52Scipio Nasicae F.
- 51 Servius Sulpicius Q. F. Rufus, M. Claudius M. F. Marcellus.
- L Aemilius M. F. Paulus, C Claudius C. F. Marcellus.

THESE were the occurrences in Rome while the city B.C. 54 was passing through its seven-hundredth year. Gaul during the year of these same consuls, Lucius Domitius and Appius Claudius, Caesar among other

⁶ Line supplied by Xyl. 5 Λ. Αλμίλιος Xvl., δαιμιλίου L. 7 τοῦ Λουκίου Bk., αὐτοῦ λευκίου L.

άλλα καὶ ναῦς ἐν μέσω τῶν τε σφετέρων τῶν ταχειῶν καὶ τῶν αὐτόθεν τῶν φορτίδων, ὅπως ὡς μάλιστα καὶ κουφίζωσι καὶ πρὸς τὸ κῦμα ἀντέχωσιν, ἐπί τε τοῦ ξηροῦ ἱστάμεναι μὴ λυμαί-2 νωνται, παρεσκευάσατο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ πλόιμα έγένετο, ες την Βρεττανίαν αθθις επεραιώθη, πρόφασιν μεν ότι μη πάντας τους ομήρους ους ύπέσχοντό οἱ ἐπεπόμφεσαν, νομίζοντες αὐτόν, ὅτι διὰ κενης τότε ἀνεχώρησε, μηκέτ' αὐθίς σφων πειράσειν, ποιησάμενος, έργφ δε δεινώς της νήσου εφιέμενος, ώστε εί μη και τοῦτο ην, πάντως αν 3 ἄλλην τινὰ σκηψιν εύρεῖν. κατηρέ τε οὖν ἔνθα καὶ πρότερον, μηδενὸς ὑπό τε τοῦ πλήθους τῶν νεών καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλαχόσε ἄμα αὐτὰς κατασχείν τολμήσαντος άντιστηναι, καὶ τὸ ² ναύστα-2 θμον εὐθὺς ἐκρατύνατο. οἱ οὖν βάρβαροι τὸν μὲν πρόσπλουν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν διὰ ταῦτα κωλθσαι, δείσαντες δὲ μᾶλλον ἡ πρότερον, ἄτε καὶ στρατῶ πλείονι αὐτοῦ ἐλθόντος, ἐς τὸ λασιώτατον καὶ ές τὸ λοχμωδέστατον τῶν ἐγγὺς 2 χωρίων πάντα τὰ τιμιώτατα συνεφόρησαν, καὶ αύτα εν ασφαλεί ποιησάμενοι (τά τε γαρ πέριξ ξύλα ἔκοψαν, καὶ ἔτερα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς στοιχηδὸν ἐπισυνένησαν, ώστε έν χαρακώματι τρόπον τινά είναι) ἔπειτα τοὺς προνομεύοντας τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐλύπουν. καὶ δὴ καὶ μάχη τινὶ ἐν τῷ ψιλῷ ἡττηθέντες ὑπήγαγόν σφας ἐκεῖσε κατὰ τὴν δίωξιν, καὶ 3 συχνούς άνταπέκτειναν. καὶ μετά τοῦτο χειμῶνος αὖθις τὰς ναῦς αὐτῶν λυμηναμένου συμμάχους τε προσμετεπέμψαντο καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸ τὸ νεωριόν σφων

 1 ἐγένετο R. Steph., ἐγένοντο L. 2 το Rk., τον L.

undertakings constructed ships of a style half-way B.C. 54 between his own swift vessels and the native ships of burden, endeavouring to make them at once as light and as seaworthy as possible and capable of being left high and dry without injury. When the weather became fit for sailing, he crossed over again to Britain, giving as his excuse that the people of that country, thinking that he would never make trial of them again because he had once retired emptyhanded, had not sent all the hostages they had promised; but the truth of the matter was that he mightily coveted the island, so that he would certainly have found some other pretext, if this had not offered itself. He came to land at the same place as before, no one daring to oppose him because of the number of his ships and the fact that they approached many points on the shore at the same time; and he straightway got possession of the harbour. The barbarians. then, for the reason stated were unable to hinder his approach, and being more afraid than before, because he had come with a larger army, they carried away all their most valuable things into the most wooded and overgrown portions of the neighbouring country. After they had put them in safety by cutting down the surrounding wood and piling more upon it row after row until their goods were in a sort of stockade, they proceeded to annoy the Romans' foraging parties. Indeed, after being defeated in a certain battle on open ground they drew the invaders in pursuit to their retreat, and killed many in their turn. Soon after, when a storm had once more damaged the Romans' ships, the natives sent for allies and set out against their naval

ώρμησαν, Κασουελλανον 1 τον τὰ πρώτα τών 2 έν 4 τῆ νήσφ δυναστών φερόμενον προστησάμενοι. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀπαντήσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαΐοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον έταράχθησαν τη των άρμάτων σφων προσμίξει, έπειτα δὲ διιστάμενοι, καὶ ἐκεῖνά τε παρεξιέντες καὶ τοὺς παραθέοντας ἐς τὰ πλάγια βάλλοντες, 3 ἀνίσωσαν την μάχην. καὶ τότε μὲν κατὰ χώραν άμφότεροι έμειναν αθθις δε οί βάρβαροι του μεν πεζού κρείττους γενόμενοι, ύπὸ δὲ τῆς ἵππου κακωθέντες, πρός τε τὸν Ταμέσαν ἀνεχώρησαν, καὶ τὸν πόρον αὐτοῦ σταυροῖς, τοῖς μὲν ἐμφανέσι τοις δε και υφύδροις, διαλαβόντες ηθλίσαντο. 2 ἐπειδη δὲ δ ἐκείνους τε ὁ Καῖσαρ τό τε σταύρωμα προσβολή βιαία εκλιπείν ηνάγκασε καὶ μετά τοῦτο καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐρύματος προσεδρεία ἐξήλασε, καὶ τοὺς προσβάλλοντάς σφων τῷ ναυστάθμω έτεροι ἀπεώσαντο, κατέδεισαν καὶ κατελύσαντο

4 Καὶ οὕτως ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπῆρε παντάπασιν ἐκ τῆς νήσου, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐγκατέλιπε στράτευμα ἐν αὐτῆς ἐκεῖνό τε γὰρ κινδυνεύσειν ἐν ἀλλοτρία πη χειμάζον, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἂν ἐν καλῷ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλατίας ἀποδημῆσαι νομίζων, ἠγάπησε τοῖς παροῦσι, μὴ ⁶ καὶ μειζόνων ὀριγνώμενος καὶ περὶ ² ἐκείνοις σφαλῆ. καὶ ἔδοξε καὶ τοῦτο ὀρθῶς πεποιηκέναι, ὥσπερ που καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ διεδείχθης ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὥρμησεν ὡς καὶ ἐκεῖ παραχειμάσων, οἱ Γαλάται, καίτοι φρουροὺς ὡς ἔκαστοι πολλοὺς ἔχοντες, ὅμως ἐνεόχμωσαν, καί

ομήρους τε δόντες καὶ φόρον ἐτήσιον ταξάμενοι.

¹ Κασουελλανδν Reim., και σουελλανδν L.

² των added by Leunel. ³ πλάγια Rk., πλαίσια L.

⁴ ανίσωσαν Rk., ανέσωσαν L. 5 δε Rk., τε L.

⁶ μη added by R. Steph.

BOOK XL

arsenal itself, with Cassivellaunus, regarded as the B.C. 54 foremost of the chiefs in the island, at their head. The Romans upon meeting them were at first thrown into confusion by the attack of their chariots, but later opened ranks, and by letting them pass through and then from the side hurling their weapons at the men as they rushed past, made the battle equal. For the time being both parties remained where they were. Later, however, the barbarians, after proving victorious over the infantry but being defeated by the cavalry, withdrew to the Thames, where they encamped after cutting off the ford by means of stakes. some visible and some under water. But Caesar by a powerful assault forced them to leave the stockade and later on by siege drove them from their fortress, while others repulsed a party of theirs that attacked the ships in the harbour. They then became terrified and made terms, giving hostages and agreeing to pay a yearly tribute.

Thus Caesar departed entirely from the island and left no body of troops behind in it; for he believed that such a force would be in danger while passing the winter in a foreign land and that it might be inadvisable for him to remain away from Gaul for any considerable period; hence he was satisfied with his present achievements, in the fear that if he reached out for more, he might be deprived even of these. It seemed that here again he had done right, as was, indeed, proved by the event. For when he had gone to Italy, intending to winter there, the Gauls, though each nation contained many garrisons, nevertheless became restless and some of them

τινες αὐτῶν καὶ φανερῶς ἐπανέστησαν. ὅπερ εἰ ἐν τῆ Βρεττανία καταμείναντος αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸν χειμῶνα ἐγεγόνει, πάντα ἂν τὰ τῆδε ἐτετάρακτο.

Ήρξαν δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου Ἐβουρωνοί,1 ήγου μένου 2 σφίσιν 'Αμβιόριγος. καὶ έλεγον μεν τῆ παρουσία τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὧν δ τε Σαβίνος καὶ Λούκιος Κόττας υποστράτηγοι ήρχον, άχθόμενοι κεκινήσθαι το δ' άληθες εκείνων τε κατεφρόνησαν ώς οὐχ ίκανῶν ἀμθναι σφᾶς ἐσομένων, καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα οὐκ ἤλπισαν διὰ ταχέων σφίσιν 2 ἐπιστρατεύσειν. ἐπῆλθόν τε οὖν αὐτοῖς μὴ προσδεχομένοις ώς καὶ αὐτοβοεὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αίρήσοντες, καὶ ἐπειδὴ διήμαρτον αὐτοῦ, πρὸς άπάτην ετράπουτο. των γάρ χωρίων τὰ επίτηδειότατα ὁ ᾿Αμβιόριξ προλοχίσας ἢλθεν έξ ἐπικηρυκείας πρός τους 'Ρωμαίους ώς ούχ έκων δή 3 πολεμήσας, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν μεταγιγνώσκειν έφη, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους φυλάττεσθαί σφισι παρήνεσεν ούτε γὰρ αὐτῷ πειθαρχείν αὐτούς καὶ ἐκείνοις 4 μέλλειν της νυκτὸς ἐπιθήσεσθαι. κάκ τούτου καὶ γνώμην αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε τὴν μὲν Ἐβουρωνίαν, ὡς καὶ κινδυνεύσουσιν⁵ αν καταμείνωσι, καταλιπείν, προς δὲ συστρατιώτας τινὰς πέλας που χειμάζοντας ὡς 6 τάχιστα μεταστήναι. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οί 'Ρωμαίοι ἐπείσθησαν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι εὐηργέτητο πολλά ύπο του Καίσαρος και χάριν αυτώ ταύτην ἀντιδιδόναι 6 εδόκει. συσκευασάμενοί τε

^{1 &#}x27;Εβουρωνοί Χyl., εβουρων οί L.

² ήγουμένου R. Steph., ήγούμενοι L.

³ ων supplied by Leunel. 4 ἐκείνοις Xyl., ἐκείνους L.

⁵ κινδυνεύσουσιν Reim., κινδυνεύσωσιν L.

⁶ ταύτην ἀντιδιδόναι v. Herw., ταύτην ἀνταποδιδόναι Naber, τὰ ὑπεναντία διδόναι L.

BOOK XL

openly revolted. Now if this had happened while B.C. 54 he was staying in Britain through the winter season, all Gaul would have been in a turmoil.

This war was begun by the Eburones, under Ambiorix as chief. They claimed they had been roused to action because they were annoyed at the presence of the Romans, who were commanded by Sabinus and Lucius Cotta, lieutenants. The truth was, however, that they scorned those officers, thinking they would not prove competent to defend their men and not expecting that Caesar would quickly make an expedition against their tribe. They accordingly came upon the soldiers unawares, expecting to take the camp without striking a blow, and, when they failed of this, had recourse to deceit. For Ambiorix, after planting ambuscades in the most suitable spots, came to the Romans after sending a herald to arrange for a parley, and represented that he had taken part in the war against his will and was himself sorry; but against the others he advised them to be on their guard, for his countrymen would not obey him and were intending to attack the garrison at night. Consequently he made the suggestion to them that they should abandon Eburonia, since they would be in danger if they remained, and should move on as quickly as possible to some of their comrades who were wintering near by. Upon hearing this the Romans believed him, especially as Ambiorix had received many favours from Caesar and seemed to be repaying his kindness in this way. They

σπουδη εὐθὺς ἀφ' έσπέρας ἀφώρμησαν, καὶ ἐμπεσόντες ἐς τὰ λελοχισμένα δεινῶς ἐσφάλησαν·
2 ὅ τε γὰρ Κόττας παραχρημα μετὰ πολλῶν ἀπώλετο, καὶ τὸν Σαβῖνον ὁ ᾿Αμβιόριξ μετεπέμψατο μὲν ὡς καὶ σώσων (οὔτε γὰρ τοῖς γιγνομένοις παρην, καὶ πιστὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τότε ἔτ' ἐδόκει εἶναι), συλλαβὼν δὲ δή, καὶ ἀποδύσας καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὴν ἐσθητα, κατηκόντισεν, ἐπιλέγων ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι τοιοίδε μέντοι ὄντες πῶς τηλικούτων ἡμῶν οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διέπεσον μὲν ἐς τὸ τάφρευμα ὅθεν ἀπανειστήκεσαν,¹ ἐπεὶ δὲ οἵ τε βάρβαροι καὶ ἐκεῖ προσέμιξαν καὶ οὕτ' ἀμύνασθαι αὐτοὺς οὕτε διαφυγεῖν ἠδυνήθησαν, ἀλλήλους ἀπέκτειναν.

Γενομένου δε τούτου άλλοι τε τινες των πλησιογώρων ἀπέστησαν καὶ Νέρουιοι, καίτοι Κυίντου Κικέρωνος παρ' αὐτοῖς χειμάζοντος ἀδελφὸς δὲ τοῦ Κικέρωνος τοῦ Μάρκου ήν, ὑποστρατηγῶν τῷ Καίσαρι. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ ᾿Αμβιόριξ προσλαβών 2 συνέβαλε τῷ Κικέρωνι καὶ ἀγχώμαλα ἀγωνισάμενος, καί τινας καὶ ζωντας έλων, ἀπατήσαι μέν πη καὶ ἐκείνον ἐπεχείρησε, μη δυνηθεὶς δὲ ἔς τε πολιορκίαν αὐτὸν κατέστησε, καὶ διὰ ταγέων ύπό τε της πολυχειρίας καὶ ύπὸ της έμπειρίας, ην έκ της συστρατείας ην μετά των 'Ρωμαίων έπεποίητο ἐκέκτητο, καί τινα καὶ παρὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων εκάστων 2 μαθών, καὶ ἀπεσταύρωσε καὶ 3 ἀπετάφρευσεν. εγίγνοντο μεν γάρ καὶ μάχαι, οία έν τῷ τοιούτω εἰκὸς ην, συχναί, καὶ ἀπώλλυντο πολύ πλείους των βαρβάρων άτε και πλείους

² ἐκάστων St., αν ἐκάστων L.

¹ ἀπανειστήκεσαν Dind , ἀπανεστήκεσαν L.

hastily packed up their belongings, and setting out B.C. 54 just after nightfall, fell into the ambush, where they suffered a terrible reverse. Cotta with many others perished immediately. Sabinus was sent for by Ambiorix under the pretext of saving him, for the Gallic leader was not present at the ambush and at that time was still thought to be trustworthy; on his arrival, however, Ambiorix seized him, stripped him of his arms and clothing, and then struck him down with his javelin, uttering boastful words over him, such as these: " How can such creatures as you wish to rule us who are so great?" This was the fate that these men suffered. The rest managed to break through to the camp from which they had set out, but when the barbarians assailed that, too, and they could neither repel them nor escape, they killed one another

After this event some others of the neighbouring tribes revolted, among them the Nervii, though Quintus Cicero, a brother of Marcus Cicero and lieutenant of Caesar, was wintering in their territory. Ambiorix added them to his force and engaged in battle with Cicero. The contest was close, and after capturing some prisoners alive the chieftain tried to deceive him also in some manner, but being unable to do so, besieged him. Thanks to his large force and the experience which he had gained from his service with the Romans, together with information that he obtained from the individual captives, he quickly managed to enclose him with a palisade and ditch. There were numerous battles, as was natural in such a situation, and far larger numbers of the barbarians perished, because there were more of

ουτες οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ αὐτοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ 1 τῆς περιουσίας

τοῦ στρατοῦ οὐδὲ ἐν αἰσθήσει τοῦ φθειρομένου σφῶν ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι μήτε ἄλλως πολλοὶ ὅντες καὶ ἐλάττους ἀεὶ γιγνόμενοι ῥαδίως περι-8 εστοιχίσθησαν. κινδυνευόντων οὖν αὐτῶν άλῶναι (οὔτε γὰρ τὰ τραύματα θεραπεύειν ἀπορία τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐδύναντο, οὔτε τὴν τροφὴν ἀφθόνως, ἄτε ἐν ἀδοκήτω πολιορκία, εἶχον· οὐδὶ ἐπήμυνέ τις αὐτοῖς, καίτοι πολλῶν οὐκ ἄπωθεν χειμαζόντων· οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι τὰς ὁδοὺς ἀκριβῶς φυλάσσοντες πάντας τοὺς ἐκπεμπομένους σφῶν συνελάμβανον κὰν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτῶν ἐφόνευον) 2 Νέρουιός τις εὐνοϊκῶς σφισιν ἐξ εὐεργεσίας ἔχων, καὶ τότε σὺν τῷ Κικέρωνι πολιορκούμενος, δοῦλόν

νήθη λαθείν συγγενόμενος τοίς πολεμίοις ώς καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ὧν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀποχωρήσας.

τινα έαυτοῦ διάγγελον αὐτῷ παρέσχεν ἔκ τε γὰρ τῆς σκευῆς καὶ ἐκ τῆς φωνῆς τῆς ἐπιχωρίας ἦδυ-

) Μαθών οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸ γιγνόμενον (οὐδέπω δὲ

κιαυων σον ο Καισαρ το τριγομένου (συσεπω σε ές τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπεληλύθει, ἀλλ' ἔτ' ἐν ὁδῷ ἢν) ἀνέστρεψε, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς χειμαδίοις, δι' ὧν διήει, στρατιώτας παραλαμβάνων ἢπείγετο. κἀν τούτῷ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ φθάση ὁ Κικέρων ἀπογνώσει τῆς βοηθείας δεινόν τι παθων ἢ καὶ συνθέμενος, προ-2 έπεμψεν ἱππέα. τῷ μὲν γὰρ οἰκέτη τῷ τοῦ² Νερουίου, καίτοι πεῖραν ἔργῷ τῆς εὐνοίας αὐτοῦ λαβών, οὐκ ἐπίστευσε, μὴ καὶ τοὺς πατριώτας ἐλεήσας μέγα τι κακόν σφας ἐξεργάσηται· ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῶν συμμάχων ἱππέα τήν τε διάλεκτον αὐτῶν

1 ὑπὸ R. Steph., περὶ L. 2 τοῦ added by R. Steph.

BOOK XL

them. They, however, by reason of the multitude B.C. 54 of their army did not feel their loss at all, whereas the Romans, who were not numerous in the first place, kept continually growing fewer and were hemmed in without difficulty. They were unable to care for their wounds through lack of the necessary appliances, and did not have a large supply of food, because they had been besieged unexpectedly. No one came to their aid, though many were wintering at no great distance; for the barbarians guarded the roads with care and caught all who were sent out and slaughtered them before the eyes of their friends. Now when they were in danger of being captured, a Nervian who was friendly to them as the result of kindness shown him and was at this time besieged with Cicero, furnished a slave of his to send as a messenger through the lines. Because of his dress and his speech, which was that of the natives, he was able to mingle with the enemy as one of their number without attracting notice, and afterwards went his way.

In this way Caesar, who had not yet returned to Italy but was still on the way, learned of what was taking place, and turning back, he took with him the soldiers in the winter establishments through which he passed, and pressed rapidly on. Meanwhile, being afraid that Cicero, in despair of assistance, might suffer disaster or even capitulate, he sent a horseman on ahead. For he did not trust the servant of the Nervian, in spite of having received an actual proof of his good will, fearing that he might pity his countrymen and work the Romans some great evil; so he sent a horseman of the allies who knew the

417

είδότα καὶ τῆ στολῆ τῆ ἐκείνων σκευασθέντα 3 ἔπεμψε. καὶ ὅπως γε μηδ' αὐτός τι μήτ' οὖν ἐθε-λοντὴς μήτ' ἄκων ἐξείπῃ, οὔτε τι αὐτῷ ἐξελάλησε, καὶ τῷ Κικέρωνι πάνθ ὅσα ἠβουλήθη ἐλληνιστὶ ἐπέστειλεν, ἵνα ἂν καὶ τὰ γράμματα άλῷ, ἀλλ' ἀσύνετά γε καὶ τότε τοῖς βαρβάροις ὄντα μηδέν σφας ἐκδιδάξη. εἰώθει δὲ καὶ ἄλλως, ὁπότε τι δι' άπορρήτων τινὶ ἐπέστελλε, τὸ τέταρτον ἀεὶ στοιχείον ἀντὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος ἀντεγγράφειν, ὅπως αν 4 ἄγνωστα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἢ τὰ γραφόμενα. ὁ δ' οὖν ἱππεὺς ἢλθε μὲν πρὸς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον, μή δυνηθείς δ' έγγύθεν αὐτῷ προσμίξαι συνέδησε τὰ γράμματα ἀκοντίω, καὶ ὡς ἱεὶς ἱ αὖτὸ ές τοὺς πολεμίους πρὸς πύργον ἐξεπίτηδες προσ-έπηξε. καὶ ὁ μὲν Κικέρων οὕτω τὴν πρόσοδον τοῦ Καίσαρος μαθών ανεθάρσησε και προθυμότερον 10 διεκαρτέρησεν οι δε δη βάρβαροι επί πολύ μεν την επικουρίαν αὐτοῦ ηγνόησαν (νυκτοπορών γαρ ἔπειτα τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν ἀφανεστάτοις χωρίοις ηὐλί-ζετο, ὅπως ἀπροσδοκήτοις ὅτι μάλιστα αὐτοῖς προσμίξη), όψε δέ ποτε έκ της των πολιορκουμένων περιγαρείας ύποτοπήσαντες αὐτὴν προσκόπους ἔπεμψαν, καὶ μαθόντες παρ' αὐτῶν πλησιά-ζοντα ἤδη τὸν Καίσαρα ὥρμησαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὡς 2 καὶ ἀνελπίστω οἱ προσπεσούμενοι. προμαθων οὖν τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνος τήν τε νύκτα κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινε, καὶ ύπὸ τὴν ἔω χωρίον τι ἐρυμνὸν προκαταλαβών ένταθθα ως έν βραχυτάτω έστρατοπεδεύσατο τοθ καὶ μετ' ολίγων έἶναι δοκεῖν καὶ ἐκ τῆς πορείας πεπονησθαι τήν τε έφοδόν σφων δεδιέναι, κάκ τούτου καὶ ές αὐτὸ τὸ μετέωρον αὐτοὺς ὑπαγαγέσθαι.2 1 ώς iels Polak, ώσας L. 2 ύπαγαγέσθαι Reim., ἀπαγαγέσθαι L.

BOOK XL

dialect of the Eburones and was dressed in their garb. BC. 54 And in order that even he might not reveal anything. voluntarily or involuntarily, he gave him no verbal message and wrote to Cicero in Greek all that he wished to say, in order that even if the letter were captured, it should even so be meaningless to the barbarians and afford them no information. In fact. it was his usual practice, whenever he was sending a secret message to any one, to substitute in every case for the proper letter of the alphabet the fourth letter beyond, so that the writing might be unintelligible to most persons. Now the horseman reached the camp of the Romans, but not being able to come close up to it, he fastened the letter to a javelin, and acting as if he were hurling it against the enemy, fixed it purposely in a tower. Thus Cicero learned of the approach of Caesar, and so took courage and held out more zealously. But the barbarians for a long time knew nothing of the assistance Caesar was bringing; for he journeyed by night, bivouacking by day in very obscure places, in order that he might fall upon them as unexpectedly as possible. But they finally grew suspicious because of the excessive cheerfulness of the besieged and sent out scouts; and learning from them that Caesar was already drawing near, they set out against him, thinking to attack him while off his guard. learned of it in time and remained where he was that night, and just before dawn took up a strong position. There he encamped seemingly in the utmost haste, for the purpose of appearing to have only a few followers, to have suffered from the journey, and to fear an attack from them, and so in this manner to draw them to the higher ground,

419

 $Ο \ddot{v} τω μ \dot{\epsilon} v ο \ddot{v} v τότε καὶ ἐκεῖνοι <math>\dot{v}$ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι

3 καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως· καταφρονήσαντες γὰρ αὐτοῦ διὰ ταῦτα πρός τε τὸ ὄρθιον προσέβαλον καὶ μεγάλως ἔπταισαν, ὥστε μηκέτ' ἀντιπολεμῆσαι.

πάντες ἐχειρώθησαν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ δι' εὐνοίας τοῖς 'Ρωμαίοις ἦσαν. οἱ γοῦν Τρήουηροι φοβηθέντες, ἐπειδήπερ² τοὺς παρ' ἐκάστοις πρώτους³ ὁ Καῖσαρ μεταπέμπων ἐκόλαζε, μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ δίκην δῶσιν, ² ἐξεπολεμώθησαν αὖθις αὐτοῖς, 'Ἰνδουτιομάρου ⁴ σφᾶς ἀναπείσαντος, καὶ συναποστήσαντες καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν τὰ αὐτὰ δεδιότων ἐπεστράτευσαν ἐπὶ τὸν Λαβιῆνον τὸν Τίτον ἐν 'Ρημοῖς ὄντα, καὶ ἐπεξελθόντων σφίσι παρὰ δόξαν τῶν 'Ρωμαίων

εφθάρησαν.

11

Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῆ Γαλατία ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐν αὐτῆ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐχείμασεν ὡς καὶ ἀκριβῶς σφας 12 καταστήσασθαι δυνησόμενος. ὁ δὲ δὴ Κράσσος ἐπιθυμήσας τι καὶ αὐτὸς δόξης τε ἄμα καὶ κέρδους ἐχόμενον πρᾶξαι, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἐν τῆ Συρία τοιοῦτό τι εἶδεν ὄν (αὐτοί τε γὰρ ἡσύχαζον, καὶ οἱ πρόσθε προσπολεμήσαντές σφισιν οὐδὲν ὑπ' ἀδυνασίας παρεκίνουν), ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους ἐπεστράτευσε, μήτε ἔγκλημά τι αὐτοῖς ἐπιφέρων μήτε τοῦ πολέμου οἱ ἐψηφισμένου· αὐτούς τε γὰρ παμπλουσίους ἤκουεν ὄντας, καὶ τὸν 'Ορώδην εὐάλωτον ἄτε καὶ νεοκατάστατον εἶναι προσεδόκησε. 2 τόν τε οὖν Εὐφράτην ἐπεραιώθη, καὶ προῆλθεν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας, φέρων τε αὐτὴν καὶ

¹ ἐκείνοι Xyl., ἐκείνος L. 2 ἐπειδήπερ Reim., ἐπειδή πρὸς L. 3 πρώτους supplied by Reim.

^{4 &#}x27;Ινδουτιομάρου Reim. (as L in chap. 31, 2), ίνδυοτιμάρου L. 5 ύπ' άδυνασίας Βκ., ύπό δυναστείας L.

BOOK XL

And thus it turned out; for in their contempt of B.C. 54 him because of this move they charged up hill, and met with so severe a defeat that they carried on the

war against him no longer.

In this way both they and all the rest were at that time subdued; but they did not feel kindly toward the Romans. At any rate, the Treveri, when Caesar was sending for the principal men of each tribe and punishing them, became afraid that they, too, might have to pay the penalty; and upon the advice of Indutiomarus, they began war against the Romans once more; and they led some others who feared the same treatment to revolt and made an expedition against Titus Labienus, who was among the Remi, but they were destroyed when the Romans made an unexpected sally.

These were the events that took place in Gaul, and Caesar wintered there, thinking that he would be able to bring the Gauls under strict control. But Crassus, desiring for his part to accomplish something that involved glory and at the same time profit, and seeing that no such thing was possible in Syria, where the people themselves were quiet, and those who had formerly warred against the Romans were by reason of their powerlessness causing no disturbance, made a campaign against the Parthians. no complaint to bring against them nor had the war been assigned to him; but he heard that they were exceedingly wealthy and expected that Orodes would be easy to capture, because he was but newly established. Therefore he crossed the Euphrates and advanced far into Mesopotamia, devastating and ravaging the country. For since his

πορθών της γάρ διαβάσεως αὐτοῦ άδοκήτου τοῖς Βαρβάροις γενομένης οὐδεμία ἀκριβής Φυλακή αὐτῆς καθειστήκει, ὥστε ταχὺ μὲν ὁ 1 Σιλάκης 2 ὁ τότε της χώρας εκείνης σατραπεύων ηττήθη τε περί Ίχνίας, τείχός τι ούτω καλούμενον, ίππεῦσιν ολίγοις μαχεσάμενος, και τρωθείς ἀπεχώρησεν αὐτάγγελος τω βασιλεί της έπιστρατείας αὐτοῦ 13 γενησόμενος, ταχύ δὲ καὶ ὁ Κράσσος τά τε φρούρια καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς Ἑλληνίδας μάλιστα, τάς τε άλλας καὶ τὸ Νικηφόριον ωνομασμένον, προσεποιήσατο των γὰρ Μακεδόνων καὶ των ἄλλων τῶν συστρατευσάντων σφίσιν Ἑλλήνων ἄποικοι πολλοί, . . . * βία ἀχθόμενοι καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ώς καὶ φιλέλληνας πολλά έλπίζοντες, οὐκ ἀκου-2 σίως μεθίσταντο πλήν τε ότι οί 5 Ζηνοδοτίου ολκήτορες μετέπεμψάν τινας αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ μεταστησόμενοι, επειδή δε ενδον εγένοντο, απέλαβον τε αὐτοὺς καὶ διέφθειραν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀνέστησαν, οὐδεν ἄλλο δεινον οὕτε ἔπραξε τότε 3 Κράσσος οὔτε ἔπαθε. πάντως δὲ κἂν 6 τὰ λοιπὰ χωρία τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ Τίγριδος ὄντα ἐκεχείρωτο, εἰ τη τε έαυτου όρμη και τη των βαρβάρων έκπλήξει πρὸς πάντα δμοίως ἐκέχρητο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ κατά χώραν χειμάσας έν φρουρά αὐτὰ ἀκριβεῖ 4 ἐπεποίητο. νθν δὲ ελων ὅσα ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἠδυνήθη λαβείν, οὔτε τι τῶν λοιπῶν οὔτ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων έφρόντισεν, άλλὰ τῆ τε ἐν τῆ Μεσοποταμία διατριβή αγθεσθείς καὶ τής εν τή Συρία ραστώνης

¹ ταχὺ μὲν δ Kidd, ταλυμενος L.

² Σιλάκης (Σιλλακης) Xyl., ειλακης L.

[&]quot; αὐτάγγελος Leuncl., αὐτοὺ ἄγγελος L.

Lacuna recognized by Bk., who supplied τῆ τῶν βαρβάρων.
 ὅτι οἱ Reim, and Bk., οἱ τε L.
 ⁶κὰν St., καὶ L.

crossing was unexpected by the barbarians no careful B.C. 54 guard of the ford had been kept. Consequently Silaces, then satrap of that region, was quickly defeated near Ichnae, a fortress so named, after contending with a few horsemen; and being wounded. he retired to report personally to the king the Romans' invasion. Crassus, on his side, quickly won over the garrisons and especially the Greek cities, among them one named Nicephorium. For colonists in great numbers, descendants of the Macedonians and of the other Greeks who had campaigned in Asia with them, readily transferred their allegiance to the Romans, since they were oppressed by the violence [of the barbarians (?)], and placed strong hopes in the invaders, whom they regarded as friends of the Greeks. The inhabitants of Zenodotium, however, on the pretence that they also were going to revolt, sent for some of the invaders, and then, when they were within the town, arrested and killed them, for which act they were driven from their homes. Apart from this Crassus neither inflicted nor received any serious harm at that time. He certainly would have subdued also the other regions this side of the Tigris, if he had followed up the advantage of his own quick attack and the barbarians' panic consistently in all respects, and also if he had wintered where he was, keeping strict watch of affairs. As it was, he captured only such places as he could seize by sudden assault and paid no heed to the rest nor even to the places conquered, but vexed by the delay in Mesopotamia, and longing for the indolence

έπιθυμήσας παρέσχετο 1 τοις Πάρθοις καιρον παρασκευάσασθαι καὶ τοὺς ἐγκαταλειφθέντας ἐν

τη γώρα στρατιώτας κακώσαι.

Αυτή μέν ή ἀρχη τοις 'Ρωμαίοις του προς αὐτοὺς πολέμου ἐγένετο· οἰκοῦσι δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Τίγριδος τὸ μὲν πολὺ τείχη καὶ φρούρια, ἤδη δὲ καὶ πόλεις, άλλας τε καί Κτησιφώντα, έν ή καὶ βασίλεια ² έχουσι. το γαρ γένος σφων ην μέν 2 που καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πάλαι βαρβάροις, καὶ τό γε ονομα τοῦτο καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν Περσικὴν βασιλείαν εἰχον ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν αὐτοί τε ἐν μέρει χώρας βραχεί ὤκουν καὶ δυναστείαν ὑπερόριον οὖκ ἐκέκτηντο, έπεὶ δὲ 3 ή τε τῶν Περσῶν ἀρχὴ κατελύθη καὶ τὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων ήκμασεν, οί τε τοῦ 'Αλεξάνδρου διάδοχοι στασιάσαντες ἄλλοι ἄλλα 4 άπετέμοντο καί βασιλείας ίδίας κατεσκευάσαντο, 3 ές τε τὸ μέσον τότε πρώτον ὑπ' ᾿Αρσάκου τινὸς αφίκοντο, δθενπερ καὶ οἱ ἔπειτα βασιλεύσαντες αὐτῶν ᾿Αρσακίδαι ἐπωνομάσθησαν, καὶ εὐτυχήσαντες τήν τε πλησιόχωρον εκτήσαντο πασαν καὶ την Μεσοποταμίαν σατραπείαις κατέσχον, τελευτῶντες δὲ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον καὶ τῆς δόξης καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως έχώρησαν ώστε καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τότε τε ἀντιπολεμησαι καὶ δεῦρο ἀεὶ ἀντίπαλοι νομίζε-4 σθαι. εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως ἰσχυροὶ τὰ πολέμια, μεῖζον δ' ὅμως ὄνομα, καίτοι μήτε τῶν Ῥωμαίων τι παρηρημένοι καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῆς ξαυτῶν ἔστιν ὰ προέμενοι, ἔχουσιν, ὅτι μηδέπω δεδούλωνται, άλλα καὶ νῦν ἔτι τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς πρὸς ἡμᾶς,

¹ παρέσχετο Bk., παρέσχε τε L.

² βασίλεια Leuncl., βασιλέα L. ³ έπεὶ δὲ Leuncl., ἐπειδὴ L. 5 έτι Rk., έπ! L.

of Syria, he afforded the Parthians time to prepare B.C. 54 themselves and to harass the soldiers left behind in their country.

This was the beginning of the war of the Romans against the Parthians. These people dwell beyond the Tigris, for the most part in forts and garrisons, but also in a few cities, among them Ctesiphon, in which they have a royal residence. Their race was in existence among the ancient barbarians and they had this same name even under the Persian kingdom; but at that time they inhabited only a small portion of the country and had acquired no dominion beyond their own borders. But when the Persian rule had been overthrown and that of the Macedonians was at its height, and when the successors of Alexander had quarrelled with one another, cutting off separate portions for themselves and setting up individual monarchies, the Parthians then first attained prominence under a certain Arsaces. from whom their succeeding rulers received the title of Arsacidae. By good fortune they acquired all the neighbouring territory, occupied Mesopotamia by means of satrapies, and finally advanced to so great glory and power as to wage war even against the Romans at that time, and ever afterward down to the present day to be considered a match for them. They are really formidable in warfare, but nevertheless they have a reputation greater than their achievements, because, in spite of their not having gained anything from the Romans, and having, besides, given up certain portions of their own domain, they have not yet been enslaved, but even to this day hold their own in the wars they wage

15 δσάκις ἂν συνενεχθῶσι, διαφέρουσι. περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ τε γένους καὶ της χώρας της τε ιδιότητος τῶν έπιτηδευμάτων αὐτῶν πολλοῖς τε εἴρηται καὶ έγω ούκ έν γνώμη ποιούμαι συγγράψαι τη δε δη οπλίσει καὶ τη των πολέμων διαχειρίσει (τούτων γὰρ ὁ ἐξετασμὸς τῷδε τῷ λόγῳ, ὅτι καὶ ἐς χρείαν αὐτῶν ἀφικνεῖται, προσήκει) τοιᾳδε χρῶνται. 2 ἀσπίδι μὲν οὐδὲν νομίζουσιν, ἱπποτοξόται δὲ καὶ κοντοφόροι, τὰ πολλὰ κατάφρακτοι, στρατεύονται. πεζοί τε ολίγοι μεν καὶ οἱ ἀσθενέστεροι, τοξόται δ' οὖν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πάντες εἰσίν. έκ τε γαρ παίδων ασκούνται, και ο ούρανος ή τε 3 χώρα αὐτοῖς συναίρεται πρὸς ἀμφότερα. αὕτη τε γὰρ πεδιὰς ώς πλήθει οὖσα ἀρίστη ε τε ἵππους τρέφειν έστι και έπιτηδειοτάτη καθιππεύεσθαι. άγέλας γοῦν ὅλας καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, ὥστ' άλλοτε άλλοις ίπποις χρησθαι καὶ πόρρωθέν τε έξαπιναίως έπελαύνειν καὶ μακράν ποι έξ αἰφνι-4 δίου ἀποχωρεῖν, ἐπάγονται· καὶ ὁ³ οὐρανὸς ὁ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ξηρότατός τε ὢν καὶ ἰκμάδα οὐδὲ έλαχίστην ἔχων, ἐντονωτάτας ⁴ σφίσι τὰς τοξείας πλην τοῦ πάνυ γειμῶνος παρέγεται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ωραν ἐκείνην οὐδαμή στρατεύονται. τῷ δὲ δὴ λοιπῷ ἔτει δυσμαχώτατοι ἔν τε τῆ σφετέρα καὶ 5 ἐν τἢ ὁμοιοτρόπω εἰσί· τόν τε γὰρ ἤλιον φλογωδέστατον όντα ἀνέχονται τῆ συνηθεία, καὶ τῆς ολιγότητος της τε δυσχερείας του ποτου πολλὰ ἀλεξιφάρμακα ἀνευρήκασιν, ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τού-του μὴ χαλεπῶς τοὺς ἐς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν

¹ κοντοφόροι Val., ακοντοφόροι L.

² ἀρίστη Bk., ραίστη L. δ added by R. Steph.

against us, whenever they become involved in them. B.C. 54 Now about their race and their country and their peculiar customs many have written, and I have no intention of describing them. But I will describe their equipment of arms and their method of warfare; for the examination of these details properly concerns the present narrative, since it has come to a point where this knowledge is needed. The Parthians make no use of a shield, but their forces consist of mounted archers and pikemen, mostly in full armour. Their infantry is small, made up of the weaker men; but even these are all archers. They practise from boyhood, and the climate and the land combine to aid both horsemanship and archery. The land, being for the most part level, is excellent for raising horses and very suitable for riding about on horse-back; at any rate, even in war they lead about whole droves of horses, so that they can use different ones at different times, can ride up suddenly from a distance and also retire to a distance speedily; and the atmosphere there, which is very dry and does not contain the least moisture, keeps their bowstrings tense, except in the dead of winter. For that reason they make no campaigns anywhere during that season; but the rest of the year they are almost invincible in their own country and in any that has similar characteristics. For by long experience they can endure the sun's heat, which is very scorching, and they have discovered many remedies for the dearth of drinking-water and the difficulty of securing it, so that for this reason also they can

έσβάλλοντας άμύνεσθαι. έξω γὰρ ἐκείνης ὑπὲρ τον Ευφράτην μάχαις μέν τισι καὶ καταδρομαῖς 6 αἰφνιδίοις ήδη ποτὲ ἴσχυσάν τι, πολεμῆσαι δέ τισιν ἀπαυστὶ καὶ διάρκῶς οὐ δύνανται, καὶ ἐς άλλοτριωτάτην σφίσι καὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατάστασιν ἀπαρτῶντες, καὶ μήτε σίτου μήτε

μισθοφοράς παρασκευήν 3 ποιούμενοι.

16 Τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ τῶν Πάρθων ἐστίν, ἐσβαλόντος 4 δε ες την Μεσοποταμίαν του Κράσσου ώσπερ εἴρηται, ὁ Ὀρώδης ἔπεμψε μὲν καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐς την Συρίαν πρέσβεις, της τε έσβολης αιτιώμενος καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τοῦ πολέμου πυνθανόμενος, ἔπεμψε δὲ πρός τε τὰ 5 εαλωκότα τά τε μεθεστηκότα 2 Σουρήναν σύν στρατώ· αὐτὸς γὰρ τῆ ᾿Αρμενία τῆ τοῦ Τιγράνου ποτὲ γενομένη διενοείτο ἐπιστρατεῦσαι. ὅπως ὁ ᾿Αρταβάζης ὁ τοῦ Τιγράνου παις ό τότε αὐτης βασιλεύων μηδεμίαν τοις 'Ρωμαίοις, άτε καὶ περὶ τῆ οἰκεία δεδιώς, βοήθειαν 3 πέμψη. ὁ οὖν Κράσσος ἐκείνω τε ἐν Σελευκεία (ἔστι δὲ πόλις ἐν τῆ Μεσοποταμία, πλεῖστον τὸ Ελληνικὸν καὶ νῦν ἔχουσα) τὰς αἰτίας τοῦ πολέμου έρειν έφη· καὶ αὐτῷ τῶν Πάρθων τις ές τὴν χείρα την άριστεραν τοίς της έτέρας δακτύλοις κρούσας είπεν ὅτι "θασσον ἐντεῦθέν τρίχες ἀναφύσονται 6 ή σὺ ἐν Σελευκεία γενήση. 17

Καὶ ἐπειδη ὁ χειμων ἐν ω Γναίος τε Καλουίνος?

4 ἐσβαλόντος R. Steph., ἐσβάλλοντος L.

¹ ἀπαυστὶ καὶ Rk., ἀπαυτίκα L. 2 ἀπαρτῶντες Bk., ἀπαρτῶνται L.

³ μισθοφοράς παρασκευήν Reim., μισθοφόρα σκεύη L.

⁵ τà added by Leuncl.

⁶ ἀναφύσονται Bk., ἀναφύσουσι L.

⁷ Kalovivos H. Steph., καλουίνιος L.

easily repel the invaders of their land. Outside of B.C. 54 this district beyond the Euphrates they have once or twice gained some success in pitched battles and in sudden incursions, but they cannot wage an offensive war with any nation continuously and without pause, both because they encounter an entirely different condition of land and sky and because they do not lay in supplies of food or pay. Such is the Parthian state.

When Crassus had invaded Mesopotamia, as has been stated, Orodes sent envoys to him in Syria to censure him for the invasion and to ask the causes of the war; at the same time he sent Surenas with an army to the captured and revolted districts. had it in mind to lead an expedition in person against that part of Armenia which had once belonged to Tigranes, in order that Artabazes, the son of Tigranes, the king of the land at that time, should send no assistance to the Romans through fear for his own land. Now Crassus said that he would tell him in Seleucia the causes of the war; this is a city in Mesopotamia which even at the present day has a very large Greek population. And one of the Parthians, striking the palm of his left hand with the fingers of the other, exclaimed: "Sooner will hair grow here than you shall reach Seleucia."

And when the winter set in, in which Gnaeus B.C. 53

καὶ Οὐαλέριος Μεσσάλας ὑπάτευσαν ἐνέστη,¹ πολ-

λὰ μὲν καὶ ἐν αὐτῆ τῆ Ῥώμη τέρατα τότε ἐγένετο. καὶ γὰρ βύαι καὶ λύκοι ὤφθησαν, οί τε κύνες περιφοιτώντες ωρύοντο, καὶ ἀγάλματα τὰ μὲν 2 ίδρωσε τὰ δὲ ἐκεραυνώθη, τάς τε ἀρχὰς τὸ μέν τι φιλονεικία, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον ὑπό τε τῶν ὀρνίθων καὶ ύπὸ διοσημιῶν μόλις ποτὲ τῷ ἐβδόμῳ μηνὶ ἀπέδειξαν άλλ' ἐκείνα μὲν οὐδὲν σαφες διεδήλου ές ο τι τελευτήσει τά τε γαρ έν τῷ ἄστει ἐταράττετο καὶ οἱ Γαλάται ἐκινήθησαν αὖθις, πρός τε τοὺς Πάρθους οὐδ' εἰδότες πω ὅπως 3 συνερρώγε-3 σαν· τῷ δὲ δὴ Κράσσῳ τὸν Εὐφράτην κατὰ τὸ Ζεῦγμα (οὕτω γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Αλεξάνδρου στρατείας τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι ταύτη ἐπεραιώθη, κέκληται) διαβαίνοντι καὶ προφανή καὶ εὐσύμ-18 βολα συνηνέχθη. ὁ γὰρ ἀετὸς ἀνομασμένος (ἔστι δε νεως μικρός, καὶ εν αὐτῷ ἀετὸς χρυσοῦς ενίδρυται καθίσταταί τε έν πασι τοις έκ του καταλόγου στρατοπέδοις, καὶ οὐδαμόσε ἐκ τῶν χειμαδίων, πλην 2 εἴ ποι σύμπας ὁ στρατὸς ἐξίοι, κινεῖται καὶ αὐτὸν είς ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ δόρατος μακροῦ, ές ὀξὺ τὸν στύρακα άπηγμένου ώστε καὶ ές τὸ δάπεδον καταπήγνυσθαι, φέρει)—τούτων οὖν τῶν ἀετῶν εἶς οὐκ ἠθέλησε τον Ευφράτην αυτώ τότε συνδιαβήναι, άλλα έν τή γη ενέσχετο ώσπερ εμπεφυκώς, πρίν δη πολλοί 3 περιστάντες βία αὐτὸν ἀνέσπασαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ άκων επηκολούθησε, σημείον δέ τι των μεγάλων, των τοις ιστίοις εοικότων και φοινικά γράμματα ¹ ἐνέστη supplied by Rk., space of some eight letters left L. ² ἐκυνζῶντο Polak, ἡκίζοντο L.

³ εἰδότες πω ὕπως Βε., εἰδότες . . . πῶς L.
 ⁴ μακροῦ Leunel., from Xiph., μικροῦ L.

Calvinus and Valerius Messalla became consuls, many B.C. 53 portents occurred even in Rome itself. Owls and wolves were seen, the dogs prowled about and whined, some sacred statues exuded sweat and others were struck by lightning. The offices, partly through rivalry but chiefly by reason of the omens and portents, were with difficulty filled at last in the seventh month. Those signs, however, gave no clear indication as to what the event would be: for affairs in the city were in a turmoil, the Gauls had risen again, and, though the Romans knew not how as yet, they had become involved in war with the Parthians. But to Crassus signs that were both evident and easy to interpret appeared as he was crossing the Euphrates at Zeugma, a place so called from the campaign of Alexander, because he crossed at this point. One portent had to do with the so-called "eagle" of the army. It is a small shrine and in it perches a golden eagle It is found in all the enrolled legions, and it is never moved from the winter-quarters unless the whole army takes the field; one man carries it on a long shaft, which ends in a sharp spike so that it can be set firmly in the ground, Now one of these eagles was unwilling to join him in his passage of the Euphrates at that time, but stuck fast in the earth as if rooted there, until many took their places around it and pulled it out by force, so that it accompanied them quite reluctantly. But one or the large flags, that resemble sails, with purple letters upon them to

έπ' αὐτοῖς 1 πρὸς δήλωσιν τοῦ τε στρατοῦ καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ σφων τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐχόντων, ἐς τον ποταμον ἀπο της γεφύρας περιτραπεν ενέπεσε. και τοῦτο μεν ὑπο πνεύματος ὄντος σφοδροῦ εγένετο. 4 ο δε δη Κράσσος καὶ τάλλα τὰ ἰσομήκη οί συντεμών, ὅπως βραχύτερα καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ βεβαιότερα φέρειν εἶη, προσεπηύξησε τὰ τέρατα. καὶ γὰρ ὁμίχλη ἐν αὐτῆ τῆ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διαβάσει τοσαύτη τοῖς στρατιώταις περιεχύθη ὥστε περί τε άλλήλοις αὐτοὺς σφαληναι καὶ μηδὲν τῆς 5 πολεμίας, πρίν ἐπιβηναι αὐτης, ίδεῖν καὶ τὰ διαβατήρια τά τε ἀπόβαθρά σφισι δυσχερέστατα ἐγένετο. κάν τούτφ ἄνεμός τε πολύς ἐπέπεσε καὶ κεραυνοί κατέσκηψαν, ή τε γέφυρα, πρίν πάντας αὐτοὺς διελθεῖν, διελύθη. καὶ ἢν γὰρ τὰ γιγνόμενα οία 2 πάντα τινα και των πάνυ άγνωμόνων τε και ασυνέτων εκδιδάξαι ὅτι κακῶς ἀπαλλάξουσι καὶ οὐκ ἀνακομισθήσονται, φόβος καὶ κατήφεια ἐν τῷ 19 στρατοπέδω εγένετο δεινή. ο ούν Κράσσος παραμυθούμενος αὐτούς εἶπεν ὅτι "μὴ καταπλήττεσθε, άνδρες στρατιώται, εί ή γέφυρα διέφθαρται, μηδὲ οἴεσθε ἐκ τούτου χαλεπόν τι ἐπισημαίνεσθαι· 2 ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμῖν αὐτὸς ἐπομνὺς λέγω ὅτι δι' ᾿Αρμενίας την έπανοδον ποιήσασθαι έγνωκα." ἐκ μὲν δη οὖν τούτου ἐθάρσυνε, νῦν δὲ προσεπειπών τινα ἔφη, μέγα ἀναβοήσας, "θαρσεῖτε οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἡμῶν 3 ἐντεῦθεν ἐπανήξει." ἀκούσαντες γὰρ τοῦθ' οἰ στρατιώται οἰωνόν τέ σφισιν οὐδενὸς τών ἄλλων ήττω γεγονέναι ενόμισαν καὶ ες άθυμίαν πλείω κατέπεσον, ὥστε μηδὲν ἔτι μηδὲ τῶν λοιπῶν αὐτοῦ παραινέσεων φροντίσαι, δι' ὧν τόν τε βάρβαρον

distinguish the army and its commander-in-chief, B.C. 53 was overturned and fell from the bridge into the river. This happened in the midst of a violent wind. Then Crassus had the others of equal length cut down, so they might be shorter and hence steadier to carry; but he only increased the prodigies. For at the very time of crossing the river so great a fog enveloped the soldiers that they fell over one another and could see nothing of the enemy's country until they set foot upon it; and the sacrifices both for crossing and for landing proved most unfavourable. Meanwhile a great wind burst upon them, bolts of lightning fell, and the bridge collapsed before they had all passed over. The occurrences were such that any one, even the most indifferent and uninstructed, would interpret them to mean that they would fare badly and not return; hence there was great fear and dejection in the army. Now Crassus, trying to encourage them, said: "Be not alarmed, soldiers, because the bridge has been destroyed nor think because of this that any disaster is portended. For I declare to you upon oath that I have decided to make my return march through Armenia." By this he would have emboldened them, had he not added in a loud voice the words: "Be of good cheer: for none of us shall come back this way." When they heard this, the soldiers deemed that it had been an omen for them as great as the others, and they fell into greater discouragement; and so it was that they paid no heed to the remainder of his exhortation, in which he belittled

433

έφαύλιζε καὶ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐνεκωμίαζε, χρή-4 ματά τε αὐτοῖς ἐδίδου καὶ γέρα ἐπηγγέλλετο. άλλὰ καὶ ὡς εἴποντο, καὶ οὔτε ἀντεῖπέν οἱ οὐδεὶς οὔτ ἀντέπραξε, τάχα μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου, ἤδη δὲ καὶ έκπεπληγμένοι καὶ μήτε τι βουλεθσαι μήτε πράξαι σωτήριον δυνάμενοι. πάντα γοῦν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, καθάπερ ύπὸ δαιμονίου τινὸς κατακεκριμένοι, καὶ ταίς γνώμαις καὶ τοίς σώμασιν ἐσφάλλοντο.

20

Μέγιστον δὲ ὅμως αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἦβγαρος ¹ ὁ ᾿Ορροηνός έλυμήνατο ένσπονδος γάρ τοις 'Ρωμαίοις έπὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου γενόμενος ἀνθείλετο τὰ τοῦ Βαρβάρου. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ ὁ ᾿Αλχαυδόνιος ὁ Αράβιος εποίησε προς γαρ το ισχυρον αει μεθί-2 στατο. άλλ' έκείνος μεν έκ τοῦ προφανοῦς ἀπέστη, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο οὐ δυσφύλακτος ἦν' ὁ δ' "Αβγαρος έφρόνει μεν τὰ τοῦ Πάρθου, ἐπλάττετο δὲ τῶ Κράσσφ φιλικώς έχειν, καὶ χρήματά τε ἀφειδώς αὐτῷ ἀνήλισκε, καὶ τά τε βουλεύματα αὐτοῦ πάντα καὶ ἐμάνθανε καὶ ἐκείνω διήγγελλε, καὶ προσέτι εἰ μέν τι χρηστόν σφων ην, ἀπέτρεπεν 3 αὐτόν, εἰ δ' ἀσύμφορον, ἐπέσπερχε. καὶ δὴ καὶ τοιόνδε τι τελευτών έπραξε. τοῦ γὰρ Κράσσου πρός Σελεύκειαν όρμησαι διανοουμένου, ώστε εκεισέ τε ασφαλώς παρά τε του Ευφράτην και δι' αὐτοῦ τῷ τε στρατῷ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις κομισθήναι, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν (προσποιήσεσθαι γάρ σφας άτε καὶ "Ελληνας ράδίως ήλπιζεν) έπὶ 4 Κτησιφώντα μὴ χαλεπώς περαιωθήναι, τούτου μεν ώς και χρονίου εσομένου αμελήσαι αὐτον έποίησε, τῷ δὲ δὴ Σουρήνα ώς καὶ ἐγγὺς καὶ μετ' 21 ολίγων ουτι συμμίξαι έπεισε. και μετά τουτο

¹ Aβγαρος Bs., Αύγαρος L (here and in following chapters).

the barbarian and glorified the Roman state, offered them money and amounced prizes for valour. Still, even as it was, they followed and no one said a word or did anything to oppose him, partly, perhaps, out of regard for the law, but also because by this time they were terrified and could neither plan nor carry out any measures of safety. At any rate, in all else that they did also, as if predestined to ruin by some divinity, they were helpless in both mind and body.

Nevertheless, the greatest injury was done them by Abgarus of Osroene. For he had pledged himself to peace with the Romans in the time of Pompev. but now chose the side of the barbarians. The same was done by Alchaudonius, the Arabian, who always attached himself to the stronger party. The latter, however, revolted openly, and hence was not hard to guard against; but Abgarus, while favouring the Parthian cause, pretended to be well disposed toward Crassus. He spent money for him unsparingly, learned all his plans and reported them to the foe, and further, if any of them was advantageous for the Romans, he tried to divert him from it, but disadvantageous, urged him forward. At last he was responsible for the following occurrence. was intending to advance to Seleucia so as to reach there safely with his army and provisions by proceeding along the banks of the Euphrates and on its stream; accompanied then by the people of that city, whom he hoped to win over easily, because they were Greeks, he would cross without difficulty to Ctesiphon. Abgarus caused him to give up this course, on the ground that it would take a long time, and persuaded him to assail Surenas, because the latter was near by and had only a few men. Then,

435

παρασκευάσας τον μεν ὅπως ἀπόληται τον δ΄ ὅπως κρατήση¹ (συνεχῶς γὰρ προφάσει κατασκοπῆς τῷ Σουρήνα συνεγίγνετο), ἐξήγαγε τοὺς Ὑωμαίους ἀφροντιστοῦντας ὡς ἐπὶ νίκην ἔτοιμον,

καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῷ συνεπέθετο.

Έπράχθη δὲ ὧδε. οἱ Πάρθοι τὸ πλείον τοῦ στρατοῦ σφων ἀποκρύψαντες (ἡ γὰρ² χώρα ἀνώμαλός τέ πη ἦν καὶ δένδρα εἶχεν) ἀπήντησαν τοῖς Ρωμαίοις. ἰδὼν οὖν αὐτοὺς ὁ Κράσσος, οὐκ ἐκεῖνος άλλ' ο νεώτερος (πρὸς γὰρ τὸν πατέρα ἐκ τῆς 3 Γαλατίας παρήν), και καταφρονήσας σφών ώς καὶ μόνων, ἀντεξήγαγε τῷ ἱππικῷ, καὶ τραπομένους έξεπίτηδες αὐτοὺς ἐπιδιώκων ὡς καὶ κρατῶν ἀπήχθη τολύ ἀπὸ της φάλαγγος, κἀνταῦθα 22 περιστοιχισθείς κατεκόπη. γενομένου δὲ τούτου οί πεζοί τῶν 'Ρωμαίων οὐκ ἀπετράποντο μέν, άλλὰ καὶ προθύμως τοῖς Πάρθοις, ὡς καὶ τιμωρήσοντες αὐτῷ, συνέμιξαν· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἄξιόν σφων οὐδὲν ἔκ τε τοῦ πλήθους καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τρόπου τῆς μάχης αὐτῶν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ᾿Αβγάρου 2 ἐπιβουλευθέντες, ἐποίησαν. εἴτε γὰρ συνασπίσαι γνοίησαν 5 ώς καὶ τῆ πυκνότητι τῆς τάξεώς σφων τὰ τοξεύματα αὐτῶν ἐκφευξόμενοι, προσπίπτοντές σφισιν οἱ κοντοφόροι ρύμη τοὺς μὲν κατέβαλλον, τοὺς δὲ πάντως γοῦν ἐσκεδάννυσαν εἴτε καὶ διασταίεν ὅπως τοῦτό γε ἐκκλίνοιεν,6 ἐτοξεύοντο. 3 κάν τούτφ πολλοί μεν καὶ έξ αὐτῆς τῆς προσελάσεως τῶν κοντοφόρων ἐκπληττόμενοι ἔθνησκον, πολλοί δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων ἐγκαταλαμβανό-

¹ κρατήση R. Steph., κρατήσει L.

² γὰρ Rk., τε L. ³ ἀπήχθη Turn., ὑπήχθη L. ⁴ ἀπὸ Χyl., ὑπὸ L. ⁵ γνοίησαν Bk., ἔγνωσαν L.

⁶ ἐκκλίνοιεν Η. Steph., ἐκκλίνειεν L.

when he had arranged matters so that the invader B.C. 53 should perish and the other should conquer (for he was continually in the company of Surenas, on the pretext of spying), he led out the Romans in their heedlessness to what he represented as a victory in their very hands, and in the midst of the action joined in the attack against them.

It came about in this way. The Parthians confronted the Romans with most of their army hidden; for the ground was uneven in spots and wooded. Upon seeing them Crassus—not the commander, but the younger Crassus, who had come to his father from Gaul-felt scornful of them, since he supposed them to be alone, and so led out his cavalry against them, and when they turned purposely to flight, pursued them, thinking the victory was his; thus he was drawn far away from the main army, and was then surrounded and cut down. When this had taken place, the Roman infantry did not turn back, but valiantly joined battle with the Parthians to avenge his death. Yet they accomplished nothing worthy of themselves because of the enemy's numbers and tactics, and particularly because Abgarus was plotting against them. For if they decided to lock shields for the purpose of avoiding the arrows by the closeness of their array, the pikemen were upon them with a rush, striking down some, and at least scattering the others; and if they extended their ranks to avoid this, they would be struck with the arrows. Hereupon many died from fright at the very charge of the pikemen, and many perished hemmed in by

437

μενοι εφθείροντο. άλλοι τοις κοντοις ανετρέποντο1 4 ή και άναπειρόμενοι έφέροντο. τά τε βέλη καί πυκυά καὶ πανταγόθεν αμα αὐτοῖς ἐμπίπτοντα συχνούς μὲν καιρί \tilde{a}^2 πληγ $\hat{\eta}$ κατέ β αλλε, 3 συχνούς δε ἀπομάχους εἰργάζετο, πᾶσι δ' ἀσχολίαν ἐνεποίει ές τε γὰρ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς σφων ἐσπετόμενα καὶ πρὸς τὰς χεῖρας τό τε ἄλλο σῶμα πᾶν καὶ διὰ τῶν ὅπλων χωροῦντα τήν τε προφυλακὴν αὐτῶν ἀφηρεῖτο, καὶ γυμνοῦσθαί το σφας πρὸς τὸ 5 ἀεὶ τιτρῶσκον 5 ἠνάγκαζεν, ὥστε ἐν ὧ τις τόξευμα έφυλάττετο ή καὶ έμπαγεν έξηρειτο,6 πλείω τραύματα ἄλλα ἐπ' ἄλλοις τ ἐλάμβανε. κὰκ τούτου ἄπορον μέν σφισι κινηθήναι, ἄπορον δὲ καὶ ατρεμίζειν ήν ούτε γαρ ασφάλειαν οὐδέτερον αὐτοῖς εἶχε, καὶ τὸν ὅλεθρον ἀμφότερα ἐπέφερε, τὸ μὲν ὅτι οὐκ ἐδύναντο,⁸ τὸ δὲ ὅτι ῥậον ἐτιτρώσκουτο.

Καὶ ταῦτα μέν, ἔως 9 ἔτι 10 πρὸς μόνους τοὺς 23 έμφανείς πολεμίους 11 έμάχοντο, έπασχον ό γάρ "Αβγαρος οὐκ εὐθὺς αὐτοῖς ἐπεχείρησεν ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐπέθετο, ἐνταῦθα οί Όρροηνοὶ αὐτοί τε όπισθεν ές τὰ γυμνὰ ἀπεστραμμένους 12 σφᾶς ἔπαιον καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ῥάον φονεύειν παρεῖχον. την γαρ τάξιν, ὅπως ἀντιπρόσωποι αὐτοῖς γένωνται. ἐξελίξαντες ὅπισθέν σφων τοὺς Πάρθους 2 έποιήσαντο. αὐθίς τε οὖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετεστρά-

¹ ἀνετρέποντο Η. Steph., ἀνετράποντο L.

² καιρία Xyl., κεραίαι L. 3 κατέβαλλε Xyl., απέβαλλε L.

⁴ γυμνοῦσθαι Leunel., γυμνούς τε L. 5 τιτρώσκον Τουρ, τιτρωσκόμενον L.

⁶ έξηρείτο Rk., ήρείτο L. 7 έπ' άλλοις Oddey, έν πολλοίς L.

⁸ ἐδύναντο R. Steph., ἐδύνοντο L. 9 ἔως St., ὡς L. 10 έτι Xyl , έπι L. 11 πολεμίους Leuncl., πολέμους L.

¹² απεστραμμένους Rk., επεστραμμένους L.

the horsemen. Others were knocked over by the BC. 53 pikes or were carried off transfixed. The missiles falling thick upon them from all sides at once struck down many by a mortal blow, rendered many useless for battle, and caused distress to all. They flew into their eyes and pierced their hands and all the other parts of their body and, penetrating their armour, deprived them of their protection and compelled them to expose themselves to each new missile. Thus, while a man was guarding against arrows or pulling out one that had stuck fast he received more wounds, one after another. Consequently it was impracticable for them to move, and impracticable to remain at rest. Neither course afforded them safety but each was fraught with destruction, the one because it was out of their power, and the other because they were then more easily wounded.

This was what they suffered while they were fighting only against the enemies in sight; for Abgarus did not immediately make his attempt upon them. But when he, too, attacked, thereupon the Osroëni themselves assailed the Romans on their exposed rear, since they were facing the other way, and also rendered them easier for the others to slaughter. For the Romans, in altering their formation, so as to be facing them, put the Parthians behind them. Again they wheeled round to face the Parthians,

φησαν, καὶ πάλιν αὖθις πρὸς ἐκείνους, εἶτα πρὸς τούτους. κάκ τοῦ τοιούτου μᾶλλον ἐπιταραχθέντες, άτε καὶ συνεχῶς δεῦρο κἀκεῖσε μεθιστάμενοι καὶ προς το αεί τιτρωσκον αποβλέπειν αναγκαζόμενοι, τοίς τε ξίφεσι τοίς σφετέροις περιέπιπτον καὶ 3 πολλοὶ καὶ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπώλοντο. τέλος δὲ ἐς στενον ούτω κατεκλείσθησαν, αναγκαζόμενοι, των πολεμίων ἀεί σφισι πανταχόθεν ἄμα προσπιπτόντων, ταις των παραστατών ἀσπίσι τὰς γυμνώσεις σφων προστέλλειν, ώστε μηδέ κινηθήναι έτι δυνηθηναι. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὴν στάσιν βεβαίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν νεκρῶν εἶχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ἐκείνοις 4 ἀνετρέποντο. τό τε κάθμα καὶ τὸ δίψος (μεσοθντός τε γὰρ τοῦ θέρους καὶ ἐν μεσημβρία ταῦτ' έγίγνετο) καὶ ὁ κονιορτός (ὅπως γὰρ ὅτι πλεῖστος αἴροιτο, πάντες σφᾶς οἱ βάρβαροι περιίππευον) δεινῶς τοὺς λοιποὺς συνήρει, καὶ συχνοὶ καὶ ὑπὸ 24 τούτων ἄτρωτοι ἔπεσον. καν πασσύδι ἀπώλοντο, εί μη οί τε κουτοί των βαρβάρων οι μεν απεστράφησαν οί δὲ ἐκλάσθησαν, καὶ αί νευραὶ τῆ συνεχεία της βολης ερράγησαν, τά τε βέλη εξετοξεύθη, και τὰ ξίφη πάντα ἀπημβλύνθη, τό τε μέγιστον οί 2 ἄνδρες αὐτοὶ φονεύοντες έξέκαμον. οὕτω γὰρ δή (καὶ γὰρ¹ νὺξ ἐγίγνετο καὶ πόρρω ποι ἀφιππεῦσαι αὐτοὺς ἐχρῆν) ἀπεχώρησαν οὐδέποτε γὰρ πλησίοι οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀσθενεστάτοις στρατοπεδεύονται διὰ τὸ μηδεμιᾳ ταφρεία χρησθαι καὶ διὰ τό, ἄν τις ἐπέλθη σφίσιν ἐν τῷ σκότω,² ἀδύνατοι μὲν τῆ ίππω αδύνατοι δε και τη τοξεία ισχυρίσασθαι 3 είναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ζῶντά τινα τῶν Ῥωμαίων τόθ' είλον έστωτάς τε γάρ αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις

¹ γὰρ added by Reim. 2 σκότφ Xyl., σκόπωι L.

then back again to face the Osroeni, then to face B.C. 53 the Parthians once more. Thrown into still greater confusion by this course, because they were continually turning this way and that and were forced to face the enemy that was wounding them at the time, they fell upon their own swords and many were even killed by their comrades. Finally, as the enemy continually assaulted them from all sides at once. and they were compelled to protect their exposed parts by the shields of those who stood beside them, they were shut up in so narrow a place that they could no longer move. Indeed, they could not even get a sure footing by reason of the number of corpses, but kept falling over them. The heat and thirst (it was midsummer and this action took place at noon) and the dust, of which the barbarians raised as much as possible by all riding around them. told fearfully upon the survivors, and many succumbed from these causes, even though unwounded. And the Romans would have perished utterly, but for the fact that some of the pikes of the barbarians were bent and others were broken, while the bowstrings snapped under the constant shooting, the missiles were exhausted, the swords all blunted, and, most of all, that the men themselves grew weary of the slaughter. Under these conditions, then, the assailants retired. for night was coming on and they were obliged to ride off to a distance. For they never encamp near even the weakest forces, because they use no intrenchments, and because, if any one attacks them in the darkness, they are unable to employ their cavalry or their archery to advantage. However, they captured no Roman alive at that time; for seeing them standing

44 I

όρωντες, καὶ μήτε τινὰ ἐκεῖνα ἀπορριπτοῦντα μήτ' αὐτὸν φεύγοντα αἰσθανόμενοι, ἰσχύειν τε ἔτι σφᾶς ἐνόμισαν καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν αὐτων ἐπιλαβέσθαι.

Ούτως ο τε Κράσσος καὶ ἄλλοι ὅσοι γε ήδυνή-25 θησαν ές τὰς Κάρρας 1 ὥρμησαν, βεβαίους σφίσιν ύπὸ τῶν καταμεινάντων ἔνδον Ῥωμαίων τηρηθείσας: πολλοὶ γὰρ δὴ τῶν τετρωμένων μήτε βαδίσαι οδοί τε ὄντες μήτ' όχημάτων εὐποροῦντες ἡ καὶ ποδηγέτας ἔχοντες (ἀγαπητῶς γὰρ οἱ λοιποὶ ἑαυ-2 τους ἀνέφερον) κατὰ χώραν ἔμειναν. καὶ ἐκείνων τε οί μεν ἀπέθανον έκ των τραυμάτων ή καὶ έαυτοὺς καταχρησάμενοι, οἱ δὲ ξάλωσαν τη ύστεραία. 2 καί των διαδεδρακότων 3 συχνοί μέν έν τή όδῷ προλιπόντων ⁴ σφας τῶν σωμάτων, συχνοὶ δέ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐφθάρησαν, θεραπείας παράγρημα 3 ἀκριβους μη δυνηθέντες τυχείν. ὁ γὰρ Κράσσος άθυμήσας οὐδὲ ἐν τῆ πόλει ἀσφαλῶς ἔθ' ὑπομεῖναι δυνήσεσθαι ενόμισεν, άλλα δρασμον εύθυς εβουλεύσατο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐχ οἶόν τε ἢν αὐτῷ μεθ' ημέραν εξιόντι μη οὐ καταφώρω 5 γενέσθαι, επεχείρησε μέν νυκτὸς ἀποδρᾶναι, προδοθείς δὲ ὑπὸ της σελήνης, πανσελήνου οὔσης, οὖκ ἔλαθεν. 4 προσέμεινάν τε οὖν μέχρι τῶν ἀσελήνων νυκτῶν, καὶ οὕτως ἄραντες δή,6 οἶα ἐν σκότω καὶ ἐν ἀλλοτρία καὶ προσέτι καὶ πολεμία γη φόβφ τε ἰσχυρῷ, ἐσκεδάσθησαν, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἁλόντες ήμέρας γενομένης ἀπώλοντο, οί δὲ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν

¹ Κάρρας Χyl., ἄκρας L.

 $^{^2}$ έάλωσαν τ \hat{n} ύστεραία Turn., έάλων τ \hat{n} ι έτέραι L.

διαδεδρακότων Polak, έαλωκότων L.
 προλιπόντων Turn., προέλιπον L.

⁵ καταφώρφ H. Steph., καταφόρωι L. ⁶ δη Reim., δὲ L.

⁷ ίσχυρφ R. Steph., ίσχυρως L.

upright in their armour and perceiving that no one B.C. 58 either threw away his weapons or fled, they supposed they still had some strength, and feared to lay hold of them.

So Crassus and all the rest who could set out for Carrhae, which had been kept loval to them by the Romans who remained behind within the walls. But many of the wounded remained on the field, being unable to walk and lacking vehicles or even guides, since the others had been glad enough merely to drag themselves away. Some of them died of their wounds or by making away with themselves, and others were captured the next day. And of those who had escaped many perished on the road, as their strength gave out, and many later because they were unable to obtain proper care immediately. For Crassus, in his discouragement, believed he could not hold out safely even in the city any longer, but planned flight at once. And since it was impossible for him to go out by day without being detected, he undertook to escape by night, but failed to secure secrecy, being betrayed by the moon, which was at its full. The Romans accordingly waited for moonless nights, and setting out thus, in darkness and in a land at once strange and hostile, and in overpowering fear, they became scattered. And some were caught when it became day and lost their lives, others got

μετὰ Κασσίου Λογγίνου τοῦ ταμίου διεσώθησαν 5 ἄλλοι τῶν ὀρῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κράσσου λαβόμενοι παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς καὶ δι' ἐκείνων ἐς τὴν

'Αρμενίαν φευξόμενοι.

Γνούς δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Σουρήνας, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ 26 μεταστάντες ποι αὖθίς σφισι προσπολεμῶσι, προσβαλεῖν μὲν πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα ἄφιππα ὄντα οὖκ ἠθέλησεν (ὁπλίταί τε γὰρ ὄντες καὶ ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων μαχόμενοι, καί τι καὶ ι ἀπονοίας ὑπ' ἀπογνώσεως έχοντες, οὐ ῥάδιοι προσμίξαί οἱ ἐγένοντο). πέμπει δέ προς αὐτους ες σπονδάς δήθεν σφας προκαλούμενος, έφ' ὧ τὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ Εὐφράτου 2 πᾶσαν ἐκλίπωσι.² καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Κράσσος οὐδὲν ένδοιάσας έπίστευσεν έν τε γαρ άκμη του δέους ων καὶ ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως τῆς τε ἰδίας ἄμα καὶ τῆς δημοσίας συμφορᾶς τεθολωμένος, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τήν τε όδὸν ώς πολλὴν καὶ τραχεῖαν οκνούντας καὶ τὸν 'Ορώδην φοβουμένους όρων, 3 οὐδὲν τῶν δεόντων προϊδέσθαι ἢδυνήθη. ἐτοίμου 3 οὖν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὰς σπονδὰς γενομένου ὁ Σουρήνας οὐκ ἢθέλησε δι' ἐτέρων σπείσασθαι, ἀλλ' ὅπως αὐτὸν μετ' ὀλίγων ἀπολαβών συλλάβη, αὐτῷ 4 ἐκείνω ἔφη βούλεσθαι ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν. κάκ τούτου δόξαν σφίσιν ἐν τῷ μεταιχμίῷ ⁴ μετ' ἴσων ανδρών εκατέρωθεν συμβαλείν αλλήλοις, ο τε Κράσσος ές τὸ δμαλὸν ὑποκατέβη, καὶ ὁ Σουρήνας ίππον αὐτώ δώρον, ίνα δη θάσσον πρὸς αὐτὸν 27 αφίκηται, ἔπεμψε. καὶ οὕτω διαμέλλοντα τὸν Κράσσον, καὶ βουλευόμενον ὅ τι ποιήση, συναρ-

¹ καὶ Reim., καὶ δι' L. 2 ἐκλίπωσι Βk., ἐκλείπωσι L.

 ³ έτοίμου R. Steph., έτοίμους L.
 ⁴ μεταιχμίφ Turn., μεταίχμωι L.

safely away to Syria in the company of Cassius B.C. 53 Longinus, the quaestor, and still others, with Crassus himself, gained the mountains and prepared to escape through them into Armenia.

Surenas, learning this, was afraid that if they should escape anywhere they might make war on them again, but still he was unwilling to assail them on the higher ground, which was inaccessible to horses; for as they were heavy-armed men, fighting from higher ground, and felt also a touch of frenzy because of despair, contending with them was not easy. So he sent to them, inviting them to agree to a truce on condition of their abandoning all territory east of the Euphrates; and Crassus, without hesitation, trusted him. For he was in the very extremity of fear, and was distraught by the terror of the calamity that had befallen both himself and the state; and seeing, moreover, that the soldiers shrank from the journey, which they thought long and arduous, and that they feared Orodes, he was unable to foresee anything that he ought. Now when he declared himself ready for the truce, Surenas refused to negotiate it through others, but in order to get him off with only a few followers and seize him, he said that he wished to hold a conference with the commander personally. Thereupon they decided to meet each other in the space between the two armies with an equal number of men from each side. So Crassus descended to the level ground and Surenas sent him a present of a horse, to make sure of his coming to him more quickly; and while Crassus even then delayed and considered what he should

πάσαντες οί βάρβαροι βία έπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβαλον. Κάν τούτφ ἀντιλαμβανομένων αὐτοῦ τῶν Ρωμαίων ές τε χειράς σφισιν ήλθον, και τέως μεν ισοπαλείς εγίγνοντο, επειτα δε προσβοηθησάντων 2 τινών αὐτοῖς ἐπεκράτησαν· οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι ἔν τε τῷ πεδίφ ὄντες καὶ προπαρεσκευασμένοι έφθησαν τους άνω 'Ρωμαίους άμύναντες σφίσι. και οί τε άλλοι ἔπεσον καὶ ὁ Κράσσος, εἴτ' οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν σφετέρων τινὸς ὅπως μὴ ζωγρηθῆ, εἴτε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπειδη κακῶς ἐτέτρωτο, ἐσφάγη. 3 καὶ ἐκείνω μὲν τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο, καὶ αὐτοῦ χρυσὸν ἐς τὸ στόμα οἱ Πάρθοι, ὧς γέ τινες λέγουσιν, ενέτηξαν επισκώπτοντες ούτω γάρ δή περί τὰ χρήματα, καίτοι πολυχρήματος ών, ἐσπουδάκει ώστε καὶ ως πένητας οἰκτείρειν τοὺς μη δυναμένους στρατόπεδον έκ καταλόγου οἴκοθεν θρέψαι.3 4 τῶν δὲ δὴ στρατιωτῶν τὸ μὲν πλείον διὰ τῶν

όρῶν ἐς τὴν Φιλίαν ἀπέφυγε, τὸ δέ τι καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἑάλω.

28 Οἱ δὲ δὴ Πάρθοι τότε μὲν οὐ περαιτέρω τοῦ Εὐφράτου προεχώρησαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν ἀνεκτήσαντο· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐν πλήθει τινί, ὡς μήτε στρατηγὸν μήτε στρατιώτας ἔχουσαν, ἐνέβαλον· ἀφ' οὖπερ Κάσσιος ἱ ραδίως αὐτούς, ἅτε μὴ πολ- λοὺς ὄντας, ἀπεώσατο. οὖτος γὰρ ἐν μὲν ταῖς

λοὺς ὄντας, ἀπεώσατο. οὖτος γὰρ ἐν μὲν ταῖς
 Κάρραις τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν τὴν αὐτοκράτορα
 αὐτῶν ἡγεμονίαν μίσει τοῦ Κράσσου διδόντων, καὶ

¹ ἀνέβαλον Χyl., ἀνέλαβον L.

² ωστε καὶ supplied by Leunel. (ωστε) and Xyl. (ως καὶ).

³ θρέψαι v. Herw., θρέψειν L.

⁴ Κάσσιος R. Steph., from Xiph., κράσσος L, and so just below.

do, the barbarians took him forcibly and threw him BC. 53 Meanwhile the Romans also laid hold on the horse. of him, came to blows with the others, and for a time held their own; then aid came to the barbarians, and they prevailed; for their forces, which were in the plain and had been made ready beforehand brought help to their men before the Romans on the high ground could to theirs. And not only the others fell, but Crassus also was slain, either by one of his own men to prevent his capture alive, or by the enemy because he was badly wounded. This was his end. And the Parthians, as some say, poured molten gold into his mouth in mockery; for though a man of vast wealth, he had set so great store by money as to pity those who could not support an enrolled legion from their own means, regarding them as poor men. Of the soldiers the majority escaped through the mountains to friendly territory, but a part fell into the hands of the enemy.

The Parthians at this time did not advance beyond the Euphrates, but won back the whole country east of it. Later they also invaded Syria, though not B.C. 52 in great numbers, because the province had neither general nor soldiers; and for this reason Cassius easily thrust them out, since they were not many in number. For when at Carrhae the soldiers through hatred of Crassus had offered him the supreme command over themselves, and Crassus himself on

προσέτι καὶ αὐτοῦ ι ἐκείνου ἐθελοντὶ διὰ τὸ τῆς συμφοράς μέγεθος επιτρέποντος, οὐκ εδέξατο, τότε δὲ καὶ ἀνάγκη τῆς Συρίας ἔν τε τῷ παρόντι καὶ 3 μετὰ ταῦτα προέστη. οι γὰρ βάρβαροι οὐκ ἀπέσχοντο αὐτης, ἀλλὰ χειρὶ αὖθις μείζονι, Πακόρου μεν ονόματι, τοῦ υίξος τοῦ 'Ορώδου, ἔργφ δέ (παῖς γὰρ ἔτι ἐκεῖνος ἢν) 'Ωσάκου ἡγουμένου σφίσιν, ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ μέχρι τῆς 'Αντιοχείας ἦλθον, 4 πασαν την εν ποσί γειρούμενοι. και έλπίδα είχον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κατάστρέψεσθαι, μήτε τῶν ἡωμαίων ἀξιομάχω τινὶ δυνάμει παρόντων, καὶ τῶν δήμων τη τε έκείνων δεσποτεία άχθομένων καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἄτε καὶ γείτονας καὶ συνήθεις σφίσιν ὄντας 29 ἀποκλινόντων. άμαρτόντες δὲ τῆς ᾿Αντιοχείας (ὅ τε γὰρ Κάσσιος ἰσχυρῶς αὐτοὺς ἀπεκρούσατο, καὶ έκεινοι άδύνατοι πολιορκήσαί τι ήσαν) έπ' 'Αντιγόνιαν ετράποντο. και επειδή τό τε προάστειον αὐτῆς σύμφυτον ῆν, καὶ οὐκ ἐθάρσησαν, ἀλλ' 2 οὐδὲ ἡδυνήθησαν ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσελάσαι, ἐνενόησαν μὲν τά τε δένδρα κόψαι καὶ τὸ χωρίον πᾶν ψιλῶσαι, ὅπως καὶ θαρσούντως καὶ ἀσφαλῶς τῆ πόλει προσμίξωσι, μη δυνηθέντες δέ (ὅ τε γὰρ πόνος πολύς εγίγνετο καὶ ο χρόνος άλλως άναλοῦτο, δ τε Κάσσιος τοὺς ἀποσκεδαννυμένους σφῶν ἐλύπει) άπανέστησαν ως καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι ἐπιστρατεύ-3 σοντες. 3 κάν τούτφ ὁ Κάσσιος ές τε τὴν όδὸν δί ής ἀποπορεύεσθαι ἔμελλον ἐλόχισε, κάνταῦθα έπιφανείς σφισι μετ' ολίγων ές τε δίωξιν αὐτοὺς ύπηγάγετο, καὶ περιστοιχισάμενος ἄλλους τε καὶ

¹ αὐτοῦ St., παρ' αὐτοῦ L.

² καταστρέψεσθαι Turn., καταστρέψασθαι L.

³ επιστρατεύσοντες R. Steph., επιστρατεύοντες L.

account of the greatness of the disaster had volun- B.C. 52 tarily allowed it, he had not accepted the command; now, however, he took charge of Syria perforce, both for the time being and subsequently. For the BC 51 barbarians would not keep away from it, but made another campaign with a larger band, nominally under the leadership of Pacorus, the son of Orodes, though actually under that of Osaces, since the other was still a child. They came as far as Antioch, subduing the whole country before them. And they had hopes also of subjugating what remained, since the Romans were not at hand with a force fit to cope with them, and the districts were fretting under Roman rule and were ready to turn to the invaders. as to neighbours and people of kindred ways. when they failed to take Antioch, since Cassius effectively repulsed them and they were unable to carry on a siege, they turned to Antigonea. And since the neighbourhood of this city was overgrown with timber, and they did not dare, nav were not even able to penetrate this with cavalry, they formed a plan to cut down the trees and lay bare the whole place, so that they might approach the town with confidence and safety. But finding themselves unable to do this, because the task was a great one and their time was spent in vain, while Cassius harassed those of them who scattered abroad, they retired with the intention of proceeding against some other place. Meanwhile Cassius set an ambush on the road along which they were to depart, and confronting them there with a few men, he induced them to pursue, and then surrounding them, killed a number, including

449

τὸν Ἰ σάκην ἀπέκτεινε. τελευτήσαντος δ' ἐκείνου πᾶσαν τὴν Συρίαν ὁ Πάκορος ἐξέλιπε, καὶ οὐδ'

αδθίς ποτε ές αὐτὴν ἐσέβαλεν.

30 "Αμα δὲ οὖτος ἀνεκεχωρήκει καὶ ὁ Βίβουλος ἄρξων τῆς Συρίας ἀφίκετο, καίπερ ἐψηφισμένου μηδένα μήτε στρατηγὸν μήθ' ὕπατον μήτε εὐθὺς μήτε πρὸ πέμπτου ἔτους ἐς τὰς ἔξω ἡγεμονίας ἐξιέναι, ἵνα μὴ διὰ τοῦτο σπουδαρχοῦντες στα-2 σιάζωσι. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν ἡσυχία τὸ ὑπήκοον διήγαγε, τοὺς δὲ δὴ Πάρθους ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἔτρεψε 'Ορνοδαπάτην¹ γάρ τινα σατράπην ἀχθόμενον τῷ 'Ορώδη προσποιησάμενος, ἀνέπεισε δι' ἀγγέλων τόν τε Πάκορον βασιλέα στήσασθαι καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνον μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατεῦσαι.

3 'Ο μὲν οὖν πόλεμος οὖτος, ὅ τε τῶν Ἡωμαίων καὶ ὁ τῶν Πάρθων,² τετάρτω ἔτει ἀφ' οὖ ἤρξατο,³ ἐπί τε Μάρκου Μαρκέλλου ⁴ καὶ ἐπὶ Σουλπικίου

- 31 'Ρούφου ὑπάτων, ἐπαύσατο· ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ χρόνῳ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὰ ἐν τῆ Γαλατίᾳ ταραχθέντα αὖθις μάχαις κατέλαβε, πολλὰ πάνυ τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑποστρατήγων πράξας.
 - 2 ὧν ἐγὼ τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα διηγήσομαι μόνα. ὁ γὰρ ᾿Αμβιόριξ τοὺς Τρηουήρους χαλεπῶς ἔτι εκαὶ τότε τῷ τοῦ Ἰνδουτιομάρου θανάτῷ ἔχοντας παραλαβὼν τά τε αὐτόθεν ἐπὶ πλεῖον συνέστησε, καὶ παρὰ τῶν Κελτῶν μισθοφορικὸν μετεπέμψατο.
 - 3 βουληθεὶς οὖν ὁ Λαβίῆνος, πρὶν ἐκείνους ἐπελθεῖν, συμμῖξαί σφισι, προενέβαλεν ἐς τὴν τῶν Τρηουήρων χώραν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἠμύνοντο τὴν

^{1 &#}x27;Ορνοδαπάτην Bs., ὀρνοδαπάντη L.

² δ τε . . . Πάρθων regarded by v. Herw. as a gloss.

 ³ ήρξατο Reim., ήρξαντο L.
 ⁴ Μαρκέλλου Xyl., μαρκελλίνου L.
 ⁵ έτι R. Steph., έπεὶ L.

Osaces. Upon the latter's death Pacorus abandoned 8.c. 51 all Syria and never invaded it again.

He had scarcely retired when Bibulus arrived to govern Syria. His coming, to be sure, was in violation of a decree, intended to prevent rivalry for office with its consequent strife, that no practor or consul should either immediately or at any time within five years go abroad to govern a province. He administered the subject territory in peace, and turned the Parthians against one another. For after winning the friendship of Ornodapates, a satrap, who had a grudge against Orodes, he persuaded him through messengers to set up Pacorus as king, and with him to conduct a campaign against the other.

So this war between the Romans and Parthians came to an end in the fourth year after it had begun, and while Marcus Marcellus and Sulpicius Rufus were consuls. In that same period Caesar by battle again gained control of Gallic affairs, which had become disturbed. Of the numerous exploits performed either by himself alone or through his lieutenants I will relate only the most important. Ambiorix, after joining to himself the Treveri, who at this time were still angry over Indutiomarus' death, had formed a greater conspiracy in that quarter and sent for a mercenary force from the Germans. Now Labienus, wishing to join battle with them before these recruits should arrive, promptly invaded the country of the Treveri. And when the latter did not defend themselves, as they

45 I

έπικουρίαν ἀναμένοντες, άλλὰ ποταμόν τινα διὰ μέσου ποιησάμενοι ήσύχαζον, συνεκάλεσε τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ έδημηγόρησε τοιάδε ἀφ' ὧν τούς τε σφετέρους καταπλήξειν καὶ ἐκείνους ... ἔμελλε, 4 χρηναί τέ σφας έλεγε, πρὶν τοὺς Κελτοὺς αὐτοῖς έπαμῦναι, πρός τε τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς αποχωρήσαι, εσήμηνε 2 τε εὐθὺς συσκευάσασθαι. καὶ ἐξανέστη οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον, προσδοκήσας 5 έσεσθαι τοῦτο ὁ καὶ ἐγένετο. οι γὰρ βάρβαροι ακούσαντες ταθτα (ην γαρ αθτοίς επιμελές, καὶ δι' αὐτό γε τοῦτο καὶ φανερῶς ἐλέχθη) δεδιέναι 3 τε αὐτὸν ὄντως καὶ φυγὴν ώς ἀληθῶς ποιεῖσθαι ἐπίστευσαν, καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν σπουδή διαβάντες θυμφ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐχώρουν, ὡς τάχους ἔκαστος εἰχε. 6 καὶ ούτως ὁ Λαβιηνος υπέστη τέ σφας ἐσκεδασμένους, καὶ τοὺς πρώτους ἐκπλήξας ῥαδίως καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς δι' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐτρέψατο. κάκ τούτου φευγόντων τέ σφων τεταραγμένως καὶ άλλήλοις έμπιπτόντων καί πρός τον ποταμόν ωθουμένων πολλούς απέκτεινε.

32 Διαφυγόντων τε καὶ ὡς συχνων, ὁ Καῖσαρ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐδένα λόγον ἐποιεῖτο, τὸν δὲ ᾿Αμβιόριγα διαδιδράσκοντα ἄλλοτε ἄλλη καὶ πολλὰ κακουργοῦντα καὶ ζητῶν καὶ διώκων πράγματα ἔσχε. καὶ ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὐδένα τρόπον λαβεῖν ἢδυνήθη, ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τοὺς Κελτοὺς ὡς καὶ τοῖς Τρηουήροις βοηθῆσαι ἐθελήσαντας ἐστράτευσε. 2 καὶ ἔπραξε μὲν οὐδὲ τότε οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ ταχέων φόβω τῶν Σουήβων ἐπανεχώρησεν, ἔδοξε δ᾽ ⁴ οὖν αὖθις τὸν Ὑρῦνον διαβεβηκέναι, καὶ τῆς τε

Lacuna recognized by Leuncl.
 δεδιέναι Rk.. διιέναι L.
 έδοξε δ' Rk., έδοξεν L.

were awaiting the reinforcements, but put a river B.C. 53 between the two armies and remained quiet, Labienus assembled his soldiers and addressed them in such words as were likely to alarm his own men and [encourage] the foe, declaring that they must withdraw to Caesar and safety before the Germans should come to the aid of the enemy; and he immediately gave the signal to pack up the baggage. Not much later he actually set out on the march, expecting the very result that occurred. For the barbarians heard of his speech, for they were very diligent in such matters and it was for just that reason, indeed, that it had been delivered publicly, and they thought he was really afraid and truly taking to flight. Hence they hastily crossed the river and eagerly advanced against the Romans, as fast as each one could. Thus Labienus met their attack while they were scattered, and after terrifying the foremost easily routed the rest by means of these first fugitives. Then, as they were fleeing in disorder, falling over one another and crowding toward the river, he killed many of them.

Many escaped even as it was, but Caesar took no account of these, except in the case of Ambiorix. This man, by escaping now to one place and now to another and doing much injury, caused Caesar trouble in seeking and pursuing him. When he was unable to catch him in any way, he made an expedition against the Germans, alleging that they had wished to help the Treveri. On this occasion likewise he accomplished nothing, but retired rapidly through fear of the Suebi; yet he gained the reputation of having crossed the Rhine

γεφύρας μόνα τὰ προσεχή τοῖς βαρβάροις ἔλυσε, καὶ Φρούριον ἐπ' αὐτῆς ὡς καὶ ἀεὶ διαβησείων 1 3 ωκοδόμησε, καὶ μετά τοῦτο ὀργή τὴν τοῦ 'Αμβιόριγος διάφευξιν φέρων, την πατρίδα αὐτοῦ καίτοι μηδέν νεωτερίσασαν διαρπάσαι 2 τοις βουλομένοις ἐπέτρεψε, προεπαγγείλας σφίσιν αὐτὸ τοῦθ', ὅπως ὅτι πλεῖστοι συνέλθωσιν ὅθενπερ πολλοί μέν Γαλάται πολλοί δέ καὶ Σύγαμβροι 4 πρὸς τὰς άρπαγὰς ἢλθον. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀπέχρησ ϵ^3 τοις Συγάμβροις τὰ ἐκείνων λήσασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπέθεντο τηρήσαντες γάρ σφας πρός σίτου κομιδην απιόντας επεχείρησαν τῶ στρατοπέδω αὐτῶν, κάν τούτω προσβοηθησάντων σφων, επείπερ ήσθοντο, συχνούς εφόνευσαν. 5 και οι μεν φοβηθέντες δια τοῦτο τον Καίσαρα οἴκαδε σπουδη ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκεῖνος 4 δὲ τούτων μεν οὐδενός, διά τε τον χειμώνα και δια το τα έν τη 'Ρώμη στασιάζεσθαι, οὐδεμίαν τιμωρίαν ἐποιήσατο, τους δὲ δὴ στρατιώτας πρὸς τὰ χειμάδια διαπέμψας αὐτός τε ές τὴν Ἰταλίαν, πρόφασιν μεν της έκει Γαλατίας ένεκα, το δ' άληθες όπως έγγύθεν τοις έν τη πόλει δρωμένοις έφεδρεύη, $\dot{a}\pi \hat{n}\lambda\theta\epsilon\nu$.

33 Κάν τούτω οἱ Γαλάται αὖθις ἐνεόχμωσαν. Αρουερνοί γάρ ήγουμένου σφῶν Οὐερκιγγετόριγος άπέστησαν, καὶ τούς τε 6 'Ρωμαίους, όσους έν τε ταις πόλεσιν έν τε τη χώρα σφων εύρον, πάντας ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν συμμαχίδα αὐτῶν χωρή-

¹ διαβησείων Dind., διαβασείων L.

² διαρπάσαι Bs., διαρπάσειν L. 3 ἀπέχρησε R. Steph., ἀπεχώρησε L.

⁴ ekelvos Reim., ekelvois L.

⁶ TE Rk., YE L. 5 oùdevás Reim., oùdèv L.

again, and of the bridge he destroyed only the B.C 53 portions near the barbarians, constructing upon it a guard-house, as if he might at any time have a desire to cross. Then, in anger at the successful flight of Ambiorix, he permitted that chieftain's country, although it had been guilty of no rebellion, to be plundered by any who wished. He gave public notice of this in advance, so that as many as possible might assemble; hence many Gauls and many Sugambri came for the plunder. Now it did not suffice the Sugambri to make spoil of Gallic territory, but they even attacked the Romans themselves. They watched until the Romans were absent securing provisions and then made an attempt upon their camp; and when the soldiers, perceiving it, came to the rescue, they killed a good many of these. Then, becoming afraid of Caesar as a result of this affair, they hurriedly withdrew homeward; but he inflicted no punishment upon any of them because of the winter and the turmoil in Rome. but after dismissing the soldiers to their winterquarters, went himself to Italy on the plea of looking after Cisalpine Gaul, but really in order that he might watch from close at hand the events that were taking place in the city.

Meantime the Gauls rebelled again. The Arverni B.C. 52 under the leadership of Vercingetorix revolted, killed all the Romans they found in their cities and their country, and proceeding against the tribes in alliance with the foreigner, bestowed favours upon such as

σαντες τούς μέν συναποστήναί σφισιν έθελήσαντας περιείπου, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐκακούργουν. 2 μαθών οὖν ταῦθ' ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀνεκομίσθη, καὶ καταλαβών αὐτοὺς ἐς Βιτούριγας ² ἐσβεβληκότας έκείνοις μέν (οὐ γάρ πω πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται αὐτοῦ παρήσαν) οὐκ ἐπήμυνεν, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὴν ᾿Αρουερνίδα αντεμβαλών επανήγαγεν οϊκαδε τους πολεμίους καὶ (οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει πω ἀξιόμαχος αὐτοῖς είναι) 34 προαπεχώρησεν. αὐθις οὖν ἐκεῖνοι πρός τε τοὺς Βιτούριγας ε έπανηλθον, καὶ πόλιν αὐτῶν 'Αουαρικον έλοντες έπὶ πλείστον εν αυτή αντέσχον. ύστερον δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πολιορκούμενοιτό τε γὰρ τεῖχος δυσπρόσιτον ἢν, τῆ μὲν έλῶν δυσδιαβάτων τη δε ποταμού ροώδους αὐτὸ περιέχοντος, καὶ αὐτοὶ παμπληθεῖς ὄντες τάς τε προσβολάς σφων ραδίως απεκρούοντο, καὶ ἐπεξ-2 ιόντες πολλά αὐτοὺς ἐλύπουν. καὶ τέλος τά τε πέριξ πάντα, οὐχ ὅπως ἀγροὺς ἡ κώμας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις ἀφ' ὧν ὡφελίαν τινὰ ἔσεσθαί σφισι προσεδόκων, κατέφλεξαν, εί τέ τι παρά των πόρρωθεν συμμάχων έκομίζετο αὐτοῖς, ηρπαζον, ώστε πολιορκείν την πόλιν τους 'Ρωμαίους δοκούντας 3 τὰ τῶν πολιορκουμένων πάσχειν, πρὶν δὴ ὑετός τε λάβρος καὶ πνεῦμα μέγα προσβάλλουσί πη αὐτοῖς ἐπιγενόμενον (ὁ ὁ γὰρ χειμών ἐνειστήκει) πρώτους μέν έκείνους απήλασε και ές τας σκηνάς έπανήγαγεν, έπειτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐς τὰς οικίας κατέκλεισεν. ἀπελθόντων γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ των ἐπάλξεων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι προσέβαλον ἐξαίφνης

¹ ἀνεκομίσθη Reim., ἐκομίσθη L.

Βιτούριγας Βk., ἰουρτούριγας L.
 ἐπανῆλθον R. Steph., ἐπανῆλθεν L.

^{4 &#}x27;Αουαρικόν Leuncl., εὐάκον L. 5 δ Bk., 8 τε L.

had been willing to join their revolt, and injured B.C. 52 the rest. Caesar on learning this returned and found that they had invaded the territory of the Bituriges. He made no attempt to help the latter, since not all his soldiers were at hand as yet, but by invading the Arvernian country in his turn drew the enemy home again, whereupon he retired in good season, not deeming himself yet a match for them. They accordingly went back to the Bituriges, captured Avaricum, a city of theirs, and held out in it for a long time; for the wall was hard to approach, being bordered on one side by almost trackless swamps and on the other by a river with a swift current. When, therefore, they were later besieged by the Romans, their great numbers made it easy for them to repel the assaults, and they also made sallies, inflicting many injuries. Finally they burned up everything in the vicinity, not only fields and villages, but also cities from which they thought assistance could come to their enemies, and if anything was being brought to these from allies at a distance, they seized it for booty. Therefore the Romans, while appearing to besiege the city, were really suffering the fate of the besieged; this continued until a furious rain and great wind sprang up (the winter having now set in) during their attack on a point in the wall, which first drove the assailants back, making them seek shelter in their tents, and then shut up the barbarians also in their houses. When they had retired from the battlements, the Romans suddenly attacked again, while there were

4 αὖθις αὐταῖς ἐρήμοις ἀνδρῶν οἴσαις καὶ πύργον τινὰ παραχρημα, πρὶν καὶ αἰσθέσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους της παρουσίας σφών, έλόντες έπειτα καὶ τὰ . λοιπὰ οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐχείρώσαντο, καὶ τήν τε πόλιν πασαν διήρπασαν, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πάντας όργη της τε προσεδρείας καὶ της ταλαιπωρίας

ἔσφαξαν.

Πράξας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τὴν χώρὰν αὐτῶν ἐπεστράτευσε. καὶ ἐπειδη πολεμούμενοι τὰς γεφύρας οἱ λοιποὶ ᾿Αρουερνοὶ προεκεκρατήκε-35σαν δι' ών διαβήναι αὐτὸν ἐχρήν, ἀπορήσας ὅπως π εραιωθή, ἐπιπαρήλθεν ἐπὶ π ολὺ π αρὰ τὴν ὄ χ θην, 1 εἴ πως ἐπιτηδείου τινὸς χωρίου ὅστε πεζῆ δι' 2 αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὕδατος διελθεῖν λάβοιτο. κἀκ τούτου έν τε ύλώδει τινὶ καὶ έν συσκίω τόπω γενόμενος τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ πλεῖον προέπεμψε, μακράν 2 έκτεταμένη τάξει κελεύσας αὐτοὺς προϊέναι, ώστε καὶ πάντας σφας ἐνταῦθα 3 είναι δοκείν αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἐρρωμενεστάτων

ύπέμεινε, καὶ ξύλα τε έτεμε καὶ σχεδίας ἐποίησε καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν διέβη τὸ ῥεῦμα, τῶν βαρβάρων πρός τε τους έν τῶ πρόσθεν πορευομένους τὸν νούν εχόντων καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα μετ' αὐτῶν είναι

4 λογιζομένων. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τούς τε προεληλυθότας νυκτός άνεκαλέσατο, καὶ διαβιβάσας αὐτούς όμοίως της μὲν χώρας ἐκράτησε, τῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἐς Γεργοουίαν ³ συγκαταφυγόντων καὶ ἐκεῖσε πάντα τὰ τιμιώτατά σφισι συγκομισάντων πλεῖ-

36 στον πόνον μάτην αὐτοῖς προσεδρεύων ἔσχε. τε γαρ φρούριον ἐπί τε λόφου καρτεροῦ ἢν καὶ

¹ ὅχθην R. Steph., ὅχθαν L. ² μακρὰν Reim., μακρᾶι L. 3 Γεργοουίαν (Γεργουίαν) Leuncl., γοργοθυΐαν L.

no men there; and capturing a tower forthwith, B.C. 52 before ever the enemy became aware of their presence, they then without difficulty got possession of the remaining works, plundered the whole city, and in anger at the siege and their hardships slew all the people.

After accomplishing this Caesar made an expedition into their territory. Now the rest of the Arverni, in view of the war being made upon them, had already secured possession of the bridges which he must cross; and he, being in doubt how he should get across, proceeded a considerable distance along the bank to see if he could find any place suitable for crossing on foot through the stream itself. At length he reached a wooded and shady place, from which he sent ahead the baggage and most of his army, bidding them go forward with their line extended over a great distance, so that all his troops might appear to be in that one division. He himself with the best troops remained behind, and cutting down timber and constructing rafts, he crossed the stream by means of these while the barbarians still had their attention fixed on those marching on ahead, supposing that Caesar was among them. After this he called back the advance party by night, transferred them across in the same way, and conquered the country. The people fled in a body to Gergovia, carrying thither all their most valued possessions, and Caesar had a great deal of toil to no purpose in besieging them. For their fort was on a strong hill and was protected by mighty walls;

τείχεσιν ισχυρώς εκεκράτυντο, καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι πέριξ αὐτὸ πάντα τὰ μετέωρα κατειληφότες περιεφρούρουν, ώστε καὶ μένειν αὐτοῖς κατὰ χώραν ἀσφαλῶς ὑπάρχειν καὶ ἐπικαταθέουσι πλεονεκτεῖν 2 τὰ πλείω. ἔν τε γὰρ πεδίφ ὁ Καῖσαρ ηὐλίζετο (οὐ γὰρ εὐπόρησεν έχυροῦ χωρίου), καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν οὔτε προεγίγνωσκεν 1 . . ., οἱ δὲ δὴ βάρβαροι, ὡς καὶ ὑπερδεξίων κρατοῦντες,² τό τε στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ κατεθεώντο καὶ ταῖς καταδρομαῖς ἐπικαίροις 3 έχρωντο. εἴ τέ πη περαιτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ προχωρήσαντες ανεκόπτοντο, δι' ολίγου αθθις έντος της έπικρατείας σφων έγίγνοντο οί γαρ 'Ρωμαιοι οὐδένα τρόπον, ἐφ' ὅσον οἵ τε λίθοι καὶ τὰ ἀκόντια 4 ἐξικνεῖτο, πελάσαι τοῖς χωρίοις ἐδύναντο. ὁ οὖν Καΐσαρ, ἐπειδὴ ὅ τε χρόνος ἄλλως ἀναλοῦτο, καὶ πολλάκις καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ ὄρθιον, ἐφ' οὖ τὸ πόλισμα ην, προσβαλών μέρους μέν τινος έκράτησεν αὐτοῦ ώστε καὶ ἐντειχίσασθαί τι ῥάω τε 4 έκειθεν την έπι τάλλα έφοδον ποιείσθαι, το δ' 5 όλον ἀπεκρούετο, καὶ τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν συγνούς άπέβαλε καὶ ἐκείνους ἀλήπτους ἐώρα ὄντας, τά τε των Αίδούων έν τούτω έκινήθη, και προσέτι και πρὸς τούτους ἀπελθόντος αὐτοῦ κακῶς οἱ καταλειφθέντες ἀπήλλαξαν, ἀνέστη.

37 Οἱ γὰρ Αἴδουοι κατ' ἀρχάς μὲν ταῖς τε ὁμολογίαις ἐνέμειναν καὶ ἐπικουρίας αὐτῷ ἔπεμπον, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἄκοντες ἐπολέμησαν, ἀπατησάντων σφᾶς ἄλλων τε καὶ Λιταουίκου. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἔπειθεν αὐτοὺς ἄλλως τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, διεπράξατο

¹ προεγίγνωσκεν Leuncl., προσεγίγνωσκεν L.

² κρατοῦντες Bs., ὄντες L.

³ ἀνεκόπτοντο Rk., ἀνέκοπτον L. 4 τε Bk., γε L.

and the barbarians were keeping guard over it, after B.C. 52 seizing all the high ground around, so that they could both safely remain in position, and, if they charged down, would usually have the advantage. For Caesar, in default of a strong position, was encamped in the plain, and never knew beforehand . . .; but the barbarians, in possession of the heights, could look down upon his camp and kept making opportune charges. And if they ever advanced farther than was fitting and were beaten back, they quickly got within their own lines again; for the Romans could not in any way come near enough to the places for their stones and javelins to reach their mark. So Caesar's time was being spent to no purpose; to be sure, after frequent assaults against the very height upon which the fortress was located, he did capture a certain portion of it, so that he could wall it in and advance more easily from there against the rest of it, yet on the whole he was being repulsed. He lost a number of his soldiers and saw that the enemy could not be captured; moreover, there was at this time an uprising among the Aedui, and while he was absent attending to them, the men left behind fared badly. All these considerations led Caesar to raise the siege.

The Aedui at first lived up to their agreement and sent him assistance, but later they went to war, although reluctantly, being deceived by Litaviccus and others. This man, being unable in any other way to persuade them to adopt this course,

προσταχθήναί οἱ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπαγαγεῖν 2 τινας έπὶ συμμαχία δήθεν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ώρμησε μὲν ώς καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσων, προπέμψας δὲ ίππέας, καὶ κελεύσας τισίν αὐτῶν ἐπανελθοῦσιν εἰπεῖν ὅτι οἵ $au \epsilon^1$ συμπεμφθέντες σφίσι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ παρὰ τοις 'Ρωμαίοις σφών όντες συνειλημμένοι τε ύπ' αὐτῶν εἰσι καὶ ἀπολώλασι, προσπαρώξυνε τοὺς στρατιώτας δημηγορήσας ἀκόλουθα τοῖς ἀγγέλοις. 3 καὶ οὕτως αὐτοί τε ἐπανέστησαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συμμετέστησαν.2 καὶ τότε μέν (ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ ὡς τάχιστα τοῦτ' ἤσθετο, τούς τε Αἰδούους οὺς εἰχε καὶ εδόκει πεφονευκέναι επεμψεν αὐτοῖς, ώστε φανερούς πᾶσι ζώντας γενέσθαι, καὶ τῷ ἱππικῷ 38 εφέσπετο) μετενόησαν καὶ συνηλλάγησαν αὐθίς δε των 'Ρωμαίων πρός τε τη Γεργοουία τη 3 του Καίσαρος απουσία πταισάντων, και μετά τοῦτο παντάπασιν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀποχωρησάντων, ἐφοβήθησαν οἱ τήν τε ἐπανάστασιν πράξαντες καὶ νεωτέρων ἀεὶ πραγμάτων ἐφιέμενοι μὴ 4 σχολά-2 ζοντες . . . ποιήσωνται, καὶ ἐνεόχμωσαν. μαθόντες δὲ τοῦθ' οἱ συστρατεύοντες δαὐτῶν τῷ Καίσαρι ητήσαντο επιτραπηναί σφισιν οἴκαδε ἀπελθεῖν, ύποσγόμενοι πάντα καταστήσειν, καὶ ούτως ἀφεθέντες πρός τε Νοουιοδουνόν, ένθα τά τε χρήματα καὶ τὸν σῖτον ὁμήρους τε πολλούς οἱ τρωμαῖοι

I of τε added by Rk., following Leuncl. (oi).

συμμετέστησαν R. Steph., συμμέτεσαν L.
 Γεργοουία τῆ supplied by Leuncl. and Rk.

⁴ μη added here by Rk., after σχολάζοντες by Leuncl

⁵ συστρατεύοντες Melber, στρατεύοντες L. 6 Νοουιοδουνόν Leuncl., νοουιοδουνόν L.

⁷ δμήρους R. Steph., δμόρους L.

managed to get himself appointed to convey some B.C. 52 men to Caesar ostensibly to serve as the latter's allies. He did, indeed, set out as if to fulfil this mission, but sent ahead some horsemen bidding some of them return and say that their companions and the rest of their men in the camp of the Romans had been arrested by the latter and put to death. He then further excited the wrath of the soldiers by delivering a speech in keeping with the messengers' report. In this way the Aedui themselves rose and induced the others to revolt with them. As soon as Caesar became aware of this, he sent to them the Aedui whom he had and was thought to have slain, so that they might be seen by all to be alive, and followed on with his cavalry. On this occasion, then, they repented and became reconciled; but when later the Romans, by reason of Caesar's absence, were defeated at Gergovia and entirely withdrew from that place, those who had caused the uprising and were ever eager for revolution feared that [the Romans might take vengeance upon them], now that they were free to do so, and consequently they rebelled. And members of their tribe who were campaigning with Caesar, when they learned of this, asked him to allow them to return home, promising that they would put everything in order. Released on these conditions, they came to Noviodunum, where the Romans had deposited their money and grain and many hostages, and with the

συναιρομένων 2 σφίσι των έπιχωρίων, μη προσδεχομένους έφθειραν, καὶ ἐν κράτει πάντων αὐτῶν 3 εγένοντο. καὶ εκείνην τε τὴν πόλιν επίκαιρον οὖσαν κατέπρησαν, ὅπως μὴ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ὁρμητήριον αὐτὴν τοῦ πολέμου ποιήσωνται, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ των Αίδούων προσαπέστησαν. δ οθν Καίσαρ έπεχείρησε μέν παραχρήμα έπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεῦσαι, μη δυνηθείς δε διά τον ποταμον τον Λίγρον 3 επί 4 Λίγγονας ετράπετο. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐδ' ἐκεῖ κατώρθωσεν, ό δὲ δὴ Λαβιῆνος τὴν νῆσον τὴν ἐν τῷ Σηκουανῷ ποταμῷ οὖσαν, τούς τε προκινδυνεύσαντας έν τη ήπείρω κρατήσας καὶ την διάβασιν πολλαχή ἄμα κατά τε τὸν ροῦν καὶ ἀνάπαλιν, όπως μη καθ' εν περαιούμενος κωλυθή, ποιησάμενος, κατέσχε.

39 Πρὶν δὲ τοῦτο γενέσθαι, καταφρονήσας ὁ Οὐερκιγγετόριξ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐξ ὧν ἐπταίκει ἐπ' ᾿Αλλόβριγας ἐστράτευσε. κἀν τούτῷ ὁρμήσαντα αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ βοηθήσοντά σφισιν, ἀπέλαβεν ἐν Σηκουα-2 νοῖς γενόμενον καὶ ἐνεκυκλώσατο, οὐ μέντοι κακόν τι εἰργάσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶν τοὐναντίον τούς τε Ὑρωμαίους ἠνάγκασεν ἀγαθοὺς εἰναι ἀπογνώσει τῆς σωτηρίας, καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπό τε τοῦ πλήθους καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θράσους ἔπταισε, καί τι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν 3 τῶν τοῖς Ὑρωμαίοις συμμαχούντων ἐσφάλη· ταῖς τε γὰρ ὁρμαῖς ἄπληστοι ὄντες καὶ τοῖς ὁ σώμασι τὴν τόλμαν προσεπισχυρίσαντες διέρρηξαν τὴν περίσχεσιν. εὐρὼν δὲ δὴ τὸ εὔρημα τοῦτο ὁ Καῖσαρ

¹ κατετέθειντο Bk., κατέθειντο L.

² συναιρομένων R. Steph., συναιραμένων L.

³ Λίγρον Leunel., αἴγρον L. 4 έν added by Bk. 5 ἄπληστοι ὄντες καὶ τοῖς Rk., ἀπλήστοις L.

aid of the natives destroyed the garrisons, which B.C. 52 were looking for no hostile act, and gained possession of everything there. And they burned down the city, because of its advantageous situation, to prevent the Romans from making it a base for the war, and next they caused the remainder of the Aedui to Caesar, therefore, attempted to march against them at once, but being unable to do so, on account of the river Liger, he turned his attention to the Lingones: and he did not meet with success there Labienus, however, occupied the island in the river Sequana after conquering its defenders on the nearer bank and sending his troops across at many points at once, both down and up stream, in order that he might not be hindered if he attempted the crossing at one spot.

But before this happened, Vercingetorix, filled with contempt for Caesar because of the latter's reverses, had marched against the Allobroges. And intercepting the Roman general, who had thereupon set out to aid them, when he was among the Sequani, he surrounded him, but did him no harm; on the contrary, he compelled the Romans to be brave through despair of safety, whereas he himself failed by reason of his numbers and audacity. His defeat was due in part to the Germans who were acting as allies of the Romans; for with their unquenchable enthusiasm and their mighty bodies which added strength to their daring they succeeded in breaking through the enclosing ranks. Having met with this good fortune, Caesar did not give ground, but

465

VOL. III. H H

οὐκ ἀνῆκεν, ἀλλ' ἐς 'Αλεσίαν τοὺς διαφυγόντας αὐτῶν κατακλείσας ἐπολιόρκει.

Κάν τούτω ο Οὐερκιγγετόριξ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τούς ίππέας, πρίν παντελώς ἀποτειχισθήναι, έξέπεμψε, της τε τροφης των ίππων ένεκα (οὐ γὰρ ην) καὶ ὅπως ἐς τὰς πατρίδας ἕκαστοί σφων κομισθέντες τά τε έπιτήδεια καὶ ἐπικουρίαν αὐτῷ 2 ἀγάγωσιν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὖτοί τε ἐχρόνιζον καὶ τὰ σιτία σφας επιλείπειν ήρξατο, τούς τε παίδας καὶ τὰς γυναικας και των άλλων τους άχρειοτάτους έξέβαλεν,² έλπίσας μάτην ὅτι ἡ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς τῶν 'Ρωμαίων τῆς λείας ενεκα σωθήσονται, ἡ οί γε λοιποί ταις τροφαίς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πλείον χρησάμενοι 3 περιγενήσονται. ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ ἄλλως μὲν οὐδ' αὐτὸς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ὥστε καὶ ἐτέρους τρέφειν, εὐπόρει τοῖς δ' οὖν 3 πολεμίοις ἰσχυροτέραν τὴν σιτοδείαν επανελθόντων αὐτῶν, ελπίδι τοῦ πάντως σφᾶς καταδεχθήσεσθαι, ποιήσειν νομίσας πάντας 4 αὐτοὺς ἀπεώσατο, καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἐν τῶ μέσω της πόλεως καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, μηδετέρων σφας δεχομένων, οἰκτρότατα ἀπώλοντο· ή δὲ ἐπικουρία τῶν τε ἱππέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῶν άχθέντων έπηλθε μεν ούκ ές μακράν τοις βαρβάροις, ίππομαχία δὲ δὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῆ βοη-5 θεία. . . . καὶ μετά τοῦτο πειράσαντες νυκτὸς διὰ τῶν περιτειχισμάτων ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθεῖν ἰσχυρως επόνησαν 4 τάφρους τε γάρ οι 'Ρωμαΐοι κρυπτάς έν τοις ιππασίμοις έπεποιήκεσαν καί σκόλοπας ές αὐτὰς ένεπεπήχεσαν, πάντα έπι-

¹ kal supplied by R. Steph.

² ἐξέβαλεν R. Steph., ἐξέβαλον L. ³ δ' οὖν Pflugk, γοῦν L.

⁴ ἐπόνησαν Η. Steph., ἐποίησαν L.

⁵ ενεπεπήχεσαν Dind., εμπεπήχεσαν L.

shut up and besieged in Alesia such of the foe $B,C,\,52$ as escaped.

Now Vercingetorix had at first, before he had been entirely cut off by the wall, sent out the cavalry to get fodder for the horses, as there was none on hand, and in order to let them disperse, each to his native land, and bring thence provisions and assistance. But as these delayed and food supplies began to fail the besieged, he thrust out the children and the women and the most useless among the rest, hoping either that the outcasts would be saved as booty by the Romans or else that those left in the town might survive by enjoying for a longer time the supplies that would have belonged to their companions. But he hoped in vain, for Caesar did not have sufficient food himself to feed others; and believing, moreover, that by returning the expelled he could make the enemy's lack of food more severely felt (for he expected that they would of course be received again). he forced them all back. Now these perished most miserably between the city and the camp, because neither party would receive them. As for the relief looked for, the horsemen and the others they were bringing reached the barbarians before long, but these were then [defeated (?)] in a cavalry battle, as the Romans with the aid of the Germans (?)] . . . Thereupon they tried to enter the city by night through the wall of circumvallation, but met with dire disaster; for the Romans had dug secret pits in the places which were passable for horses and had fixed stakes in them, afterward making the whole

πολής τῷ ἄλλφ τῷ πέριξ χωρίω ὁμοιώσαντες, 6 ώστε καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ὅτι μάλιστα άπερισκέπτως ές αὐτὰ έμπεσόντας σφαλήναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐνέδοσαν ποὶν ἐκ παρατάξεως αὐθις 2 πρὸς αὐτοῖς τοῖς τειχίσμασιν αὐτοί τε ἄμα καὶ οί έκ της πόλεως έπεξελθόντες πταίσαι.

41 'Ο δ' οὖν Οὐερκιγγετόριξ ήδυνήθη μὲν ἐκφυγεῖν (οὔτε γὰρ ἐάλω καὶ ἄτρωτος ἢν), ἐλπίσας δ', ὅτι έν φιλία ποτέ τω Καίσαρι έγεγόνει, συγγνώμης παρ' αὐτοῦ τεύξεσθαι, ήλθε πρὸς αὐτὸν μη ἐπικηρυκευσάμενος, καὶ καθημένο οἱ ἐπὶ βήματος έξαίφνης ὤφθη, ὥστε καὶ ταραχθηναί τινας ἄλλως τε γαρ περιμήκης ην καὶ έν τοῖς ὅπλοις δεινῶς

2 ενέπρεπεν ήσυγίας δ' οθν γενομένης είπε μεν οθδέν, πεσών δὲ ἐς γόνυ τώ τε χείρε πιέσας 3 ἐδείτο.4 ταθτα τοις μέν άλλοις οίκτον τη τε της προτέρας αὐτοῦ τύχης ἀναμνήσει καὶ τῷ τῆς παρούσης όψεως περιπαθεί ενέβαλεν ό δε δη Καίσαρ αὐτό τε αὐτῷ τοῦτο, δι' δ μάλιστα σωθήσεσθαι προσε-3 δόκησεν, ἐπεκάλεσε (τῆς γὰρ φιλίας τὴν ἀντίταξιν

άντιθεὶς χαλεπωτέραν την άδικίαν αὐτοῦ ἀπέφηνε), καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε ἐν τῷ παραγρῆμα αὐτὸν ἡλέησεν άλλ' εύθυς έν δεσμοίς έδησε, και ές τὰ έπινίκια μετά τοῦτο πέμψας ἀπέκτεινε.

42 Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ἐγένετο, τότε δὲ τοὺς μεν δμολογία των λοιπών προσέθετο, τους δε καί μάχη κρατήσας έδουλώσατο, οί τε γὰρ Βελγικοί 5

3 πιέσας Reim. (from two late Mss.), ποιήσας L.

4 έδειτο Dind., έδέετο L.

¹ τῷ ἄλλῳ Rk., τῶν ἄλλων L. 2 αὖθις Bk., ἀρθείς L.

⁵ Βελγικοί Leuncl., βελτικοί L.

resemble on the surface the surrounding ground; thus B.C. 52 horse and man, falling into them absolutely without warning, came to grief. The men did not give up, however, until they had arrayed themselves once more beside the very walls and had been defeated along with the people from the city who came out

to fight.

Now Vercingetorix might have escaped, for he had not been captured and was unwounded: but he hoped, since he had once been on friendly terms with Caesar, that he might obtain pardon from him. he came to him without any announcement by herald. but appeared before him suddenly, as Caesar was seated on the tribunal, and threw some who were present into alarm; for he was very tall to begin with, and in his armour he made an extremely imposing figure. When quiet had been restored, he uttered not a word, but fell upon his knees, with hands clasped in an attitude of supplication. This inspired many with pity at remembrance of his former fortune and at the distressing state in which he now appeared. But Caesar reproached him in this very matter on which he most relied for his safety, and by setting over against his claim of former friendship his recent opposition, showed his offence to have been the more grievous. Therefore he did not pity him even at the time, but immediately confined him in bonds, and later, after sending him to his triumph, put him to death.

This, however, was a later occurrence. At the time B.C. 51 mentioned he gained some of the remaining foes by capitulation and enslaved others after conquering them in battle. The Belgae who lived near by had

οί πλησιόχωροι, Κόμμιόν τινα 'Ατρέβαν προστησάμενοί σφων, έπὶ πλεῖστον ἀντέσχον, καὶ δύο τε ίππομαχίαις ἀγχώμαλα πη² ἠγωνίσαντο, καὶ τρίτη πεζομαχία ἰσοπαλεί³ τὸ πρώτον συνενεχθέντες ἔπειτα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ κατὰ νώτου σφίσιν ανελπίστως προσπεσόντος 4 ετράπησαν. 2 κάκ τούτου τό τε στρατόπεδον της νυκτός οί περιλιπεις έξέλιπου, και διελθόντες ύλην τινα έκείνην τε ενέπρησαν καὶ τὰς ἁμάξας μόνας ὑπελίποντο.5 όπως τῶν πολεμίων διά τε ταύτας καὶ διὰ τὸ πῦρ χρονισάντων φθάσωσιν ές τὸ ἀσφαλές ἀποχωρή-3 σαντες. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπιτυχεῖς τῆς ἐλπίδος ἐγένοντο οί γὰρ 'Ρωμαΐοι ώς τάχιστα της φυγής αὐτῶν ἤσθοντο, ἐπεδίωξάν σφας, καὶ ἐντυγόντες τῶ πυρὶ τὰ μὲν κατέσ βεσαν τὰ δὲ καὶ διέκοψαν, καί τινες καὶ διὰ μέσης τῆς φλογὸς δραμόντες κατέλαβον αὐτοὺς ἀπροσδόκητοι καὶ παμπληθεῖς 43 εφόνευσαν. εκ δε τούτου των μεν άλλων τινές ώμολόγησαν, ὁ δὲ ᾿Ατρέβας διαφυγών οὐδ᾽ ὡς ήσύχασεν, άλλὰ καὶ τὸν Λαβιῆνον ἐπεχείρησεν 2 ένεδρεῦσαί ποτε. ήττηθεὶς δὲ τῆ μάχη ἀνεπείσθη μεν ές λόγους αὐτῷ έλθεῖν, πρὶν δε ἡ ότιοῦν συμβηναι τρωθείς υπό τινος των 'Ρωμαίων ἀπιστία του μη αν ακριβως είρηνησαι διέφυγε, και χαλέπὸς αὖθις αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, μέχρις οὖ ἀπογνοὺς τὰ πράγματα τοις μεν άλλοις τοις συνουσίν οι ακέραιον την άδειαν έπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς σφετέροις ἔπραξεν, αὐτὸς 6 δὲ ἐαυτῶ τὸ μηδέποτε, ως γέ τινές φασιν,7

πλησιόχωροι R. Steph., πλησιοχώριοι L.
 πη Rk., τε L.
 ἰσοπαλεῖ Bs., ἰσοπάλφ L.

⁴ προσπεσόντος R. Steph., προσπεσόντες L.

δ ύπελίποντο Bk., ύπελείποντο L.

⁶ αὐτὸς R. Steph., αὐτοὺς L. 7 φασιν added by Bs.

put at their head Commius, an Atrebatian, and B.C. 51 resisted for a long time. They fought two indecisive cavalry battles and the third time in an infantry battle, although at first they held their own, they were later turned to flight when attacked unexpectedly in the rear by the cavalry. After this the remainder abandoned the camp by night, and as they were passing through a wood set fire to it, leaving behind only their waggons, in order that the enemy might be delayed by these and by the fire, and they themselves might thus reach safety. Their hope, however, was not realized. For the Romans, as soon as they were aware of their flight, pursued them and on encountering the fire they extinguished it in places or hewed their way through the trees, and some even ran through the midst of the flames; thus they came upon the fugitives without warning and slaughtered great numbers. Thereupon some of the others came to terms, but the Atrebatian, who escaped, would not remain quiet even then. He undertook at one time to ambush Labienus, but after being defeated in battle was persuaded to hold a conference with him. Before any terms were made, however, he was wounded by one of the Romans, who surmised that it was not his real intention to make peace; but he escaped and again proved troublesome to them. At last, despairing of his project, he secured for his associates unconditional amnesty for all their acts, and pardon for himself, as some say, on the condition of his never appearing again

3 ἐς ὄψιν μηδενὸς 'Ρωμαίου ἐλθεῖν. ἐκεῖνοί τε οὖν οὕτω κατελύσαντο, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ μετὰ τοῦτο, οἱ μὲν ἑκούσιοι οἱ δὲ καὶ καταπολεμηθέντες, ἐχειρώθησαν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ φρουραῖς καὶ δικαιώσεσι χρημάτων τε ἐσπράξεσι καὶ φόρων ἐπιτάξεσι τοὺς μὲν ἐταπείνωσε τοὺς δὲ ἡμέρωσε.

44 Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐπί τε Λουκίου Παύλου καὶ έπὶ Γαίου Μαρκέλλου υπάτων ἐτελευτήθη, ὁ δὲ δη Καίσαρ τῶν μὲν Γαλατῶν ἔνεκα καὶ τοῦ χρόνου τοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτοῦ δοθέντος ἔκ τε τῆς Γαλατίας ἀπαλλαγῆναι καὶ ἐς τὴν 'Ρώμην επανακομισθηναι ώφειλεν εκείνος 1 τε γαρ έπ' εξόδω ήν και ο πόλεμος επέπαυτο, και οὐδεμίαν ἔτ' εὐπρεπη σκηψιν πρὸς τὸ μη οὐ τά τε στρατόπεδα άφειναι και ιδιωτεύσαι είχεν. 2 έπεὶ δὲ τά τε ἐν τῶ ἄστει ἐστασιάζετο, καὶ ὁ Κράσσος έτεθνήκει, ὅ τε Πομπήιος ἔν τε δυνάμει αὐθις, ἄτε τρίτον ὑπατευκως καὶ τὴν ἐν τῆ Ἰβηρία ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ πέντε ἄλλα ἔτη δοθῆναί οἰ διαπεπραγμένος, εγένετο, καὶ αὐτῷ οὐκέτ' οἰκείως, 3 ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ παιδίου, ὅπερ που καὶ μόνον έν τη φιλία αὐτοὺς 2 κατεῖχε, τετελευτηκότος, διέκειτο, εφοβήθη μη των στρατιωτών ψιλωθείς έπί τε έκείνω καὶ έπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις έχθροῖς γένηται,

καὶ οὐ διῆκεν αὐτούς.
5 Ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις ἔτεσιν ἄλλα τε ἐν τῆ πόλει στασιώδη πολλὰ κἀν ταῖς ἀρχαιρεσίαις μάλιστα ἐγένετο, ὥστε μόλις ἑβδόμω μηνὶ τόν τε

Καλουίνον καὶ τὸν Μεσσάλαν ὑπάτους ἀποδει-2 χθηναι· καὶ οὐδ' αν τότε ἡρέθησαν, εἰ μὴ Κύιντός

¹ έκεινός Leunel., είκός L. 2 αὐτοὺς R. Steph., αὐτοῦ L. 3 διέκειτο supplied by Rk.

within sight of any Roman. So these foes became B.C. 51 reconciled on these terms, and later the rest were subdued, some voluntarily and some when conquered in war; and Caesar by means of garrisons and punishments and levies of money and assessments of tribute humbled some of them and tamed others.

Thus these wars came to an end in the consulship B.C. 50 of Lucius Paulus and Gaius Marcellus. It was now time for Caesar, in view of the subjugation of the Gauls and the period for which his command had been assigned him, to leave Gaul and return to Rome. For his term was about to expire, the war had ceased, and he had no longer any plausible excuse for not disbanding his troops and returning to private life. But affairs in the city at this time were in a state of turmoil, Crassus was dead, and Pompey had again come to power, since he had been consul for the third time and had managed to have the government of Spain granted to him for five years longer; moreover, he no longer was on intimate terms with Caesar, especially now that the child, who alone had kept them on friendly terms, had died.1 Caesar was therefore afraid that if he were deprived of his soldiers he might fall into the power of Pompey and of his other enemies, and so did not dismiss them.

During these same years many tumults had occurred in the city, especially in connection with the elections, so that it was not until the seventh month that Calvinus and Messalla were appointed consuls. And not even then would they have been chosen, had not

¹ Cf. xxxix, 64.

τε Πομπήιος ο 'Ροῦφος ές τὸ δεσμωτήριον ὑπὸ της βουλης, καίτοι τοῦ τε Σύλλου θυγατριδοῦς ὢν καὶ δημαρχῶν, ἐνεβλήθη, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς κακουργήσαί τι ἐθελήσασιν ἐψηφίσθη, τῶ τε Πομπηίω ή πρὸς αὐτοὺς βοήθεια ἐνεχειρίσθη. 3 έστι μεν γάρ ότε και οι δρνιθες τας αρχαιρεσίας έπέσχον, οὐ βουλόμενοι τοῖς μεσοβασιλεῦσι γενέσθαι μάλιστα δὲ οἱ δήμαρχοι, τὰ πράγματα τὰ ἐν τῆ πόλει διέποντες ώστε καὶ τὰς πανηγύρεις καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ποιείν, ἐκώλυον τὰς λοιπὰς ἀρχὰς αίρεθηναι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ 4 ο 'Ροῦφος ες τὸ οἴκημα εσέπεσε. καὶ οὖτος μεν τὸν Φαουώνιον ἀγορανομοῦντα ἐς αὐτὸ ὕστερον ἀπό τινος οὐ μεγάλης αἰτίας, ἵνα δὴ κοινωνὸν της ατιμίας λάβη, κατέθετο πάντες δε οι δήμαρχοι άλλας τε σκήψεις έμποδίους έσέφερον, καὶ γιλιάρχους ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων, ὅπως πλείους ἄρχοντες ὅσπερ ποτὲ ἀποδεικνύωνται, καθί-5 στασθαι ¹ ἐσηγοῦντο. ἐπειδή τ' οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν έπείσθη, δικτάτορα γοῦν τὸν Πομπήιον λεχθηναι δείν έφασκου. καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐπὶ τῆ προφάσει ταύτη διέτριψαν έκεινός τε γαρ απεδήμει, καὶ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων οὔτε ψηφίσασθαί τις αὐτό (πρὸς γὰρ τὴν τοῦ Σύλλου ἀμότητα ἐμίσουν πάντες τὸ πολίτευμα) οὔτ' αὖ μὴ ελέσθαι διὰ 46 τον του Πομπηίου φόβον υπέμεινε. τέλος δὲ όψέ ποτε αὐτος έλθων την μεν δικτατορίαν διδομένην οι δήθεν ουκ εδέξατο, τους δε υπάτους αποδειγθήναι παρεσκεύασεν. ου μέντοι ουδέ έκεινοι διαδόχους σφίσι δια τον έκ των σφαγων²

¹ καθίστασθαι Bs., καθίσται L. 2 σφαγών v. Herw., σφαγέων L.

Quintus Pompeius Rufus, though he was the grand- B.C. 53 son of Sulla and was serving as tribune, been cast into prison by the senate; and the same penalty was voted in the case of the others who had desired to commit some outrage, while the task of proceeding against them was entrusted to Pompey. Sometimes the omens had checked the elections by refusing to favour the interreges; above all else the tribunes, by managing affairs in the city so that they instead of the praetors should conduct the games, prevented the remaining magistrates from being chosen. This also was the reason why Rufus was put in jail. He later on brought Favonius. the aedile, to the same fate on some trifling charge, in order that he might have a companion in his disgrace. All the tribunes offered various objections, and proposed, among other things, that consular tribunes should replace the consuls, so that more magistrates might be elected, as formerly. And when no one would heed them, they declared that in any case Pompey must be chosen dictator. By this pretext they secured a very long delay; for he was out of town, and of those on the spot there was no one who would venture to vote for the demand, since in remembrance of Sulla's cruelty they all hated that institution, nor yet would venture to refuse to choose Pompey, on account of their fear of him. At last, very late, he came himself, refused the dictatorship offered to him, and took measures to have the consuls named. likewise, on account of the turmoil arising from murders, did not appoint any successors, though they

τάραχον κατέστησαν, καίπερ καὶ τὴν βουλευτικὴν ἐσθῆτα καταθέμενοι κἀν τῆ ἱππάδι τὴν γερουσίαν ὥσπερ ἐπὶ μεγάλφ τινὶ πένθει συνά2 γοντες. δόγμα τε¹ ἐποιήσαντο μηδένα μήτε στρατηγήσαντα μήθ' ὑπατεύσαντα τὰς ἔξω ἡγεμονίας, πρὶν ἂν πέντε ἔτη διέλθη, λαμβάνειν, εἴ πως ὑπὸ τοῦ μὴ παραυτίκα ἐν δυνάμει τινὶ αὐτοὺς γίγνεσθαι παύσαιντο σπουδαρχοῦντες. οὔτε γὰρ ἐμε3 τρίαζον οὕθ' ὑγιὲς οὐδὲν ἐποίουν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλους παρώρμηντο πολλὰ μὲν δαπανώμενοι πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλείω μαχόμενοι, ὥστε καὶ τὸν ὕπατόν ποτε τὸν Καλουῖνον τρωθῆναι. οὔκουν οὔθ' ὕπατος οὔτε στρατηγὸς οὔτε πολίαρχός τίς σφας διεδέξατο, ἀλλὰ ἄναρκτοι κατὰ τοῦτο παντελῶς οἱ 'Ρωμαῖοι τὰ πρῶτα τοῦ ἔτους ἐγένοντο.

Τ΄ Κάκ τούτου οὔτε τι ἄλλο χρηστὸν συνέβη, καὶ ή ἀγορὰ ἡ διὰ τῶν ἐννέα ἀεὶ ἡμερῶν ἀγομένη ἐν 2 αὐτῆ τῆ τοῦ Ἰανουαρίου νουμηνία ἤχθη. καὶ τοῦτό τε αὐτούς,² ὡς οὐκ ἀπὸ ταὐτομάτου συμβὰν ἀλλ' ἐν τέρατος λόγω γενόμενον, ἐθορύβει, καὶ ὅτι βύας ἐν τῆ πόλει καὶ ὤφθη καὶ συνελήφθη, ἄγαλμά τέ τι ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἵδρωσε, καὶ λαμπὰς ἐκ τῶν νοτίων πρὸς ἀνατολὰς διέδραμε, καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν κεραυνοὶ πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ βῶλοι λίθοι τε καὶ ὅστρακα καὶ αἶμα διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος ἡνέχθη. 3 δοκεῖ δὲ ἔμοιγε καὶ ἐκεῖνο τὸ τῷ προτέρω ἔτει, ἐπ' ἐξόδω αὐτοῦ, περί τε τὸν Σάραπιν καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἰσιν ψηφισθὲν τέρας οὐδενὸς ἡττον γενέσθαι τοὺς γὰρ ναοὺς αὐτῶν,³ οῦς ἰδία τινὲς ἐπεποίηντο,

 $^{^1}$ δόγμα τε R. Steph., δόγματα L. 2 αὐτοὺs R. Steph., αὐτοῖs L. 3 αὐτῶν Leunel., αὐτοῦ L.

laid aside their senatorial garb and in the dress of B.C. 53 knights, as on the occasion of some great calamity, convened the senate. They also passed a decree that no one, either an ex-praetor or an ex-consul, should assume a command abroad until five years had elapsed; they hoped that such men, by not being in a position of power immediately after holding office, would cease their craze for office. For there was no moderation and no decency at all being observed, but they vied with one another in expending great sums and, going still further, in fighting, so that once even the consul Calvinus was wounded. Hence no consul or praetor or prefect of the city had any successor, but at the beginning of the year the Romans B.C. 52 were absolutely without a government in these branches.

No good came of all this, and among other things the market that was held on every ninth day, came on the very first day of January. This seemed to the Romans to be no mere coincidence but rather in the nature of a portent, and it accordingly caused them trepidation. The same feeling was increased when an owl was both seen and caught in the city, a statue exuded perspiration for three days, a meteor darted from the south to the east, and many thunderbolts, many clods, stones, shards and blood went flying through the air. But it seems to me that that decree passed the previous year, near its close, with regard to Serapis and Isis, was a portent equal to any; for the senate had decided to tear down their temples, which some individuals had

4 καθελεῖν τῆ βουλῆ ἔδοξεν. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοὺς θεοὺς τούτους ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐνόμισαν, καὶ ὅτε¹ γε καὶ ἐξενίκησεν ὥστε καὶ δημοσία αὐτοὺς σέβεσθαι, ἔξω

τοῦ πωμηρίου σφας ίδρύσαντο. Τοιαύτης οὖν τότε τῆς ἐν τῷ ἄστει καταστάσεως 48 ούσης, καὶ μηδενὸς τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιτεταγμένου, σφαγαὶ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐγίγνοντο, τάς τε άρχαιρεσίας, καίτοι σπεύδοντες έπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ δεκασμοῖς καὶ φόνοις δι' αὐτὰς χρώ-2 μενοι, οὐκ ἐπετέλουν. ὁ γοῦν Μίλων ὑπατείαν αἰτῶν τὸν Κλώδιον ἐν τῆ ᾿Αππία ὁδῷ συντυχόντα οί τὸ μὲν πρώτον άπλώς πως ἔτρωσεν, ἔπειτα δὲ φοβηθεὶς μη ἐπεξέλθη ²-τῷ γεγονότι κατέσφαξεν, έλπίσας, επειδή πάντας 3 τους οικέτας τους τουτο ποιήσαντας εὐθὺς ἡλευθέρωσε, ράον τοῦ φόνου τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ ἡ τοῦ τραύματος εἰ περι-3 γίγνοιτο άφεθήσεσθαι. άκούσαντες οὖν τοῦθ' οἱ έν τη πόλει πρὸς έσπέραν δεινώς εταράχθησαν. ταις τε γαρ στάσεσιν άφορμη πολέμου και κακών έγίγνετο, καὶ οἱ διὰ μέσου, εἰ καὶ ἐμίσουν τὸν Κλώδιον, όμως διά τε τὸ δ ἀνθρώπινον καὶ ότι καὶ τοῦ Μίλωνος στερηθηναι ἐπὶ τῆ προφάσει ταύτη 49 ἤθελον, ἠγανάκτουν. παραλαβόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς ούτως έχοντας ὅ τε 'Ροῦφος καὶ Τίτος Μουνάτιος Πλάγκος προσπαρώξυναν δημαρχούντες γάρ ές τε την άγοραν τον 6 νεκρον ύπο την έω εσεκομίσαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐπέθεσαν πᾶσί τε ἐπεδείκνυσαν, 2 καὶ ἐπέλεγον οἶα εἰκὸς ἢν ὀδυρόμενοι, ὥστε τὸν δμιλον καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἐώρων καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἤκουον συν-

 $^{^{1}}$ ὅτε Rk., ὅτι L. 2 ἐπεξέλθη R. Steph , ἐξέλθη L.

³ πάντας R. Steph., πάντες L.

⁴ ήλευθέρωσε Leuncl., ελευθερώσαι L.

⁵ τδ R. Steph., τδν L. ⁶ τδν added by Rk.

built on their own account. Indeed, for a long time B.C. 52 they did not believe in these gods, and even when the rendering of public worship to them gained the day, they settled them outside the pomerium.

Such being the state of things in the city at that time, with no one in charge of affairs, murders occurred practically every day, and they could not hold the elections, although men were eager to win the offices and employed bribery and assassination to secure them. Milo, for instance, who was seeking the consulship, met Clodius on the Appian Way and at first simply wounded him; then, fearing he would avenge the deed, he slew him, hoping that after he had immediately freed all the servants concerned in the affair, he would be more easily acquitted of the murder, once the man was dead, than he would be of the assault, in case he should survive. The people in the city heard of this toward evening and were thrown into a terrible uproar; to the factions it served as an incentive to war and misdeeds, while those who were neutrals, even though they hated Clodius, yet on account of humanity and because on this excuse they hoped to get rid of Milo also, showed indignation. While they were in this frame of mind Rufus and Titus Munatius Plancus took them in hand and excited them to greater As tribunes they conveyed the body into the Forum just before dawn, placed it on the rostra, exhibited it to all, and spoke appropriate words over it with lamentations. So the populace, as a result of what it both saw and heard, was deeply stirred

ταραχθήναι, καὶ μήτε τοῦ ὁσίου 1 μήτε τοῦ θείου ἔτι φροντίσαι, ἀλλὰ πάντα μὲν τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς νόμιμα συγχέαι, πᾶσαν δὲ ὀλίγου τὴν πόλιν κατατο γαρ σωμα του Κλωδίου αράμενοι ές τε τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσήνεγκαν, καὶ εὐθέτησαν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πυρὰν ἐκ τῶν βάθρων συννήσαντες² 3 έκαυσαν καὶ ἐκεῖνο καὶ τὸ συνέδριον. οὕτω τε οὐχ όρμη τινι, οία που τους όχλους έξαπιναία κατάλαμβάνει, άλλὰ ἐκ προαιρέσεως αὐτὸ ἔπραξαν ώστε καὶ τὴν ἐνάτην τὸ περίδειπνον ἐν αὐτῆ τῆ άγορά, τυφομένου έτι του βουλευτηρίου, ποιήσαι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν τοῦ Μίλωνος 4 καταφλέξαι ἐπιχειρήσαι. ἐκείνη μὲν οὖν πολλῶν αὐτη ἀμυνάντων οὐκ ἐκαύθη ὁ δὲ δη Μίλων τέως μεν περίφοβος έπὶ τῷ φόνω ὢν ἐκρύπτετο, οὐχ ὑπὸ ἰδιωτῶν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱππέων βουλευτῶν τέ τινων φρουρούμενος ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτό τε ἐγένετο καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν τῆς γερουσίας ἐς τὸ τῶν ἀντιστα-5 σιωτών μίασμα περιχωρήσειν ήλπισεν (εὐθὺς γοῦν τῆς δείλης ἐς τὸ Παλάτιον δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο συλλεγέντες τόν τε μεσοβασιλέα προχειρισθηναι, καὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐκεῖνον καὶ τοὺς δημάρχους καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ἐπιμεληθήναι ώστε μηδεν ἀπ' αὐτής ἀποτριβήναι, εψηφίσαντο), προήει τε ές τὸ ³ μέσον καὶ τής ἀρχής ὁμοίως ἡ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀντεποιείτο.

Μάχαι τε οὖν ἐκ τούτου πολλαὶ καὶ σφαγαὶ 50 αδθις έγίγνοντο, ώστε την βουλην τά τε προειρημένα ἐπικυρῶσαι, καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον μεταπέμψασθαι, καταλόγους τε αὐτῷ καινοὺς ποιήσασθαι

¹ μήτε τοῦ δσίου supplied by Bk.
2 συννήσαντες Polak, ἐνήσαντες L. 3 τδ added by St.

and no longer showed any regard for things sacred B.C. 52 or profane, but overthrew all the customs of burial and burned down nearly the whole city. They took up the body of Clodius and carried it into the senate-house, laid it out properly, and then after heaping up a pyre out of the benches burned both the corpse and the building. They did not do this under the stress of such an impulse as often takes sudden hold of crowds, but with such deliberate purpose that at the ninth hour they held the funeral feast in the Forum itself, with the senatehouse still smouldering; and they furthermore undertook to apply the torch to Milo's house. It was not burned, however, because many defended But Milo, in great terror because of the murder. was meanwhile in hiding, being guarded not only by ordinary citizens but also by knights and some senators; and when this other deed occurred, he hoped that the wrath of the senate would shift to the outrage of the opposing faction. The senators, indeed, did at once assemble on the Palatine late in the afternoon for this very purpose, and they voted that an interrex should be chosen, and that he and the tribunes and Pompey should look after the guarding of the city, so that it should suffer no Milo, accordingly, made his appearance in public, and pressed his claims to the office as strongly as before, if not more strongly.

Thereupon conflicts and much bloodshed occurred once more, so that the senate adopted the aforementioned measures, summoned Pompey, allowed him to make fresh levies, and changed their

48 I

VOL. III. I I

2 ἐπιτρέψαι, καὶ τὰ ἐσθήματα ἀλλάξασθαι. ἐλθόντος τε αὐτοῦ 1 οὐ πολλώ ὕστερον ἔξω τε τοῦ πωμηρίου πρὸς τῷ θεάτρω αὐτοῦ σὰν φρουρ $\^a$ ήθροίσθησαν 2 καὶ τὰ τοῦ Κλωδίου ὀστ $\^a$ ἀνελέσθαι ἔγνωσαν, τό τε βουλευτήριον τῷ Φαύστφ τῶ τοῦ Σύλλου υίει ἀνοικοδομήσαι προσέταξαν. 3 ην μεν γάρ το Όστίλιον, μετεσκεύαστο δε ύπο τοῦ Σύλλου διὸ 3 τοῦτό τε περὶ αὐτοῦ 4 ἔδοξε, καὶ όπως εξοικοδομηθεν το εκείνου όνομα απολάβη.5 μετεώρου δε της πόλεως ούσης επί τοις άρξουσί σφων, καὶ διαθροούντων τῶν μὲν ὡς δικτάτορα τὸν Πομπήιον, τῶν δὲ ὡς ὕπατον τὸν Καίσαρα 4 αίρεθηναι δεί 6 (ούτω γάρ που έκ προαιρέσεως έπὶ τοῖς κατειργασμένοις αὐτὸν ἐτίμων ὥστε καὶ έξήκουθ' ήμέρας θυσαι έπ' αυτοίς ψηφίσασθαι), φοβηθέντες έκάτερον οί τε άλλοι βουλευταί καί Βίβουλος, δοπερ που την γνώμην πρώτος έρωτηθείς ποιήσεσθαι έμελλε, προκατέλαβον την τοῦ πλήθους όρμην, τῷ Πομπηίω τὴν ὑπατείαν, ὥστε μὴ δικτάτορα αὐτὸν λεχθῆναι, καὶ μόνω γε, ἵνα μὴ ὁ 5 Καισαρ αὐτῷ συνάρξη, δόντες. ξένον μεν δη τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ μηδενὸς ἄλλου γενόμενον ἔπραξαν, καίτοι? ορθως αὐτὸ πεποιηκέναι έδοξαν ἐπειδή γὰρ ήττον τοῦ Καίσαρος τῷ ὁμίλφ προσέκειτο, ἀπορρήξειν τε αὐτὸν ἀπ' ἐκείνου παντάπασι καὶ σφετεριεῖσθαι ήλπισαν. καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως τῷ τε γὰρ καινῷ καὶ τῷ παραδόξω τῆς τιμῆς ἐπαρθεὶς οὐκέτ' οὐδὲν ἐς την των πολλών χάριν έβούλευσεν, άλλ' άκριβώς πάντα τὰ τῆ βουλη ἀρέσκοντα ἔπραξεν.

αὐτοῦ Reim., αὐτῶι L.
 ἡθροίσθησαν Rk., ἡθροισαν L.
 αὐτοῦ Xyl., αὐτοὺs L.

⁵ ἀπολάβη Reim., ἀποβάλη L. ⁶ δεῖ supplied by Rk.
⁷ καίτοι Capps, καὶ L.

garments. Upon his arrival not long afterward B.C. 52 they assembled under guard near his theatre outside the pomerium, and resolved to take up the bones of Clodius, and also assigned the rebuilding of the senate-house to Faustus, the son of Sulla. It was the Curia Hostilia, which had been remodelled by Sulla; hence they came to this decision about it and ordered that when restored it should receive again the name of the same man. The city was in a fever of excitement about the magistrates who should rule it, some talking to the effect that Pompey should be chosen dictator and others that Caesar should be made consul. They were so determined to honour the latter for his achievements that they voted a thanksgiving of sixty 1 days because of Fearing both of the men, the rest of the senate and Bibulus, who was first to be asked and to declare his opinion, forestalled the enthusiasm of the populace by giving the consulship to Pompey, so as to prevent his being named dictator, and to him alone, in order that he might not have Caesar as This action of theirs was novel, his colleague. having been taken in no other case; and [yet] they seemed to have acted with good judgment. For since Pompey favoured the populace less than Caesar, they hoped to detach him from them altogether and to make him their own. And this expectation was fulfilled. Elated by the novelty and unexpectedness of the honour, he no longer formed any plan to gratify the populace, but was careful to do everything that pleased the senate.

¹ Twenty days according to Caesar (B.G. vii, 90). Reimar thought "sixty" an error of the copyists.

Οὐ μέντοι καὶ μόνος ἄρξαι ήθέλησεν τὴν γὰρ 51 εὔκλειαν ἐν τῷ δεδόχθαι τοῦτ' ἔχων, τὸν Φθόνον τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῆ ἔξέκλινε. καὶ φοβηθεὶς μήποτε κενῆς της χώρας ούσης ο Καίσαρ έκ τε της 1 των δυνάμεων καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πλήθους σπουδῆς συνάρχων 2 αὐτ $\hat{\varphi}$ δοθ $\hat{\eta}$, ἐκείν φ 2 μέν, ἵνα μ $\hat{\eta}$ καὶ παντέ $\hat{\lambda}$ ως παρημελησθαι νομίση 3 κάκ τούτου τινα δργην δικαίαν ποιήσηται, παρεσκεύασε διὰ τῶν δημάργων έπιτραπηναι και άπόντι την άρχην, όταν έκ τῶν νόμων καθήκη, αἰτησαι, αὐτὸς δὲ Κύιντον Σκιπίωνα πενθερόν τέ οἱ ὄντα καὶ δεκασμοῦ αἰτίαν 3 έγοντα προσείλετο. ούτος γαρ γόνω μέν υίδς τοῦ Νασικοῦ ὤν, ἐκ δὲ δὰ κλήρου διαδογῆς ἐς τὸ τοῦ Μετέλλου τοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς γένος ποιηθεὶς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν αὐτοῦ φέρων, τήν τε θυγατέρα τῶ Πομπηίω ἐξέδωκε, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τήν τε υπατείαν και το μη κατηγορηθηναι άντέ-52 λαβε. πάνυ γὰρ πολλοὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐγκλήματι τούτῳ εὐθύνθησαν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι τὰ δικαστήρια ἀκρίβέστερον εκ των του Πομπηίου νόμων συνήγετο. πάντας τε γὰρ τοὺς ἄνδρας έξ ὧν τοὺς δικάσοντας άποκληροῦσθαι ἔδει 5 αὐτὸς ἐπελέγετο, καὶ τὸν τῶν συναγορευσόντων έκατέρω τῷ μέρει ἀριθμὸν ώρισεν, ώστε μη ύπὸ τοῦ πλήθους αὐτῶν τοὺς 2 δικαστάς θορυβουμένους εκταράττεσθαι. γρόνον τε τῶ μὲν διώκοντι δύο ὥρας, τῶ δὲ Φεύγοντι τρεῖς δίδοσθαι ἐκέλευσε. καὶ δ δὴ μάλιστα πλείστοις έλυμαίνετο, τό τινας έπαινέτας ύπὸ τῶν κρινο-

¹ της added by Bk. 2 ἐκείνφ Xyl., ἐκείνον L.

³ νομίση Bk., νομισθηι L.

⁴ καθήκη R. Steph., καθήκει L. 5 έδει Bk., εδόκει L.

⁶ συναγορευσόντων Rk., συναγορευόντων L.

⁷ τδ added by Rk.

He did not, however, wish to hold office alone. For B.C. 52 now that he had the glory that lay in the passing of such a vote, he wished to avoid the envy attaching to it. He also feared that, if the place were vacant, Caesar might be given him as colleague through the enthusiasm of his troops and the populace alike. First of all, therefore, in order that his rival might not think he had been entirely neglected and therefore show some just displeasure, he arranged through the tribunes that Caesar should be permitted even in his absence to be a candidate for the office, when the proper time came according to law; he then chose as his colleague Quintus Scipio, who was his father-in-law and was under a charge of bribery. This man, by birth the son of Nasica, had been adopted into the family of Metellus Pius as the latter's heir, and for that reason also bore his name. He had given his daughter in marriage to Pompey, and now received in turn from him the consulship and immunity from accusation. Very many had been called to account on the charge mentioned, especially because the trials, by Pompey's laws, were more carefully conducted. He himself selected the entire list of names from which drawings for jurors must be made, and he limited the number of advocates on each side, in order that the jurymen might not be confused and embarrassed by their number. And he ordered that the time allotted to the plaintiff should be only two hours, and to the defendant three. But what grieved a great many most was his reform of the custom whereby character-witnesses were brought forward by those on trial, with the result that great

μένων δίδοσθαι (πάμπολλοι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀξιοπίστων ἐπαινούμενοι ἐξηρπάζοντο), ἐπηνώρθωσε, νομοθετήσας μηδένα ἔτι τὸ παράπαν ἐπαινέτην ¹
3 τοῖς τοιούτοις γίγνεσθαι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἄλλα τέ τινα κατὰ πάντων ὁμοίως τῶν δικαστηρίων ἐτάχθη, τοῖς δὲ δὴ περὶ ² τὰς ἀρχὰς δεκάζουσι καὶ τοὺς προεαλωκότας ἐπὶ τοιούτῷ ³ τινὶ κατηγόρους ἐπέστησεν, ἄθλόν σφισιν οὐκ ἐλάχιστον προθείς.
4 εἰ γάρ τις ἤτοι δύο τῶν ὁμοίων τῶν τε ἐλαττόνων ἢ καὶ ἔνα τῶν μειζόνων τῆς ¹ καθ' ἑαυτὸν αἰτίας εἰλεν, ἄδειαν εὐρίσκετο.

''Αλλοι τε οὖν ἐκ τούτου πολλοὶ ἑάλωσαν ⁵ καὶ 53 Πλαύτιος 'Υψαίος άνταιτήσας τώ τε Μίλωνι καὶ τῷ Σκιπίωνι τὴν ὑπατείαν. τῶν γὰρ δὴ τριῶν 2 δωροφορησάντων μόνος ἐκεῖνος κατεδικάσθη. δ τε γὰρ Σκιπίων ἐγράφη μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ δυοίν γε, οὐκ έκρίθη δὲ διὰ τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ ὁ Μίλων ἐπὶ μηδεν δυνηθείς βίαιον δράσαι. ό γάρ Πομπήιος τήν τε άλλην πόλιν διὰ φυλακῆς ἐποιήσατο, καὶ 3 ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον σὺν ὁπλίταις ἐσῆλθε, θορυβησάντων τε έπὶ τούτω τινῶν προσέταξε τοῖς στρατιώταις εκδιώξαι αὐτούς εκ της άγορας πλαγίοις καὶ πλατέσι τοῖς ξίφεσι παίοντας. ἐπειδή τε οὐχ ύπεικου άλλα και καθάπερ έν παιδιά τινι πλαγιαζόμενοι ΰβριζον, καὶ ἐτρώθησάν τίνες αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέθανον.

54 Τά τε οὖν δικαστήρια ήσύχως ἐκ τούτων συνή-

¹ έπαινέτην Bk., έξείναι έν L. 3 τοιούτφ Oddey, τούτωι L

⁵ ξάλωσαν Bs., καὶ ξάλωσαν L.

 $^{^2}$ $\pi\epsilon\rho$ l added by Cary.

της Rk., η της L.
 τούτω St., τούτου L.

numbers were snatched from justice because they were commended by credible witnesses; he had a measure passed that no character-witnesses at all should henceforth be allowed to such persons. These and other reforms he applied to all the courts alike; and against those who practised bribery for office he raised up as accusers those who had formerly been convicted of some such offence, setting before the latter no small prize. For if any one secured the conviction of two men on charges similar to the one against himself, or even on slighter charges, or of one man on a greater charge, he gained pardon himself.

Among many others who were thus convicted was Plautius Hypsaeus, who had been a rival of Milo and of Scipio for the consulship. Though all three had been guilty of bribery, he alone was convicted. Scipio was indicted, and by two persons at that, but had not been tried, thanks to Pompey's influence; and Milo was not charged with this crime, since he had the more serious charge of murder against him, but when he was brought to trial on this latter charge, he was convicted, as he was unable to use any For Pompey kept the rest of the city well under guard and entered the court himself with When some raised an outerv at armed soldiers. this, he ordered the soldiers to drive them out of the Forum by striking them with the side or the flat of their swords; and when they still would not yield, but jeered as if they were being struck in sport, some of them were wounded and killed.

The courts convened in quiet in consequence of

γετο, καὶ ἐδικαιώθησαν ἐπί τε ἐτέροις τισὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Κλωδίου φόνῳ ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ Μίλων, καίτοι τὸν Κικέρωνα συναγωνιστὴν ἔχων. 2 ό γὰρ ρήτωρ ἐκεῖνος τόν τε Πομπήιον καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας έν τῷ δικαστηρίω παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ίδων έξεπλάγη και κατέδεισεν, ώστε των μεν παρεσκευασμένων μηδεν είπειν, βραχύ δέ τι καί τεθνηκὸς χαλεπως φθεγξάμενος άγαπητως μεταστήναι. τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν λόγον τὸν νῦν φερόμενον ὡς καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μίλωνος τότε λεχθέντα χρόνω ποθ' ύστερον καὶ κατὰ σχολην ἀναθαρσήσας ἔγραψε. 3 καὶ δὴ καὶ τοιόνδε τι περὶ αὐτοῦ παραδέδοται. ό Μίλων τῷ λόγω πεμφθέντι οἱ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐντυχών (ἐπεφυγάδευτο γὰρ) ἀντεπέστειλε 1 λέγων ὅτι ἐν τύχη αὐτῷ ἐγένετο΄ τὸ μὴ ταῦθ' οὕτω καὶ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῷ λεχθηναι· οὐ γὰρ ἃν τοιαύτας ἐν τῆ Μασσαλία (ἐν ή κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν ἦν) τρίγλας 4 έσθίειν, είπερ τι τοιοῦτον ἀπελελόγητο. τοῦτο δὲ έγραψεν ούχ ὅτι τοῖς παροῦσιν ἡρέσκετο (πολλά γαρ έπὶ τῆ καθόδω ἐπετόλμησεν) ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν Κικέρωνα ἀποσκώπτων, ὅτι μηδὲν χρηστὸν ἐν τῷ της απολογίας καιρώ είπων έπειτα ακάρπους λόγους καὶ ἐμελέτα καὶ ἔπεμπεν 2 αὐτῶ, ὅσπερ τι ώφελησαι τότε αὐτὸν δυναμένους.3

55 "Ο τε οὖν Μίλων οὕτως ἐάλω, καὶ ὁ Ῥοῦφος ὅ τε Πλάγκος ἐ ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξῆλθον, ἄλλοι τε σὺν αὐτοῖς συχνοὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἔμπρησιν, καίτοι τῶ

¹ αντεπέστειλε Reim., ανταπέστειλε L.

² ἔπεμπεν Leuncl., εἶπεν L.

³ δυναμένους Leunel., δυνάμενος L.

⁴ Πλάγκος R. Steph., πλάχνος L.

these reforms, and many were convicted on various B.C. 52 charges, among others, Milo for the murder of Clodius, though he had Cicero to defend him. That orator, seeing Pompey and the soldiers in the court, contrary to custom, was alarmed and overwhelmed with dread, so that he did not deliver the speech he had prepared at all, but after uttering with difficulty a few words that all but died on his lips, was glad to retire. The speech which is now extant, purporting to have been delivered at that time in behalf of Milo, he wrote some time later and at leisure, when he had recovered his courage. Indeed, the following story has come down about it. When Milo, in banishment, had read the speech sent to him by Cicero, he wrote back saying that it was lucky for him those words had not been spoken in that form in the court; for he should not be eating such mullets in Massilia (where he was passing his exile), if any such defence had been made. This he wrote, not because he was pleased with his condition,-indeed, he made many efforts to secure his return,—but as a joke on Cicero, because the orator, after saying nothing useful at the time of the defence, had later composed and sent to him these fruitless words, as if they could then be of any service to him.

In this way Milo was convicted; and so were Rufus and Plancus, as soon as they had finished their term of office, together with numerous others, on account of the burning of the senate-house. Plancus

Πλάγκω καὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου συσπουδάσαντος,1 ώστε καὶ βιβλίον ἔπαινόν τε ἄμα αὐτοῦ καὶ 2 ίκετείαν έχου ές τὸ δικαστήριον έπεμψεν ό γαο Κάτων ο Μαρκος (δικάζειν δε έμελλεν) οὐκ έφη του επαινέτην επί τη των εαυτου νόμων καταλύσει προσίεσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐκέτι τὴν ψηφον έδωκεν ο γάρ Πλάγκος ώς και την καθαιρήσουσαν αὐτὸν οἴσοντα ἐξέκρινεν (ἐξῆν γάρ, ἐκ τῶν Πομπηίων νόμων, πέντε ἑκατέρω των διαδικούντων έκ των δικάσειν σφίσι μελ-3 λόντων ἀπολέγειν)· οἱ μέντοι ἄλλοι δικασταὶ κατεψηφίσαντο αὐτοῦ. οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως ὀρθῶς έχειν έδοξε σφισι, του 'Ρούφου κατεγνωκόσιν, έκεινον έπι τοις αὐτοις κρινόμενον ἀφειναι καὶ έπειδη του Πομπήιου συναιρόμενου οι είδου, αυτεσπούδασαν αὐτῷ, μη καὶ δοῦλοί τινες ἄντικρυς αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ή δικασταὶ νομισθώσιν 4 είναι. καίπερ καὶ τότε ὁ Κικέρων οὐδὲν βέλτιον τοῦ Πλάγκου κατηγόρησεν ἡ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μίλωνος ἀπελογήσατο· ἥ τε γὰρ τοῦ δικαστηρίου ὄψις ἡ αὐτὴ ἡν, καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν ἐκατέρφ τἀναντία οί καὶ έβουλεύετο καὶ ἔπραττεν, ὅθεν οὐχ ἥκιστα αὖθις αὐτῷ προσέκρουσε.

56 Ταῦτά τε οὖν ἄμα διώκει, καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν νόμον τὸν κελεύοντα τοὺς ἀρχήν τινα ἐπαγγέλλοντας ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν πάντως ἀπαντᾶν, ὥστε μηδένα ἀπόντα αἰρεῖσθαι, παρημελημένον πως ἀνενεώσατο· τό τε δόγμα τὸ μικρὸν ἔμπροσθε γενόμενον, ὥστε τοὺς ἄρξαντας ἐν τῆ πόλει μὴ πρότερον ἐς τὰς ἔξω ἡγεμονίας, πρὶν

¹ συσπουδάσαντος R. Steph , σπουδάσαντος L.

was not saved even by the efforts of Pompey, who was B.C. 52 so zealous in his behalf that he sent to the court a pamphlet containing both a eulogy of Milo and an entreaty in his behalf. But Marcus Cato, who was to be a juryman, said he would not allow the characterwitness to appear to the destruction of his own laws1; however, he got no opportunity to cast his vote, since he was rejected by Plancus, who felt sure he would vote for his condemnation. By the laws of Pompey, it should be explained, each of the parties to a suit was allowed to set aside five of the men who were to be on the jury. The other jurors, however, voted against Milo, since it did not seem right to them after they had condemned Rufus to acquit Plancus, who was on trial on the same charge; and particularly when they saw Pompey cooperating with him, they became zealous in opposing him, for fear they might be thought to be absolute slaves of his rather than jurymen. should be said that on this occasion, too, Cicero accused Planeus no more successfully than he had defended Milo; for the appearance of the courtroom was the same, and Pompey in each case was advising and acting against him-a circumstance that was important in bringing about another collision between them.

Besides attending to these matters Pompey revived the law about elections that commanded those who seek an office to present themselves without fail before the assembly, so that no one who was absent might be chosen; this law had somehow fallen into disuse. He also confirmed the decree, passed a short time previously, that those who had held office in the city should not be assigned to command abroad until

¹ See chap. 52.

πέντε ἔτη παρελθεῖν, κληροῦσθαι, ἐπεκύρωσεν. 2 οὐδ' ἠσχύνθη τότε μὲν ¹ τοιαῦτα γράψας, ὕστερον δὲ οὐ πολλῷ αὐτός τε τὴν 'Ιβηρίαν ἐς πέντε ἄλλα ἔτη λαβών, καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ ἀπόντι (οί γὰρ φίλοι αὐτοῦ δεινῶς ἠγανάκτουν) αἰτῆσαι τὴν 3 ὑπατείαν, ὥσπερ ἐψήφιστο, δούς. προσέγραψε ² μὲν γὰρ τῷ νόμῷ τὸ μόνοις αὐτὸ ἐξεῖναι ποιεῖν οἶς ἃν ὀνομαστί τε καὶ ἄντικρυς ἐπιτραπῆ, διέφερε δ' οὐδὲν τοῦτο τοῦ μηδ' ἀρχὴν κεκωλῦσθαι πάντως γὰρ οἵ ³ τι δυνάμενοι καὶ ἐκεῖνο ψηφι-

σθηναί σφισι διαπράξασθαι ἔμελλον.
Ο μὲν οὖν Πομπήιος τοιαῦτ' ἐπολιτεύετο, ὁ δὲ

δη Σκιπίων οὔτε ἐνομοθέτησέ τι, καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοῦ Κλωδίου περὶ τῶν τιμητῶν γραφέντα κατέλυσε. καὶ ἔδοξε μὲν την ἐκείνων χάριν τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι, ἐπειδη τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῖς ῆν καὶ πρὶν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῖς ῆν καὶ πρὶν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῖς ῆν καὶ πρὶν ἐκέναι ἀπέδωκε, περιέστη δὲ ἐς τοὐναντίον. ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ τοῦ πολλοὺς ἔν τε τῆ ἱππάδι καὶ ἐν τῷ βουλευτικῷ φλαύρους ἄνδρας εἶναι, τέως μὲν μηδένα μήτε κατηγορηθέντα μήθ' ἀλόντα διαγράψαι σφίσιν ἐξῆν, οὐδεμίαν τῶν οὐκ ἀπαλειθομένων αἰτίαν εἶχον ἀπολαβόντες δὲ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἰσχύν, ὑφ' ἡς αὐτοῖς καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς τὸν ἐκάστου βίον ἐξετάζουσι τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐδέδοτο, οὕτε πολλοῖς προσκρούειν ὑπέμενον, οὕτ' αὖ ἐν μέμψει τινὶ ὡς μὴ διαγράφοντες τοὺς οὐκ ἐπιτηδείους γίγνεσθαι ἤθελον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ ἐφίετο τοῦτο σὐδὲ ἐξς.

¹ τότε μέν Rk., μέν τότε L.

 ² προσέγραψε R. Steph., προέγραψε L.
 ³ οῖ Xyl., ὅ L.
 ⁴ τοῦ Xyl., τοὺs L.

⁵ ἐφίετο R. Steph., ἐφίεντο L.

five years had passed. And yet, after proposing B.C. 52 these measures at this time, he was not ashamed a little later to take Spain himself for five years more and to grant to Caesar, whose friends were in a terrible state of indignation, the right to canvass for the consulship even in his absence, as had been decreed. For he had amended the law to read that only those should be permitted to do it who were granted the privilege by name and without disguise; but this was no different from its not having been prohibited at all, for men who had any influence were certainly going to manage to get the right voted to them. Such were the political acts of

Pompey.

Scipio, without enacting any new laws, abolished the laws emanating from Clodius with regard to the censors. It looked as though he had done this out of favour to them, since he had restored to them the authority which they formerly had; but it turned out to be the opposite. For in view of the fact that there were many unworthy men both in the equestrian and in the senatorial orders, so long as it had not been permitted them to expel any one who had been either accused or convicted, no fault was found with them on account of those whose names were not expunged. But when they got back their old power and were allowed to do this on their own authority after examining into the life of each man, they had not the hardihood to come to an open break with many, nor had they, on the other hand, any desire to incur censure for failing to expel men who were unfit to retain their rank, and for this reason no sensible person had any desire for the office any longer.

58 Περὶ μὲν δὴ τοὺς τιμητὰς ταῦτ' ἐψηφίσθη, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάτων ἄλλως μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς ἀρχῆς ἐδεῖτο, ίδων δέ τόν τε Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ὑπέρ την κατάστασιν της πολιτείας αὐξανομένους, καὶ ὑποτοπήσας ήτοι καὶ ἀμφοτέρους σφας τὰ πράγματα έξειν, ἢ καὶ διενεχθέντας ἀλλήλοις στάσιν τε μεγίστην ποιήσειν καὶ τὸν 2 κρατήσαντα αὐτῶν μοναρχήσειν, ἠθέλησε μέν σφας πρὶν ἀνταγωνιστὰς γενέσθαι καταλῦσαι, καὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἤτησεν, ἐπειδήπερ ἰδιωτεύων οὐδὲν ἰσχύσειν ἔμελλεν, ὑποπτευθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ ἐκείνων πραττόντων τοιοῦτόν τι δράσειν οὐκ ἀπεδείχθη, ἀλλ' ὅ τε Μάρκελλος ὁ 3 Μᾶρκος καὶ ὁ Ῥοῦφος ὁ Σουλπίκιος, ὁ μὲν διὰ κιαρκος και ο Γουφος ο Δουλπικιος, ο μεν οια την των νόμων έμπειρίαν ο δε δια την των λόγων δύναμιν, ήρεθησαν, άλλως τε και ότι αὐτοι μέν, εί και μη χρήμασιν η βιαίω τινὶ έργω, άλλα τη γε² θεραπεία και τη παρακλήσει πολλή προς πάντας έχρησαντο, ο δε δη Κάτων ουδένα αὐτων 4 έθεράπευσε. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐκέτ' αὖθις τῆς ἀρχῆς άντεποιήσατο, λέγων άγαθοῦ άνδρὸς ἔργον εἶναι μήτ' ἀποδιδράσκειν τὴν προστασίαν τῶν κοινῶν, άν γε τινες χρησθαι αὐτῷ εθελήσωσι, μήθ' ὑπερ 59 τὸ προσηκον αὐτης ἐφίεσθαι Μάρκελλος δὲ πάντ' εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῆ τοῦ Καίσαρος καταλύσει (τῆς γὰρ τοῦ Πομπηίου μερίδος ἦν) ἔπραττε, καὶ ἄλλα τε ἐπ' αὐτῷ πολλά, καὶ ἄστε καὶ διάδοχόν οἱ ἤδη καὶ πρὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου πεμφθηναι, ἐσηγήσατο, καὶ αὐτῷ ὅ τε Σουλπίκιος καὶ τῶν δημάρχων τινες ἀντέπραξαν, οὐτοι μεν τῆ προς τον Καίσαρα χάριτι ἐκείνος δ' αὐτοῖς ἐκοινώσατο 1 ήρέθησαν Χyl., διηρέθησαν L. 2 γε Bk., τε L.

This was the vote passed with regard to the B.C 52 censors. Cato did not really want any office, but seeing Caesar and Pompey outgrowing the constitution, and surmising that they would either get control of affairs together or would quarrel with each other and cause a great civil war, the victor in which would be sole ruler, he wished to overthrow them before they became antagonists, and sought the consulship to use it against them, because as a private citizen he would have no influence. His designs were guessed, however, by the adherents of the two men and he was not appointed, but instead Marcus Marcellus and Sulpicius Rufus were chosen, the one B.C. 51 on account of his acquaintance with the law and the other for his ability as an orator. One special reason was that they, even if they did not employ money or violence, yet showed great deference to all and were wont to appeal frequently to the people, whereas Cato was deferential to none of them. He never again became a candidate for the office, saying that it was the duty of an upright man not to shirk the leadership of the state if any wished to use his services in that way, nor yet to pursue it beyond the limits of propriety. Marcellus at once directed all his efforts toward compassing the downfall of Caesar, inasmuch as he was of Pompey's party; among the many measures against him that he proposed was one to the effect that a successor to him should be sent out even before the appointed He was resisted by Sulpicius and some of the tribunes; the latter acted out of good-will toward Caesar, and Sulpicius made common cause with them and with the multitude, because he

καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὅτι 1 οὐκ ἤρεσκε τό 2 τινα μεταξὺ 2 ἄρχοντα μηδεν ήδικηκότα παυθήναι. μαθών οὖν ταῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος (ἀπηρε μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ώς καὶ ές την Ίβηρίαν στρατεύσων, οὐ μην οὐδὲ τότε έκ της Ίταλίας έξεχώρησεν, άλλὰ τοῖς ὑποστρατήγοις πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖ προστάξας αὐτὸς τῆ 3 πόλει εφήδρευε) το μέν δη τον Καίσαρα της ήνεμονίας παραλυθήναι οὐδὲ ξαυτῶ ἀρέσκειν ἐπλάττετο, ἔπραττε δ' ὅπως, ὅταν τὸν δεδομένον οί χρόνον διάρξη 3 (τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἀλλ' εὐθὺς τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει γενήσεσθαι ἔμελλε), τά τε οπλα κατάθηται καὶ ιδιωτεύσων οικαδε ἐπανέλθη. 4 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Γάιόν τε Μάρκελλον τὸν τοῦ Μάρκου 4 ἀνεψιὸν ἢ καὶ ἀδελφόν (λέγεται γὰρ έκάτερον) ὑπατεῦσαι, ἐπειδὴ τῷ Καἰσαρι καίπερ ἐξ ἐπιγαμίας προσήκων ἐχθρὸς ἦν, καὶ τὸν Κουρίωνα τὸν Γάιον, δι' ἔχθρας καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ παλαιοῦ οί όντα, δημαρχήσαι έποίησεν. Ο οὖν Καΐσαρ μήτ' ἄλλως ὑπομένων ἔκ τε 60

Ο ουν Καισαρ μητ αλλως υπομενων εκ τε τηλικαύτης καὶ ἐκ χρονίου ἡγεμονίας ἰδιωτεῦσαι, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς γένηται, παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ ἀκόντων αὐτῶν ἐν τῆ ἀρχῆ ἐμμενῶν, καὶ στρατιώτας προσκατελέγετο καὶ χρήματα ἤθροιζεν ὅπλα τε ἐποίει, καὶ καθ' 2 ἡδονὴν πᾶσιν ἡγεῖτο. κἀν τούτῳ καὶ τὰ οἴκοι τρόπον τινά, τοῦ μὴ πάντα 5 βία ἀλλὰ καὶ πειθοῦ πράττειν δοκεῖν, προδιοικήσασθαι ἐθελήσας

¹ τοις πολλοίς ότι Madvig, ότι τοις πολλοίς L.

² ήρεσκε τό Rk., ηρέσκετό L.

³ διάρξη Rk., διαπράξη L.

⁴ τον τοῦ Μάρκου supplied by Bk., Μάρκου (only) by Leuncl. ⁵ πάντα Rk., πάντη L.

⁴⁹⁶

did not like the idea of a magistrate who had B.C. 51 done uo wrong being removed in the middle of his term. Pompey had set out from the city as if he were going to make an expedition into Spain. but he did not even at this time leave the bounds of Italy; instead, he assigned the entire business in Spain to his lieutenants and himself kept close watch on the city. Now when he heard how things were going, he pretended that the plan of having Caesar relieved of his command did not please him, either, but he arranged matters so that when Caesar should have served out the time allowed him.—an event not of the distant future, but due to occur the very next year,-he should lay down his arms and return home to private life. It was in pursuance of this object that he caused Gaius Marcellus. a cousin of Marcus, or a brother (both traditions are current), to obtain the consulship, because, although allied to Caesar by marriage, he was hostile to him; and he caused Gaius Curio, who was also an old-time foe of his rival, to become tribune.

Caesar was on no account inclined to become a private citizen after holding so important a command and for such a long time, and in particular he was afraid of falling into the power of his enemies. Therefore he made preparations to stay in office in spite of them, collected additional soldiers, gathered money, provided arms, and administered affairs in such a manner as to please all. Meanwhile, desiring to arrange matters at home beforehand in some fashion, so as not to seem to be using violence in all things, but also persuasion to gain his ends, he decided to effect a reconciliation with

497

кк

έγνω συναλλαγηναι τώ Κουρίωνι τοῦ τε γάρ τών Κουριώνων γένους ήν, καὶ τὴν γνώμην ὀξύς, εἰπεῖν τε δεινός, τῷ τε πλήθει πιθανώτατος, καὶ χρήματων ές πάντα άπλως έξ ών η αὐτός τι πλεονεκτήσειν ή και έτέρω διαπράξειν ήλπιζεν άφειδέστατος. 3 καὶ αὐτὸν πολλὰ μὲν ἐπελπίσας, πάντων δὲ τῶν όφειλημάτων, συγνών διὰ τὸ πολλὰ δαπανᾶσθαι ουτων, απαλλάξας ανηρτήσατο. προς γαρ την παρούσαν ων έπραττε σπουδήν ούτε 3 άργυρίου, άτε καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἀργυρολογῶν, ἐφείδετο, καὶ προσυπισγνεῖτό τισι παμπληθή ὧν οὐδὲ πολ-4 λοστον μέρος δώσειν έμελλε. καὶ οὐ μόνον γε 4 τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς δούλους τούς τι καὶ ὁπωσοῦν παρὰ τοῖς δεσπόταις σφῶν δυναμένους έθεράπευσε καὶ συχνοὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ὑπῆρξαν.

61 'Ο δ' οὖν Κουρίων ἐφρόνησε μὲν τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, οὐ μέντοι καὶ παραχρῆμα φανερῶς αὐτὰ πράττειν ἤρξατο· πρόφασίν τε γὰρ εὐπρεπῆ τοῦ μὴ καὶ ἑκὼν ἀλλὰ ἀναγκασθεὶς δὴ μεθεστηκέναι δόξαι ἐζήτει, καὶ ἐνόμισεν, ὅσῳ δ ἄν ἐπὶ πλεῖον τοῖς ἐχθροῖς αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ φίλος σφῶν συγγένηται, καὶ πλείω καὶ μείζω τῶν ἀπορρήτων αὐτῶν μαθή-2 σεσθαι. δι' οὖν ταῦτα ἐπὶ μακρότατόν τε ἐπεκρύψατο, καὶ ὅπως μηδένα τρόπον ὑποπτευθῆ μεταβεβλῆσθαί τε καὶ οὐκ ἀνὰ πρώτους καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐναντία τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ τότε ἔτι καὶ φρονεῖν καὶ λέγειν, καὶ ἐδημηγόρει κατ' αὐτοῦ ἀφ' οὖ γε καὶ δημαρχεῖν ἤρξατο, καὶ ἐσηγεῖτο

¹ συναλλαγήναι Reim., συλλαγήναι L.

 ² πολλά μεν Βk., μεν πολλά Ι..
 3 οῦτε Χyl., οῦτε γὰρ L.
 4 γε H. Steph., τε L.
 5 ὅσφ Rk., ὡς L.

Curio. For the latter belonged to the family of the B.C. 50 Curiones, had a keen intellect, was eloquent, was greatly trusted by the populace, and most lavish of money for all objects by which he hoped either to gain advantage for himself or benefit others. So, by buoying him up with many hopes and relieving him of all his debts, which on account of his extravagance were numerous, Caesar attached him to himself. In view of the present importance of the objects for which he was working Caesar did not spare money, since the attainment of these ends would afford him an abundance, and he also promised various persons large sums, of which he had no intention of giving them even the smallest fraction. He courted not only the free but the slaves who had any influence whatever with their masters, and as a result a number of the knights and of the senators joined his side.

Thus Curio espoused Caesar's cause; but he did not immediately begin to serve him openly, since he was seeking a plausible excuse, so as to appear not to have transferred his allegiance willingly, but under compulsion. He also took into consideration that the more he should associate with Caesar's enemies in the guise of their friend, the more and the greater would be the secrets of theirs he should learn. For these reasons he dissembled for a long time, and to prevent any suspicion of the fact that he had changed sides and was not still at this time among the foremost in feeling and expressing unqualified opposition to Caesar, he even delivered public speeches against him, as soon as he had entered upon the tribuneship, and introduced many strange

3 πολλά καὶ ἄτοπα. καί τινα καὶ ἐπὶ τῆ βουλῆ τοίς τε δυνατωτάτοις σφών, οίπερ που καὶ τὰ 1 τοῦ Πομπηίου μάλιστ' ἔπραττον, ἔγραφεν, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἤθελεν ἡ καὶ ήλπιζέ τι αὐτῶν γενήσεσθαι. 2 ἀλλ' ίνα μη προσδεχομένων μήτε κατά τοῦ Καίσαρός τι ψηφισθείη (πολλὰ γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ὑπὸ πολλῶν έγράφετο) καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῆ προφάσει ταύτη 62 μετασταίη. συχνον οθν έκ τούτου χρόνον άλλοτε άλλαις σκήψεσιν, ώστε μηδέν αὐτῶν τὸ παράπαν κυρωθήναι, κατατρίψας άγανακτείν τε προσεποιείτο, καὶ ήξίου μῆνα ἄλλον πρὸς τὰς ὑπ'3 αὐτῶν δὴ νομοθεσίας ἐπεμβληθῆναι. τοῦτο δὲ έγίγνετο μεν οσάκις γε και καθήκον ήν, ου μέντοι καὶ κατ' έκεῖνο συνέβαινεν, ώσπερ που καὶ αὐτὸς 2 ἄτε ποντίφιξ ῶν ἠπίστατο. ὅμως δ' οὖν δεῖν τε αὐτὸ γενέσθαι έλεγε, καὶ τοὺς συνιερέας ὅσον ἀπὸ βοης έξεβιάζετο καὶ τέλος μη δυνηθεὶς αὐτοὺς πείσαι συγκαταθέσθαι οἱ, ὅσπερ οὐδὲ έβούλετο, οὐδ' ἄλλο τι διὰ τοῦτο ψηφισθήναι ἐπέτρεψεν, άλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ήδη τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος 3 διαδικαιῶν, ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν κατ' αὐτοῦ δῆθεν ἠδυνήθη ποιησαι, παν ο τι ποτε ενεδέχετο ου δεχθηναι προίσχετο, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι πάντας τοὺς τὰ ὅπλα έχοντας ταῦτά τε καταθέσθαι καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα διαλύσαι χρή, $\mathring{\eta}$ μηδ' έκείνον ψιλώσαντας αὐτῶν 6 ταις δυνάμεσι ταις των αντιστασιωτων έκδουναι. 4 έλεγε δὲ τοῦτο οὐχ ὅτι καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ποιῆσαι αὐτὸ ἤθελεν, ἀλλί ὅτι τὸν Πομπήιον εὖ ἠπίστατο

τὰ Χyl., κατὰ L.
 τὰ χyl., κατὰ L.
 τὰ τὸ Τyr. Herw., ἀπ' L.
 τὰ κατ' supplied by St.
 αὐτῶν Leunel., αὐτὸν L.

measures. Some bills he offered against the senate and B.C. 50 its most powerful members, men who were especially active in Pompey's behalf, not because he either wished or expected that any one of them would be passed, but in order that, if they did not accept them, no measure might be passed against Caesar either (for many motions directed against him were being offered by various persons), and that he might himself use this as an excuse for changing sides. Thus, after having used up considerable time on different occasions on various pretexts, so that not a single one of his measures was adopted, he pretended to be vexed and asked that an extra month be intercalated for the enactment of the senate's measures. practice used to be followed as often as occasion demanded, but not for any such reason as his, and he himself, being pontifex, understood that fact. Nevertheless he declared that it ought to be done and made a fine show of using compulsion on his fellow-priests. At last, not being able to persuade them to assent to his proposal, as indeed he did not desire them to do, he would not permit any other matter to be voted upon on this account. On the contrary. he already began openly to justify Caesar's actions, since, as he claimed, he was unable to accomplish anything against him, and he brought forward every possible proposition which was sure of not being accepted. The chief of these was that all persons in arms must lay these down and disband their legions, or else they should not strip Caesar of his weapons and expose him to the forces of his rivals. This he said, not because he wished Caesar to do it, but because he well understood that Pompey

μὴ πειθαρχήσοντα αὐτῷ· καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐκείνῷ πρόφασις εὕλογος τοῦ μὴ διιέναι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐδίδοτο.

63 Ο οὖν Πομπήιος ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ἄλλως πράττων ήνυτε, πρός τε τὸ τραχὺ ἀπαρακαλύπτως ὥρμησε, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς πάντα καὶ ἔλεγε καὶ ἐποίει κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος. οὐ μέντοι καὶ κατέπραξέ τι. 2 άλλοι τε γαρ ἐκείνω πολλοί και Λούκιος Παῦλος ό τοῦ Μαρκέλλου συνάρχων, ό τε Πίσων ό Λούκιος ό 1 πενθερός αὐτοῦ τιμητής ὢν συνηγωνίζοντο καὶ γάρ 2 τιμηταί τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ὅ τε Κλαύδιος ὁ 3 Αππιος καὶ ὁ Πίσων, καίτοι μὴ βουληθείς, ἐγέ-3 νοντο. καὶ οὖτος μὲν διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν ὑπῆρχε τῷ Καίσαρι, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κλαύδιος ἠναντιοῦτο [‡] μὲν αὐτῶ (τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Πομπηίου ἡρεῖτο), οὐκ ἐλάχιστα δὲ καὶ ἄκων ὡφέλησε· πλείστους γὰρ καὶ τῶν ίππέων καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν διέγραψεν, ἐκβιασάμενος τον συνάρχοντα, κάκ τούτου πάντας αὐτοὺς 4 τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος φρονεῖν ἐποίησεν. ὁ γὰρ Πίσων ουτ' άλλως πράγματ' δ έχειν εθέλων και προς την τοῦ γαμβροῦ φιλίαν πολλούς θεραπεύων αὐτὸς μεν ούδεν τοιούτον εποίησεν, εκείνω δε ούκ αντέπραξε πάντας μεν τούς εκ των απελευθέρων συγνούς δὲ καὶ τῶν πάνυ γενναίων, ἄλλους τε καὶ του Κρίσπου του Σαλούστιου του την ίστορίαν 5 γράψαντα, ἀπελάσαντι ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου. τὸν μέντοι Κουρίωνα μελλήσαντα καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπαλειφθήσεσθαι έξητήσατο μετὰ τοῦ Παύλου, οὖπερ

¹ δ added by Bk. 2 και γάρ Reim., καίτοι L.

³ à added by R. Steph.

⁴ ήναντιοῦτο R. Steph., ήναντιοῦντο L.

⁵ πράγματ' Rk., πρᾶγμα L.

would not yield obedience to it, and thus a plausible B.C. 50 excuse was offered the other also for not dismissing his soldiers.

Pompey, accordingly, as he could effect nothing in any other way, proceeded without any further disguise to harsh measures and openly said and did everything against Caesar; yet he failed to accomplish anything. Caesar had many supporters, among them Lucius Paulus, the colleague of Marcellus. and Lucius Piso, his father-in-law, who was censor; for at this time Appius Claudius and Piso were made censors, the latter against his will. So Piso on account of his relationship belonged to Caesar, while Claudius, though opposing him, since he favoured Pompey's cause, yet quite involuntarily rendered Caesar very efficient aid. For he expelled a great many both of the knights and senators, overruling his colleague, and in this way made them all favour Caesar's cause. Piso, who was in any case disposed to avoid trouble, and for the sake of maintaining friendship with his son-in-law paid court to many people, was himself responsible for none of the above acts, but he did not resist Claudius when he drove from the senate all the freedmen and numbers even of the exclusive nobility, among them Sallustius Crispus, who wrote the history. When, however, Curio's name also was about to be expunged, Piso, with the help of Paulus, whose kinsman he was, did beg him

64 συγγενής ήν· καὶ δς οὐκ $d\pi \eta \lambda \lambda a \xi \epsilon^1$ μεν αὐτὸν διὰ τοῦτο, τὴν μέντοι γνώμην ἡν περὶ αὐτοῦ εἶγεν έδημοσίευσεν έν τῷ βουλευτηρίω, ώστε ἐκείνον άγανακτήσαντα την έσθητα αὐτοῦ περιρρήξαι. παραλαβων οθν τοθτον ο Μάρκελλος, καὶ νομίσας έπί τε τῷ Κουρίωνι καὶ δι' αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι δείνον τι την γερουσίαν ψηφιείσθαι, γνώμας 2 περί αὐτοῦ προέθηκεν. ὁ οὖν Κουρίων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἠναντιοῦτο μηδεμίαν περὶ αὑτοῦ ² γνώμην δοθήναι γνούς δὲ τὸ πολύ τῶν βουλευτῶν τῶν τότε παρόντων τοὺς μὲν καὶ φρονοῦντας ὄντως τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοὺς δὲ πάνυ αὐτὸν δεδιότας, 3 ἐπέτρεψέ σφισι διαγνώναι, τοσούτον ὑπειπών ὅτι σύνοιδα μεν εμαυτώ τά τε άριστα καὶ τὰ συμφορώτατα τη πατρίδι πράττοντι, υμίν μέντοι καὶ τὸ σωμα καὶ τὴν ψυγὴν παραδίδωμι χρήσασθαι δ τι βούλεσθε. κατηγορήσας οθν αὐτοθ ὁ Μάρκελλος ως και πάντως άλωσομένου, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδή 4 πρὸς τῶν πλειόνων ἀφείθη, δεινόν τε ἐποιήσατο καὶ ἐκπηδήσας ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον εν τῷ προαστείφ ὄντα ἢλθε, καὶ τήν τε φυλακήν αὐτῷ τής πόλεως καὶ δύο στρατόπεδα πολιτικά αὐτὸς καθ' έαυτόν, μηδενὸς έψηφισμένου. ἔδωκεν.

Οἱ δὲ δὴ στρατιῶται οὖτοι ὧδέ τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε³ 65 συνειλεγμένοι καὶ παρόντες τότε ἦσαν. ὁ Πομπήιος πρότερον μέν, ἔως ἔτι τὸν Καίσαρα διὰ φιλίας εἶχε, στράτευμα εν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου αὐτῷ 4 στρατευομέν $_{}$ εδεδώκει 6 (οὔτε γὰρ οὖτος

 $^{^1}$ οὐκ ἀπήλλαξε Bs., οὖν ἀπήλλαξε Rk., οὐ διήλλαξε L.

 $^{^2}$ αὐτοῦ Bk., αὐτοῦ L. 3 τῷδε Leunel., τῶι L.

 ⁴ αὐτῷ Xyl., αὐτῶν L.
 ⁵ στρατευομένῳ Rk., στρατευομένων L.
 ⁶ ἐδεδώκει Bk., δέδωκεν L.

off. Consequently Claudius did not expel him, but B.C 50 made public in the senate the opinion that he had of him, so that the other, indignant, tore Claudius' clothes. So Marcellus seized him, and thinking that the senate would pass some severe vote against Curio and, because of him, against Caesar, brought forward motions about him. Curio at first opposed the rendering of any decision regarding himself; but on coming to realize that the majority of the senators then present were either actually attached to Caesar's cause or else thoroughly feared him, he allowed them to decide, merely remarking: "I am conscious of doing what is best and most advantageous for my country; to you, however, I surrender both my body and life to do with as you please." Marcellus accordingly accused him, thinking that he would certainly be convicted; but when he was acquitted by the majority, the accuser took it greatly to heart, and rushing out of the senate, he came to Pompey, who was in the suburbs, and on his own responsibility, without the formality of a vote, entrusted him with the protection of the city and likewise with two legions of citizens.

These soldiers were then present, having been collected in the following way and for the following purpose. Pompey had previously, while still on friendly terms with Caesar, given him one of the enrolled legions for use in his campaign, inasmuch as he was not conducting any war himself and

πόλεμόν τινα διεχείριζε, καὶ ἐκείνω χρεία στρα2 τιωτῶν ἐγένετο), ἐπεὶ δὲ διηνέχθησαν, ἐθελήσας τοῦτό τε ἀπολαβεῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔτι καὶ ἄλλο αὐτὸν προσαφελέσθαι ἐλογοποίησεν ὡς τοῦ Βιβούλου στρατιωτῶν πρὸς τοὺς Πάρθους δεομένου, καὶ ἵνα γε μὴ καινοὶ δή τινες κατάλογοι γένωνται (τό τε γὰρ πρᾶγμα κατεπείγειν καὶ περιουσίαν σφίσι στρατοπέδων εἰναι ἔλεγε), ψηφισθῆναι ἐποίησεν ὥστε ἐκάτερόν σφων, ἑαυτόν τε καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα, ἐν δεῖν¹ αὐτῷ πέμψαι. κἀκ τούτου τῶν μὲν συστρατευομένων οἱ οὐδένα ἀπέστειλε, τὸ δὲ δὴ στράτευμα ἐκεῖνο ὅπερ τῷ Καίσαρι ἐδεδωκει ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦτο ταχθεῖσιν αἰτῆσαι. καὶ οὕτω τῷ μὲν λόγω ἀμφότεροι, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ὁ Καῖσαρ μόνος τὰ δύο ἔπεμψεν ἤδει μὲν γὰρ τὸ γιγνόμενον, ἐπειθάρχησε δὲ μὴ βουληθεὶς αἰτίαν ὡς καὶ ἀνηκουστηκῶς λαβεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ μέλλων ἐπὶ τῷ προφάσει ταύτη πολλῷ πλείους στρατιώτας ἀντικαταλέξειν.

66 Ταῦτα οὖν τὰ στρατόπεδα παρεσκευάσθη μὲν ώς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους πεμφθησόμενα, ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἐδέησε (οὐδὲ γὰρ χρεία σφῶν ἦν), ὁ Μάρκελλος πρότερον μέν, φοβηθεὶς μὴ τῷ Καίσαρι ἀποδοθῆ, ἐν τῆ Ἰταλία δεῖν εἶναι ἔλεγεν, τότε δὲ τῷ Πομπηίῳ, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἐνεχείρισε. 2 καὶ ἦν γὰρ ἐπ' ἐξόδῷ τοῦ ἔτους τὰ γιγνόμενα, καὶ ἔμελλεν οὐκ ἐπὶ πολύ, ἄτε μήτε τῆ βουλῆ μήτε τῷ δήμῷ δόξαντα, ἰσχύσειν, ἐπήγετο ² πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον Κορνήλιόν τε Λέντουλον καὶ Γάιον Κλαύδιον τοὺς τῷ ὑστέρῷ ἔτει ὑπατεύσειν μέλ-

¹ έν δείν Bs., δείν έν Melber, δείν L.
2 ἐπήγετο Rk., ἠπείγετο L.

Caesar had need of soldiers. But when they fell out B.C. 50 with each other, in his desire to get this one back from him and to deprive him of yet another he represented that Bibulus required soldiers against the Parthians; and in order that no new levies should be made, since the matter was urgent, as he claimed, and they had an abundance of legions, he got it voted that each of them, himself and Caesar, must send one to him. Thereupon he failed to send any of his own soldiers, but ordered those whose business it was to demand that legion which he had given to Caesar. So nominally both of them contributed, but in reality Caesar alone sent the two. For though he knew what was being done, he complied with the demand, not wishing to incur the charge of disobedience, particularly because on this excuse he intended to collect many more troops in place of these.

These legions, therefore, were apparently made ready to be sent against the Parthians, but when there proved to be no need of them, there being really no use to which they could be put, Marcellus, fearing that they might be restored to Caesar, at first declared that they must remain in Italy, and then, as I have said, gave them into Pompey's charge. These proceedings took place near the close of the year and were destined not to remain long in force, since they had been approved neither by the senate nor by the people. Accordingly he won over to Pompey's side Cornelius Lentulus and Gaius Claudius, who were to hold the consulship the next

λοντας, καὶ ἐποίησε καὶ ἐκείνους τὰ αὐτὰ προσ-3 τάξαι ἐπειδὴ γὰρ καὶ γράμματα τοῖς ἀποδεδειγμένοις ές τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐκτιθέναι καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ τῶν τῆ ἡγεμονία σφῶν προσηκόντων, καὶ πρὶν ἐνίστασθαι αὐτήν, πράττειν έτι καὶ τότε έξην, καὶ τούτου κύριοι ενόμιζον είναι. καὶ ὅ γε¹ Πομπήιος, καίπερ ές πάντα τάλλα άκριβής ών, δμως οὐδὲν διά την στρατιωτών χρείαν έπολυπραγμόνησεν, ούτε ἀφ' ὧν οὐθ' ὅπως αὐτοὺς λαμβάνει, ἀλλὰ 4 καὶ πάνυ ἄσμενός σφας ἐδέξατο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ έπράχθη τι οίον ἄν τις ἐπὶ τηλικούτφ τολμήματι γενήσεσθαι 2 προσεδόκησεν, άλλα την έχθραν μόνον την προς τον Καίσαρα ενδειξάμενοι αὐτοί μεν οὐδεν ἄλλο ἰσχυρον παρεσκευάσαντο, ἐκείνφ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τούτου πρόφασιν εὔλογον ἐς τὸ ³ τὰ στρατόπεδα τὰ συνόντα οἱ κατασχεῖν παρέσχον. 5 ο γὰρ Κουρίων ἐπί τε τούτοις πολλὴν ἐν τῷ πλήθει κατηγορίαν κατά τε τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ διῆρξε, πρὸς τον Καίσαρα εὐθὺς ἀφωρμήθη.

 1 γε Rk., τε L. 2 γενήσεσθαι Rk., γεγεννῆσθαι L. 3 τδ added by Reim.

year, and caused them to issue the same commands. B.C 50 For since magistrates-elect were still allowed to issue proclamations and to perform some other functions pertaining to their office even before they entered upon it, they believed that they had authority also in this matter. And Pompey, although he was very scrupulous in all other matters, nevertheless on account of his need of soldiers did not either enquire at all from what sources he was getting them. or in what way, but accepted them very gratefully. Yet no such result was accomplished as one would have expected to come from such a bold move; they merely displayed their enmity toward Caesar, and then made no further preparations themselves to strengthen their position, while they had furnished to him a plausible excuse for retaining the legions that were with him. For Curio, taking these acts as his text, delivered before the populace a violent arraignment both of the consuls and of Pompey, and when he had finished his term of office, he at once set out to join Caesar.

509





Abgarus, ruler of Osrhoëne, 435-39 Acilius. See Glabrio Aduatuci, the, 313 f. Aedui, the, 265, 269, 311, 461-65 Afranius, L. (cos. 60), 107, 175 Africa, 39, 279, 285, 363 Agamemnon, descendants of, 17 Agricola, Cn. Julius, 383 Ahenobarbus, Cn. Domitius (tr. 104), 159 Ahenobarbus, L. Domitius (cos. 54). 351 f., 397, 403, 407 Alban Mount, the, 329, 335, 351 Albania, 93, 279 Albanians, the, 93, 97 f., 103, 107 Alchaudonius, Arabian chieftain, Alesia, city in Gaul, 467 f. Alexander the Great, 425, 431; statue of, 183 Alexandrines, the, 327 f., 393 Allobroges, the, 153 f., 173 f., 265, 317, 465; cf. 293 Alps, the, 263, 277, 285, 317, 381 Ambiorix, Gallic chieftain, 413 f.. 451 - 55Anaïtis, Armenian goddess, 79 Anaïtis, district of Armenia, 79, 91, 113 n. Antigonea, 449 Antioch, 27, 449 Antiochus the Great, 279, 285 Antiochus XIII. of Syria, 113 Antiochus I. of Commagene, 7 Antonius, C. (cos. 63), 117, 141, 149-53, 161 f., 215 f. Appian Way, the, 479 Aquitania, 377 Arabia, 279

Arar, river in Gaul, 265 Araxes, river in Armenia, 89 Archelaus, general of Mithridates, 393Archelaus, son of preceding, 393 f. Ardea, 253 Aretas, Arabian king. 125 Ariovistus, 269 f., 289-95, 299-307 Aristides, Athenian statesman, 253 f. Aristion, 29 Aristobulus, king of Judaea, 125 f., Armenia, 9, 13, 75-79, 87-91, 103, 107, 113, 279, 429, 433, 445 Armenia, Lesser, 15 Armenians, the, 99 Arsaces, founder of Arsacid dy-nasty, 425 Arsaces XI., king of the Parthians, Arsacidae, the, 425 Artabazes, son of Tigranes, 429 Artaxata, capital of Armenia, 87 f. Artonia, capital of Armenia, 871. Artemis, statue of, 17; cf. 331 Artoces, king of Asiatic Iberia, 99 f. Arverni, the, 455–59 Asia, 3, 7, 17, 131 f., 167, 279 Aspis, city in Syria, 113 and n. Athens, 237 Avaricum, city in Gaul, 457 f. Axona, river in Gaul, 311

Bassus, L., 29
Bastarnae, tribe of Scythians, 217
Belgae, the, 311, 469
Belgica, 383
Bellienus, L. Annius, 117 n.
Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy
Auletes, 327, 393 f.

Arabians, the. 27, 113, 125

Bibulus, M. Calpurnius (cos. 59), 115, 203, 207 f., 213 f., 221, 451, Castor, temple of, 115, 207 Catiline, L. Sergius, 73 f., 11 145-53, 161-65, 217, 251 Cato, M. Porcius, the censor, 137 483, 507 Bithynia, 25, 67, 71, 97, 279 Cato. M. Porcius, Uticensis, 135 f., 157, 167, 177, 187, 193, 201 f., 209 f., 235, 261 f., 337-41, 353-57, Bituriges, the, Gallic tribe, 457 Bosporus, kingdom of, 85, 101, 123 Brigantium, town in Spain, 185 Britain, 311, 383-387, 409-13 363, 491, 495 Cato, C. (tr. 57), 347 Britons, the, 383–87 Brundisium, 133 Catugnatus, chief of the Allobroges. Brutus, D. Junius, 367 f. 173 f. Catulus, tulus, Q. Lutatius (cos. 78), 49-61, 159, 169-73 Gabira, city in Pontus, 17 49-61, 159, 169-73
Caucasus, the, 99, 107
Celtica, 377
Celts, the, 269 n., 383
Cicero, M. Tullius, consul, 117, 141, 147-61, 165 f.; banished, 215-61; recalled, 317-25; other references, 3, 71 f., 333-37, 395 f., 401 f., 489 f.
Cicero, Q., legatus of Caesar, 415-19
Cilician, 25, 57, 63, 71, 325
Cilicians, the, 7, 29
Cimbri, the, 313
Cinna, L. Cornelius (cos. 87-85), 39
Claudius, App. (Pulcher) (cos. 54), Caesar, C. Julius, aedile, 113 f.; opposes death penalty for Catilinarian conspirators, 157-61; governor of Lusitania, 181-85; vertion of Lustania, 161–63, seeks consulship, 185–93; (cos. 59), 197–221; in Gaul, 263–315, 367–75, 379–87, 407–21, 451–73; attitude toward Cicero, 215–21, 323; 227-35, relations with Pompey, 169, 187-93, 339-45, 355, 359, 473, 483 f., 493-509; other references, 71, 117, 135, 143, 171, 401 f. Caesar, L. Julius (cos. 64), 109, 117. Claudius, App. (Pulcher) (cos. 54), 319, 397, 407, 503 f. Claudius, C. (Pulcher) (tr. 56), 337, 143Calatinus, A. Atilius (dict. 249), Clodians, name proposed for Cretap 55 n. Calenus, Q. Fufius (pr. 59), 213 cantives, 339 Clodius, P. (tr. 58), 23, 27, 171 f., 181, 221-33, 261, 317-25, 333-41, 349, 479-83, 489, 493 Calvinus, Cn. Domitius (cos. 53), 429 f., 473, 477 Cambyses, river in Albania, 103 Camillus, 253 f. Clunia, town in Spain, 387 Coele-Syria, 113 Campania, 199, 211 Colchians, the, 103 Colchis, 85, 101 Campus Martius, 403 Capito, C. Ateius (tr. 55), 353, 359, 365 Comana, town in Cappadocia, 17 Capitol, the, 115, 155 f., 231, 235, 321, 337, 351, 365 Commagene, 7 Commius, an Atrebatian leader, 471 Corduene (Gordyene), 107 Capitolinus, 255 Cornelius, C. (tr. 67), 65 f. Corvinus (Corvus), M. Cappadocia, 17 f., 23 f., 87 f. Capua, 211 Valerius (cos. VI. 299), 257 Carbo, C., 67 Carrhae, city in Mesopotamia, 443. Cotta, L. Aurelius (cos. 65), 73 f., 97 Cotta, M. Aurelius (cos. 74), 67 Cotta, M. Aurelius, son of preced-Carrhaeans, the, 107 Carthaginians, the, 279, 285 Caspian Sea, the, 107 Cassius, C. See Longinus. ing, 67 Cotta, L. Aurunculeius, legatus of Caesar, 413 f. cassus, M. Licinius, alliance Cassivellaunus, British chieftain, Crassus, 411 with Caesar and Pompey, 187-93,

201, 205, 235, 323, 345; consulship, 351-67, 383, 395f.; campaign against the Parthians, 421 f., 429-47, 473; see also 149, 155
Crassus. P. Licinius, son of preced-

Crassus. P. Licinius, son of preceding, 353, 377, 437 Cretans, the, 3, 27 f.

Cretans, the, 3, 27 f. Crete, 3, 27 f., 75, 279

Creticus, title given to Metellus, 27 Crispus, C. Sallustius, historian, 503 Ctesiphon, Parthian capital, 425, 435

Curia Hostilia, 483 Curio, C. Scribonius (tr. 50), 231 f., 497-505 Cydonia, city in Crete, 29

Cyprians, 337 f. Cyprus, 261, 279, 325, 337 f. Cyrnus (Cyrus), river in Albania, 91-95, 99, 103

Dadasa, town of Cappadocia, 19 Dardanians, the, 217 Demetrius, freedman of Pompey, 363 Democedes, physician of Crotona, 239 Dio, an Alexandrine, 327 f. Domitius. See Ahenobarbus Drusus, M. Livius, 255

Durius, river of Spain, 183

Eburones, the, 413 Eburonia, 413 Egypt, 57, 127, 325, 329, 391, 395 Egyptians, the, 129 f., 325, 393 Eleuthera, town in Crete, 29 Ephesus, 331 Epirots, the, 285 Etruria, 149 Etruscans, the, 151, 277 Europe, 279 Euphrates, 7, 11, 107 f., 421, 429 f., 435, 445 f.

Fabius, M., legatus in Mithridatic war, 15 f. Fabrician bridge, the, 171 Faesulae, 149, 153, 161 Fannius, L., in Mithridatic war, 15 Faustus. See Sulla Favonius, M., 209, 327, 353, 359, 475
Feriae Latinae, the, 351
Flaccus, L., legatus of Pompey, 93
Flavius, L. (tr. 60), 179, 261
Forum, the, 115, 155, 207, 221, 349, 357, 403, 479 f.
Fulvius, A., 159

Gabinius, A. (tr. 66), 37, 43-49, 59, 71, 107, 215, (cos. 58), 223, 231 f., 261, 389-403
Gabinius (Sisenna), son of preceding, 391
Gades, 183 f.
Galatia, 77, 177
Galba, Gallic chieftain, 311

Galba, Gallic chieftain, 311 Galba, Serv. Sulpicius, legatus of Caesar, 175, 317, (pr. 54), 403 Gallaecia, district of Spain, 185 Gallia Celtica, 377 Gallia Nartonensis, 61, 173 f.;

cf. 263 f. Gallus, P. Aquilius (tr. 55), 353, 357 f.

Gaul, Caesar's campaigns in, 263–317, 367–87, 407–21, 451–73. See also Gallia Celtica and G. Narbonensis

Gaul, Cisalpine, 153, 213, 455 Gauls, the, 285, 297, 303, 341, 375-79, 385, 403, 411, 431, 455, 473

Gaziura, town in Pontus, 19 Gergovia, town of the Arverni, 459-63

Germans, the, 269-73, 285, 297, 301-07, 379 f., 451 f., 465 f. Glabrio, M'. Acilius (cos. 67), 19, 23 f., 37, 63, 69 f. Graechi, the, 255 Greece, 29, 57, 131, 279, 285 Greeks, the, 129, 383; cf. 423, 435

Hannibal, 253 n.
Harmastica, 99 n.
Helvetii, the, 263-69
Hercules, temple of, 183
Herminian Mount, the, 183 f.
Hierapydna, town in Crete, 29
Hippocrates, Greek physician, 230
Hortensius, Q. (cos. 69), 3, 231-35, 361

Hypsaeus, P. Plautius (tr. 54), 487 Hyrcanus, king of Judaea, 125 f. Liternum, 253 Longinus, C. Cassius. under Crassus, 445-49 Iberia, in Asia, 279 Lucanians, the, 277 Lucullus, L. Licinius, in Mithridatic War, 3-27, 71, 77; other references, 111, 177, 211, 215
Lucullus, L. Licinius (pr. 67), 69
Luscius, L., centurion under Sulla, Iberians, the, 99 Ichnae, fortress in Mesopotamia, 423 Illyria, 279 Indutiomarus, chief of the Treveri, 421, 451 117 n. Ionian Sea, the, 57 Lusitania, 181–83 Iphigeneia, 19 Macedonia, 153, 217, 237, 253, 279 Isis, 477 Macedonians, the, 425; in Syria, Ister, the, 119 109, 423 Istrians, the, 217 Machares, son of Mithridates, 85 Italians, the, 285 Macotis, lake, 85 Italy, 33, 55 f., 61, 117 f, 131 f., 141, 199, 285, 317, 323, 365, 417, Magnus, title given to Pompey, 135 Manilius, C. (tr. 66), 69-73 Manlius, C., commander of Cati-455, 497, 507 linarian forces, 149, 153 Marcellinus. See Lentulus Marcellus, C. Claudius (cos. 50), 473, 497, 503 f. Marcellus, C. Claudius (cos. 49), Janiculum, the, 145 January, 477 Jerusalem, 125 f. Jews, the, 127, 391 Judaea, 127 507 f. Juno, shrine of, 335 Marcellus, M. Claudius (cos. 51), Jupiter, statue of, 115, 155; day 451, 495 f. Marcius (or Marcus), relative of of. 131; temple of, 169; festival of, 351 Clodius, 319 n. Marcius, Q. See Rex Labienus, T., legatus of Caesar, 141, Marius, C., 51, 133, 257 Marius, L., legatus in Gaul, 175 145, 159, 421, 451 f., 465, 471 Mars. day of, 131 Lappa, town of Crete, 29 Lasthenes, a Cretan, 29 Massilia, 489 Latins, the, 277 Media, 21 Leman, lake, 317 Mediterranean Sea, the, 367; cf. 127 Lentinus, Manhus, legatus in Gaul, Menapii, the, 373 173 f. Menemachus, deserter from Ti-Lentulus, Cn. Cornelius (Marcellinus) (cos. 56), 331 f., 347 f., granes, 27 Mercury, day of, 131 Mesopotamia, 11, 107, 421-25, 429 Messalla, M. Valerius (c. 61), 171 Messalla, M. Valerius (cos. 53), 431, 367 Lentulus, L. Cornelius (cos. 49), 507 Lentulus, P. Cornelius (pr. 63), 149-61, 165, 227, 233, 251 Lentulus, P. Cornelius (Spinther) (cos. 57), 309, 319 ft, 325, 331 473 Metellus, (cos. 57), 161, 167 f., 181, 309, 319 f., 387 C. Lentulus, P. Cornelius (Spinther), son of preceding, 331 Lepidus, M'. Aemilius (cos. 66), 69 Liberty, temple of, 235, 323, 335 Liger, river of Gaul, 367, 465 Metellus, L. Caecilius (cos. 68), 9 Metellus, Q. Caecilius (Celer) (cos. 60), 93, 145, 151 f., 161 f., 175-81, 209Lingones, the, 465 Metellus, Q. Caecilius (Creticus) Litaviccus, a Gaul, 461 f.

(cos. 69), 3, 27-31, 75, 205

Metellus, Q. Caecilius (Numidicus). Palatine, the, 481 Palestine, 125 f., 281, 391 209 n. Metellus, Q. Caecilius (Pius) pon-Panares, a Cretan, 29 tifex maximus, 159 Panticapaeum, 121 Metellus, Q. Caecilius (Pius Scipio) Papius, C. (tr. 64), 117 (cos. 52), 485 Parthians, the, 11, 75, 91, 421, 425-31, 437-47, 451, 507 Metrophanes, envoy of Mithridates, 75 Milo, T. Annius, 479-83, 487-91 Paulus, L. Aemilius (cos. 50), 473, 317-21, 333 f... 503 Pelorus, river of Asiatic Iberia. Minerva, statue of, 235 99 f. Minucius, Q. (tr. 62), 167 Pelusium, city in Egypt, 393 Mithridates, 3-7, 13-21, 25, 71, 75-87, 101 f., 111 f., 117-23, 285 Perseus, king of Macedonia, 279. Mithridates, king of Media, 21 Mithridates III. (Arsaces XIII.), Persians, kingdom of, 425 Petreius, M., legatus of Antonius, king of the Parthians, 391 163, 203 Moesia, 217 Pharnaces. son of Mithridates. Morini, the, 373, 383 f. Murena, L. Licinius (cos. 62), 161 119 - 23Phasis, river of Colchis, 85, 101 Philip V., king of Macedonia, 279, Nicopolitans, the, 87 285Nervii, the, 313, 415 Philippus, I 331 i., 367 L. Marcius (cos. 56). Nicephorium, city in Mesopotamia, Philiscus, Greek philosopher (?), Nisibis, city in Mesopotamia, 11 f., 237 - 61Phoenicia, 91, 97, 113, 125 f. Phraates III. (Arsaces XII.), 75, 87, 107-11, 123, 391 Piso, C. Calpurnius (cos. 67), 19, 37, 61-65 21, 27, 171 Noviodunum, city in Gaul. 463 f. Ocean (Atlantic), the, 311, 367, 377, 383 Octavius, L., legatus of Pompey in Crete, 27 Ofella, Q. Lucretius, 117 n. Oppius, P., quaestor in Bithynia, 67 Orgetorix, 263 Orodes, I. (Arsaces, XIV.), king of Piso, Cn. Calpurnius, conspirator, 73 f. Piso. L. Calpurnius (cos. 58), 215, 223, 231, 503 Piso, M. Pupius, (cos 61), 169 f. Plancus, T. Munatius (tr. 52), 479 the Parthians, 391, 421, 429, 445, 489 f. 449 f. Plautius, A. (tr. 56), 331 Po, the, 115 Pollux, temple of, 115, 207 Pompeiopolis, city of Cilicia, 63 Ornodapates, Parthian satrap, 451 Oroeses, king of the Albanians, 93, Pompey, subdues pirates, 25 f., 31, Osaces, Parthian general, 449 f. 37-63, 71; in war with Mithri-Oscans, the, 277 dates, 75-113, 119, 123 f.; in Ostia, 33 Syria and Palestine, 123-27; returns to Rome, 131-39, 167 f., Osroene, district of Mesopotamia, 435 alliance with Caesa, Osroeni, the, 439 f. 175-79; and Crassus. 187-93, 205 f., 211, 215, 221; relations with Ciceror Pacorus, son of Orodes I. Parthia, 449 f. Paetus, P. Autronius (consul elect 229 f., 235, 261, 317-23; hostile to Caesar, 341-45, 473, 501-09;

for 65), 73, 141

consul (55), 349-55, 359-65, 383,

387 f., 395 f.; sole consul (52), 475, 481-97; other references, 183, 199 f., 329-35, 401 f., 435
Pomptinus, C., governor of Gallia Narbonensis, 173 f., 403
Pontus, 13, 97, 107, 131, 279
Porcians, name proposed for Cretan captives, 339
Porcii, Roman gens. 137
Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt, 325-31, 387-95, 399 f.
Ptolemy, ruler of Cyprus, 261, 337
Pyrenees, the, 377

Quadratus,

L. Ninnius (tr. 58),

Rabirius, C., 141–45, 159 Red Sea, the, 125 Remi, the, 311, 421 Rex, Q. Marcius (cos. 68), 9, 23–27, 71, 79 Rhaetia, 381 Rhine, the, 269, 307, 311, 379–83, 453 Rhone, the, 175, 263 Romulus and Remus, statue of, 115 Roscius, L. (tr. 67), 37 f., 49, 69 Rufus, Q. Pompeius (tr. 52), 475, 479, 489 f.

Rufus, Serv. Sulpicius (cos. 51), 451, 495

225 f., 231 f., 261, 359

Sabines, the, 277
Sabinus, Q. Titurius, legatus of Caesar, 373 f., 413 f.
Sallustius. See Crispus
Samnites, the, 277
Sardinia, 69, 279
Saturn, day of, 125-33
Saturnius, 141 f.
Scaevius, P., soldier of Caesar in Spain, 185
Scipio (Africanus Maior), 253 f.
Scipio (Africanus Maior), 253 f.
Scipio, Q. See Metellus.
Scythians, Bastarnian, 217
Secilius. See Sextilius
Seleucia, city near the Tigris, 429, 435
Seleucia, husband of Berenice, 393
Sequana, river of Gaul, 465
Sequani, the, 265, 269 f., 465

Sertorius, Q., 41, 45, 53, 377
Severus, Septimius, emperor, 383
Sextilius, legatus of Lucullus, 9.
Sibyl, the, oracles of, 329, 389 f.,
395-99
Sicily, 39, 235 f., 253, 279
Silaces, Parthian satrap, 423
Silanus, D. Junius (cos. 62), 161
Sinoria, fortress in Armenia, 113 n.
Sisenna, A. Gabinius, son of Gabinius, 391
Sisenna, L. Cornelius, 29
Soli, city of Cilicia, 63
Solon, 253
Solonium, city in Gaul, 175
Sophene, district of Armenia, 91
Sotiates, the, tribe of Aquitania, 377
Spain, 39, 57, 75, 279, 355, 365, 377, 383, 387, 473, 493, 497
Sparta, 375 n.
Stratonice, wife of Mithridates, 113
Suebi, the, 379 f., 453
Sugambri, the, 381, 455
Sulla, P. Cornelius, the dictator, 51, 55, 73, 117, 133, 141, 149, 159, 393, 475
Sulla, P. Cornelius, nephew of preceding, 73, 141

ceding, 73, 141
Salla, Faustus Cornelius, son of dictator, 181, 331, 483
Surenas, Parthian general, 435 f., 445
Symphorion, erroneous spelling of Sinoria, 113
Syria, 7, 27, 57, 89, 97, 107, 119, 125, 279, 355, 389–93, 421, 425, 429, 445–51
Syria Palaestina, 125
Syrians, the, 395

Talaura, town in Pontus, 21
Taurus, the, 7, 23
Tencteri, the, 379 f.
Thames, the, 411
Themistocles, 253 f.
Thracians, mercenaries, 15
Thucydides, 257
Tiber, the, 171, 193, 397
Tigranes 1., king of Armenia, 3-7, 11 f., 21 f., 27, 63, 71, 75, 85-91, 107-13, 429

Tigranes, son of preceding, 85–93, 261
Tigranocerta, royal city of Armenia, 3, 7
Tigris, the, 11, 107, 423 f.
Tolosa, 265
Torquatus, L. Manlius (cos. 65), 73 f., 97; cf. 333
Trebellius, L. (tr. 67), 37 f., 49
Trebonius, C. (tr. 55), 355–59
Treveri, the, 379, 421, 451 f.
Triarius, L. Valerius, legatus of Lucullus, 17 f.
Tullus, L. Volcatius (cos. 66), 69

Ubii, the, 381 Unelli. See Venelli Usipetes, the, 379 f.

Vaccaei, the, tribe in Spain, 387

Valentia, city of Gaul, 173 Valerian legion, 21–25, 77 Vatinius, P. (tr. 59), 209 Venelli, the, 373 Veneti, the, 367–73 Venus, day of, 131 Veragri, the, 317 Vercingetorix, 455, 465–69 Vesontio, city of Gaul, 271 Vestals, the, 157, 171 Vettius, L., 165, 215 Viridovix, 373 Volscians, the, 277

Xenophon, 257

Zenodotium, town in Mesopotamia, 423 Zeugma, town in Syria, 431 Zeus, shrine of, 375 n.



RICHARD CLAY AND SONS. LIMITED, BRUNSWICK STREET, STAMFORD STREET, S.E., AND BUNGAY, SUFFOLK.

THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

VOLUMES ALREADY PUBLISHED*

- APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, translated by R. C. Scaton. of Jesus College, Cambridge. 1 volume.
- APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, translated by Horace White, of New York. 4 volumes.
- CATULLUS, translated by F. W. Cornish, Vice-Provost of Eton College: TIBULLUS, translated by J. P. Postyate, of Liverpool University: PERVIGILIUM VENERIS, translated by J. W. Mackail, formerly Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford. 1 volume.
- CICERO'S LETTERS TO ATTICUS, translated by E. O. Winstedt, of Magdalen College, Oxford. 3volumes. Volumes I and II.
- CICERO DE OFFICIIS, translated by Walter Miller.

 1 volume.
- DIO CASSIUS, ROMAN HISTORY, translated by E. Cary, of Princeton University. 9 volumes. Volumes I and II.
- EURIPIDES, translated by A. S. Way, of the University of London. 4 volumes.
- HORACE. ODES, translated by C. E. Bennett, of Cornell University. 1 volume.
- JULIAN, translated by Wilmer Cave Wright, of Bryn Mawr College. 3 volumes, Volumes I and II.
- LUCIAN, translated by A. M. Harmon, of Princeton University. 8 volumes. Volume I.
- PETRONIUS, translated by M. Heseltine, of New College, Oxford; SENECA, APOCOLOCYNTOSIS, translated by W. H. D. Rouse. 1 volume.

All volumes can be supplied separately.

- PHILOSTRATUS, THE LIFE OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA. translated by F. C. Conybeare, of University College, Oxford. 2 volumes.
- PLATO, EUTHYPHRO, APOLOGY, CRITO, PHAEDO, PHAEDRUS, translated by H. N. Fowler. 1 volume.
- PROPERTIUS, translated by H. E. Butler, of the University of London. 1 volume.
- QUINTUS SMYRNAEUS, translated by A. S. Way, of the University of London. 1 volume.
- ST. JOHN DAMASCENE, BARLAAM AND IOASAPH, translated by Harold Mattingly and the Rev. G. R. Woodward. 1 volume.
- SOPHOCLES, translated by F. Storr, of Trinity College, Cambridge. 2 volumes.
- SUETONIUS, translated by J. C. Rolfe. 2 volumes. Volume I.
- TACITUS, DIALOGUS, translated by Wm. Peterson; AGRICOLA AND GERMANIA, translated by Maurice Hutton. 1 volume.
- TERENCE, translated by John Sergeaunt, of Westminster School. 2 volumes.
- THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS, translated by Kirsopp Lake, of the University of Leiden. 2 volumes.
- THE CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE, translated by W. Watts (1631). 2 volumes.
- THE GREEK BUCOLIC POETS (THEOCRITUS, BION, MOSCHUS), translated by J. M. Edmonds, of Jesus College, Cambridge. 1 volume.



Charles in the

'A book that is shut is but a block

GOVT. OF INDIA

Department of Archaeology

Please help us to keen the beok

E. S. 140. N. DELSE.